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For the district in Samoa, see [Atua \(district\)](#). For the river in Brazil, see [Atuá River](#).

Atua ([Akua](#) in [Hawaii](#)^[1]) are the gods and spirits of the Polynesian people such as the Māori or the Hawaiians (see also [Kupua](#)). The literal meaning of the Polynesian word is "power" or "strength" and so the concept is similar to that of *mana*. Many of the atua that are known have originated from myths and legends of each Polynesian culture before Christianity was introduced. These days, the word *atua* is related to the monotheistic conception of God. However for Polynesian cultures, as opposed to having only one superior god, there are multiple *atua*.

For Māori, there are eight main atua – excluding the parents, Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother):

Tāne Mahuta – god of the forest and all forest creatures such as animals, birds and trees;

Tāwhirimātea – god of wind and storms;

Haumia-tiketike – god of uncultivated food and fernroot (also known as *Haumia*, *Haumia-tikitiki*, and *Haumia-roa*);

Rongo-mā-Tāne – god of Agriculture and Peace (also known as *Rongohīrea* and *Rongomaraeroa*);

Tangaroa – god of the sea;

Tūmataua – god of war and humans (also known as *Tūkāriri*);

Rūaumoko – god of earthquakes (also known as *Rūaimoko*);

Whiro-te-tipua – god of darkness, evil, and death.

In the Samoan language,^[2] where *atua* means "god", traditional tattooing was based on the doctrine of tutelary spirits.^[3] There is also a district on the island of Upolu in Samoa called *Atua*. *Atua* or gods are also at the centre of Māori

mythology. In traditional Māori belief, there is no specific word for "religion" because the natural and supernatural world are seen as one.[4]

In other Austronesian cultures, cognates of atua include the Polynesian aitu, Micronesian aniti, Bunun hanitu, Filipino and Tao anito, and Malaysian and Indonesian hantu or antu.[5]

Similar to Māori, there are many Samoan mythologies with deities ("atua"). In Samoa, there two types of atua: atua (non-human origins) and aitu (human origins). In Samoa, the atua known as Tagaloa was regarded as the creator of all beings.[6] The atua known as Savea was recognized as being the ruler over Pulumotu, the underworld of spirits. He is a complex figure in Samoan mythology and represents death and life.[7] Mafui'e was known as the god of earthquakes.[8] However, since Christianity was introduced to Samoa in 1830[9], the existence and belief of these deities were soon forgotten by the Samoan people, leaving only their myths and stories.

In popular culture

In popular culture, Atua is the name that is used to refer to the deity which the character Angie Yonaga worships in the English dub of Danganronpa V3: Killing Harmony. The term "Atua" is often associated with her character.[6]

See also

Myths portal
icon Oceania portal
icon Religion portal
Hawaiian religion
List of Māori deities
Māori mythology
Polynesian mythology
Zanahary
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[For other uses, see \[Yaksha \\(disambiguation\\)\]\(#\).](#)

[Yaksha](#)

"[Parkham Yaksha](#)" [Manibhadra](#), 150 BCE

"[Mudgarpani Yaksha](#)", 100 BCE^[1]

Remains of the colossal statues of the [Parkham Yaksha](#) (150 BCE) and the [Mudgarpani](#) ("Mace-holder") [Yaksha](#) (100 BCE), [Mathura](#). These colossal statues stand around two metres tall.^[1] The [Mudgarpani Yaksha](#) holds a [mudgar](#) mace in the right hand, and the left hand used to support a small standing devotee or child joining hands in prayer.^[2]^[3]

[Art of Mathura](#), [Mathura Museum](#)

The [Yakshas](#) (Sanskrit: यक्ष, IAST: Yakṣa, Pali: Yakkha) are a broad class of nature

spirits, usually benevolent, but sometimes mischievous or capricious, connected with water, fertility, trees, the forest, treasure and wilderness.[4][5] They appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts, as well as ancient and medieval era temples of South Asia and Southeast Asia as guardian deities.[5][6] The feminine form of the word is IAST: Yakṣī[7] or Yakshini (Sanskrit: यक्षिणी, IAST: Yakṣiṇī; Pali: Yakkhini).[8]

In Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts, the yakṣas have a dual personality. On the one hand, a yakṣa may be an inoffensive nature-fairy, associated with woods and mountains; but there is also a darker version of the yakṣa, which is a kind of (bhuta) that haunts the wilderness and waylays and devours travellers, similar to the rakṣasas.

A unique cultural dance form related to the Yakshas is Yakshagana. Yakshagana is a traditional stage performance, found in Dakshina Kannada, Udupi, Kasaragod district and Uttara Kannada, Shimoga and western parts of Chikmagalur districts, in the state of Karnataka.

Early yakshas

Yaksi from Bharhut

Yakshas appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts.[5][9] Several monumental yakshas are known from the time of the Maurya Empire period. They are variously dated from around the 3rd century BCE to the 1st century BCE. These statues are monumental (usually around 2 metres tall), and often bear inscriptions related to their identification as yakshas. They are considered as the first known monumental stone sculptures in India. Two of these monumental yakshas are known from Patna, one from Vidisha and one from Parkham, as well as one yakshini from Vidisha. The yakṣas may have originally been the tutelary deity of a city, district, lake, or well. Their worship, together with popular belief in nagas (serpent deities), feminine fertility deities, and mother goddesses, may have had its origin among the early Hindu people of India. Yaksha worship coexisted with the priest-conducted sacrifices of the Vedic period.[10] They were later viewed as the steward deities of the earth and the wealth buried beneath.[11]

Kubera

Kubera, the God of Riches, LACMA

Main article: Kubera

In Hindu, Buddhist and Jain Religion, Kubera, wealth and prosperity, is considered the king of the yakshas and protector of the world (Lokapāla). In Buddhism, he is equated with Vaiśravaṇa.

His many epithets extol him as the overlord of numerous semi-divine species and the owner of the treasures of the world. Kubera is often depicted with a plump body, adorned with jewels, carrying a money-pot and a club. His vahana (vehicle)

is the mongoose. He is often seen with Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth, fortune and prosperity.

In Buddhism

Translations of
Yaksha

Sanskrit यक्ष

(IAST: yakṣa)

Pali Yakkha

Burmese ယက္ခ

(MLCTS: yakkha)

Chinese 夜叉

(Pinyin: yèchā)

Japanese 夜叉やしゃ

(Rōmaji: yasha)

Khmer យក្ស

(UNGEGN: yoks)

Korean 야차

(RR: yacha)

Sinhala යක්ෂ

(yakṣa)

Tibetan གཞིན་སྒྱུ་

(gnod sbyin)

Tamil இயக்கர்

(yākka)

Tagalog Yakksa

Thai ยักษ์

(RTGS: yak)

Vietnamese dạ xoa

Glossary of Buddhism

Painting of Āṭavaka, a yaksha who challenged the Buddha

An illustration from an 1866 Japanese book. A yaksha, who is an incarnation of Bodhisattva Kannon, gives a sermon to folks.

A yaksha as a gate guardian (dvarapala) at Plaosan temple in Indonesia

In Buddhist literature, the yakṣa are the attendants of Vaiśravaṇa, the guardian of the northern quarter, a beneficent god who protects the righteous. The term also refers to the Twelve Heavenly Generals who guard Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha. The yakshas of many Buddhist stories are ugly ogres, reborn in that form because of sins committed during their past lives as humans.[12]

One such malevolent yaksha, Silesaloma, appears in the Jataka tales of the Pali

Buddhist canon. In the story "Prince Five-Weapons and the Sticky-Haired Demon",^[13] Silesaloma is described as being the height of a palm tree, with sharp teeth and two yellow tusks, and a coat of thick, matted fur. A bodhisattva named Prince Panchayudha (Five-Weapons) attempted to kill Silesaloma, but all his attacks, from both his weapons and his bare hands, were thwarted by Silesaloma's sticky hair. Ultimately, Prince Panchayudha impressed Silesaloma with his bravery, and the yaksha decided to let him go. Panchayudha explained that Silesaloma's monstrous state was caused by wicked deeds from his past lives, and he taught the yaksha the five precepts, after which Silesaloma renounced violence and transformed into a friendly forest spirit.^[12]

The Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī Sūtra, a text that dates back to fourth century or earlier (translated from the Sanskrit by Kumarajiva), gives a large list of yakshas that reside in the classical cities of ancient India^[14] who are invoked for the protection of the Buddhist Dharma:

"The deity Krakucchanda resides in Pataliputra.
Aparajita resides in Sthuno.
The great yaksha Bhadra resides in Saila.
The great deity Manava resides in Uttara.
The great sage Vajrapani though lives in Rajagrha
Often dwells in Mount Grdhrakuta.
The deity Garuda resides in the Vipula mountain.
Citragupta resides in Citemukha.
The yaksha Vakula resides in Rajagrha.

...

The yaksha king Mahagiri resides in Girinagara.
The yaksha Vasava resides in Vaidisa.
The yaksha Karttikeya resides in Rohitaka.
This yaksha Kumara is renowned in the great city.

...

Vaisravana who resides in the city Alakavati,
Located along the jewelled stairway of the Buddha's descent,
Is surrounded by billions of gods and goddesses.
Such yakshas command huge and powerful contingents of troops
To subjugate adversaries and enemies,
Conquering all.
They are famous throughout all directions.
Imbued with great dignity and virtue,
They come to aid
In the battles between the heavens and asuras.

These deities of virtues and great yaksha generals are located everywhere in Jambudvīpa. They uphold and protect the Buddhadharma, generating compassion."

[15]

In Jainism

Yaksha and yakshini couple Sarvānubhūti and Kuṣmāṇḍinī, with the Tirthankaras
Jains mainly maintain cult images of Arihants and Tirthankaras, who have conquered the inner passions and attained moksha. Yakshas and yakshinis are found in pair around the cult images of Jinas, serving as guardian deities. The yaksha is generally on the right-hand side of the Jina image while the yakshini is on the left-hand side. They are regarded mainly as devotees of the Jina and have supernatural powers. They are also wandering through the cycles of births and deaths just like the worldly souls, but have supernatural powers.[16]

'Digambara Yaksha Sarvahna', Norton Simon Museum, c. 900 CE

The Harivamsapurana (783 CE) refers to them as Shasandevatas. Initially among the yakshas, Manibhadra and Purnabadra yakshas and Bahuputrika yakshini were popular. The yaksha Manibhadra is worshipped by the Jains affiliated with the Tapa Gachchha. During tenth and thirteenth centuries yaksha Saarvanubhuti, or Sarvahna and yakshinis Chakreshvari, Ambika, Padmavati, and Jwalamalini became so popular that independent temples devoted to them were erected.

Yakshas and yakshinis are common among the Murtipujaka Śvētāmbara and Bispanthi Digambara Jains. The Digambara Terapanth movement opposes their worship.[17][18] Among the Murtipujaka Śvētāmbaras, the Tristutik Gaccha sect (both historical founded by Silagana and Devabhadra, and the modern sect organised by Rajendrasuri) object to the worship of shruta-devatas.[19]

Shasan devatas in Jainism

In Jainism, there are twenty-four yakshas and twenty-four yakshis that serve as śāsanadevatās for the twenty-four tirthankaras:[20] These yakshas are as follows:

Gomukha
Mahayaksha
Trimukha
Yaksheshvara or Yakshanayaka
Tumbaru
Kusuma
Varanandi or Matanga
Vijaya or Shyama
Ajita
Brahma or Brahmeshvara
Ishvara or Yakset
Kumara
Dandapani
Patala
Kinnara

Kimpurusha or Garuda

Gandharva

Kendra or Yakshendra

Kubera

Varuna

Bhrikuti

Gomedha or Sarvahna

Dharanendra or Parshvayaksha

Matanga

In poems

In Kālidāsa's poem Meghadūta, for instance, the yakṣa narrator is a romantic figure, pining with love for his missing beloved. By contrast, in the didactic Hindu dialogue of the Yakṣapraśnāḥ "Questions of the Yakṣa", it is a tutelary spirit of a lake that challenges Yudhiṣṭhira.

In Mahavamsa poem of Sri Lanka, a local population is given the term Yakkhas. Prince Vijaya encountered the royalty of the yakkhas' queen, Kuveni, in her capital of Lanka pura and conquered them.

In Nepal

Architectural Support with Squatting Dwarf, 11th century, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Architectural Support with Squatting Dwarf, 11th century, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Yaksha beneath the spout of Bhimsen Hiti, Bhaktapur

Yaksha beneath the spout of Bhimsen Hiti, Bhaktapur

Yaksha at Maru hiti, Kathmandu

Yaksha at Maru hiti, Kathmandu

Yakshas beneath a spout of Saraswati Hiti, Chyasal

Yakshas beneath a spout of Saraswati Hiti, Chyasal

Yakshas relief, 8th–9th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Yakshas relief, 8th–9th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art

In Nepal, squat stone versions of yakshas (sometimes twinned) were used as elements in construction. Their role was that of a caryatid, which supports a part of the building, for example a column.[21][22] However, they are best known for their appearance under the spouts of ancient drinking fountains, especially fountains built in the Licchavi era (c. 400–750 AD).[23] Bhagiratha sculptures are more commonly found under spouts from the Malla period (c. 1201–1779 AD).[24]

In Thailand

Face of the yakṣa Thotsakhirithon (ทศคีรีธร) at Wat Phra Kaew, Bangkok

Yakshas (Thai: ยักษ์, RTGS: Yak) are an important element in Thai temple art and architecture.[25] They are common as guardians of the gates in Buddhist temples throughout the country since at least the 14th century. Ceramic sculptures of guardian yakshas were produced in Thailand, during the Sukhothai and Ayutthaya periods, between the 14th and 16th centuries, at several kiln complexes in northern Thailand. They are mostly depicted with a characteristic face, having big round bulging eyes and protruding fangs, as well as a green complexion. Yakshas and their female counterparts are common in the Buddhist literature of Thailand, such as in The Twelve Sisters and Phra Aphai Mani. As ogres, giants, and ogresses, yakshas are present as well in Thai folklore.

yo yak "ย ยักษ์" is also used as an illustration in order to name the letter ย, the 34th consonant of the Thai alphabet, according to the traditional letter symbols Thai children use to memorise the alphabet.[26]

In Sri Lanka

Yakshas are regarded as one of the ancient clans of Sri Lanka. The word "Yagasha" has been found in a cave inscription in Tamketiya in Nailgala, Kaltota written in early Brahmi script. Professor Raj Somadeva translates the word as 'belonging to Yakshas' or 'who wrote this inscription are Yakshas'.[27] In Sinhalese, Demons are also known as yakshayo (Singular: Yakshaya).

Gallery

Yaksha couple standing on lotus leaves, the male (sic) holding a lotus bud and posed in shalabhanjika

Yaksha couple standing on lotus leaves, the male (sic) holding a lotus bud and posed in shalabhanjika

Dvarapala Yaksha made of basalt. Found in Buddhist cave (Pitalkhora), 2nd century CE. Prince of Wales Museum

Dvarapala Yaksha made of basalt. Found in Buddhist cave (Pitalkhora), 2nd century CE. Prince of Wales Museum

Mudgarpani Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Bharnakalan, Mathura Museum

Mudgarpani Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Bharnakalan, Mathura Museum

Vidisha Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Vidisha Museum

Vidisha Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Vidisha Museum

Gomedh and Ambika, 11th century, Maharaja Chhatrasal Museum

Gomedh and Ambika, 11th century, Maharaja Chhatrasal Museum

Carving of a yaksha (夜叉)

Carving of a yaksha (夜叉)

See also

Dharanendra

Dwarf (mythology)
Gnome
Goblin
Jambhala
Jinn
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List of Yakshas
Manibhadra
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Pygmy (Greek mythology)
Shedim
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Suketu
Vaiśravaṇa
Vajrapani
Yaksha kingdom
Yakshini
Yaksha Prashna
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External links

Media related to Yaksha at Wikimedia Commons

Concept of Yakshi (archived 21 July 2011)

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List of death deities

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"Death-worship" redirects here. For the fictional ideology, see Political geography of Nineteen Eighty-Four § Eastasia.

Yama, the Hindu god of death and justice, and Lord of Naraka (hell). He was subsequently adopted by Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese mythology as the king of hell.

Maya death god "A" way as a hunter, Classic period

The mythology or religion of most cultures incorporate a god of death or, more frequently, a divine being closely associated with death, an afterlife, or an underworld. They are often amongst the most powerful and important entities in a given tradition, reflecting the fact that death, like birth, is central to the human experience. In religions where a single god is the primary object of worship, the representation of death is usually that god's antagonist, and the struggle between the two is central to the folklore of the culture. In such dualistic models, the primary deity usually represents good, and the death god embodies evil. Similarly, death worship is used as a derogatory term to accuse certain groups of

morally abhorrent practices which set no value on human life. In monotheistic religions, death is commonly personified by an angel or demon standing in opposition to the god.

Occurrence

In polytheistic religions which have a complex system of deities governing various natural phenomena and aspects of human life, it is common to have a deity who is assigned the function of presiding over death. This deity may actually take the life of humans or, more commonly, simply rule over the afterlife in that particular belief system (a single religion may have separate deities performing both tasks). The deity in question may be good, evil, or neutral and simply doing their job, in sharp contrast to a lot of modern portrayals of death deities as all being inherently evil just because death is feared. Hades from Greek mythology is an especially common target. The inclusion of such a "departmental" deity of death in a religion's pantheon is not necessarily the same thing as the glorification of death.

A death deity has a good chance of being either male or female, unlike some functions that seem to steer towards one gender in particular, such as fertility and earth deities being female and storm deities being male. A single religion/mythology may have death gods of more than one gender existing at the same time and they may be envisioned as a married couple ruling over the afterlife together, as with the Aztecs, Greeks, and Romans.

In monotheistic religions, the one god governs both life and death (as well as everything else). However, in practice this manifests in different rituals and traditions and varies according to a number of factors including geography, politics, traditions, and the influence of other religions.

Africa and the Middle East

Section of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Hunefer, depicting the Weighing of the Heart in Duat, featuring the deities Anubis, Ammit and Thoth

Sub-Saharan Africa

Igbo

Ala (Igbo mythology)

Ogbunabali (Igbo mythology)

Yoruba

Eshu (Yoruba religion)

Iku (god) (Yoruba religion)

Akan

Owuo, Akan God of Death and Destruction, and the Personification of death.

Name means death in the Akan language.

Asase Yaa, one half of an Akan Goddess of the barren places on Earth, Truth and is Mother of the Dead

Amokye, Psychopomp in Akan religion who fishes the souls of the dead from the

river leading to Asamando, the Akan underworld

Nkrabea, The deity of destiny and fate, believed to influence human fortunes and life paths, as well as their deaths.

Afroasiatic Africa

Somali

Huur, a messenger of Death who had the form of a large bird similar to Horus of ancient Egypt.

Afroasiatic Middle East

Canaanite

Mot

Egyptian

Aker (Egyptian mythology)

Andjety, an old Egyptian god

Anubis, guardian of the dead,[1] mummification, and the afterlife in ancient Egyptian religion

Aqen, a rarely mentioned deity in the Book of the Dead

Assessors of Maat, charged with judging the souls of the dead in the afterlife

Duamutef, one of the four sons of Horus

Hapi, one of the four sons of Horus

Imset, one of the four sons of Horus

Kherty Egyptian earth god

Medjed, an unusual looking god mentioned in the Book of the Dead

Nephthys (NebetHuet), Anubis' mother; sister of Osiris and Isis (Aset); also a guardian of the dead. She was believed to also escort dead souls to Osiris

Nehebkau, the primordial snake and funerary god associated with the afterlife, and one of the forty-two assessors of Maat

Osiris, lord of the Underworld[2]

Qebehsenuf, one of the four sons of Horus

Seker, a falcon god of the Memphite necropolis who was known as a patron of the living, as well as a god of the dead. He is known to be closely tied to Osiris

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria

Wepwawet, a wolf god of war, and brother of Anubis, being seen as one who opened the ways to, and through, Duat, for the spirits of the dead

Mesopotamian

Ereshkigal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),[3][4] first lady of the Underworld

Namtar (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), Ereshkigal's sukkal.

Nergal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), second lord of the Underworld

Inshushinak (Elamite mythology; also present in the Mesopotamian An-Anum god list.[5])

Nungal (Babylonian mythology), daughter of Ereshkigal

Erra (god)

Ugur (Hurrian religion;[6] also a sukkal of Nergal[7])
Ninazu
Ningishzida
Allani
Enmesharra, a primordial deity described as "lord of the underworld"
Kanisurra, a goddess whose name is derived from the term "ganzer," referring to the underworld (Mesopotamian)
Shuwala, a goddess of Hurrian origin worshipped in Ur
Lagamal, minor underworld deity
Birtum, husband of Manungal
Western Eurasia
European
Albanian
Djall, symbolizes the devil. (Djaj(plural))
Mortja, personification of death. An equivalent of Grim Reaper.(Female)(Mortjet, plural)
Vdekja, personification of death. (Female)
Balto-Finnic
Tuoni (Finnish mythology, Estonian mythology)
Balto-Slavic
Giltinė (Lithuanian mythology)
Māra (Latvian mythology)
Morana (Slavic mythology)
Peckols (Prussian mythology)
Peklenc
Veles
Chernobog (Slavic mythology)
Basque
Herio (Basque mythology)
Celtic
Ankou (Breton people)
Arawn
Cíochol
Crom Cruach
Donn
Mannanan
The Morrigan
Scáthach Goddess of the dead
Germanic
See also: Death in Norse paganism

Rán uses her net to pull a seafarer into the depths in an illustration by Johannes Gehrts, 1901
Freyja, presides over Fólkvangr; chooses half of those who die in battle
Gefjon, a goddess who oversees those who die as virgins
Hel,[8][9] goddess of the dead and ruler of the land of the same name, Hel,

Odin[8][9] presides over Valhalla and gets half of those who die in battle; there they train for Ragnarök

Rán, the sea goddess who collects the drowned in her net

Etruscan

Aita, god of the underworld

Culga, a female underworld spirit

Februus, god of purification, death, the underworld, and riches

Mani, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of the dead

Mantus, god of the underworld

Orcus, god of the underworld

Tuchulcha, an underworld spirit

Vanth, winged spirit of the underworld

Greek

Hades or Serapis with his dog Cerberus

Achlys, goddess who symbolizes the mist of death. Goddess of poisons, personification of misery and sadness.

Apollo, god of diseases

Atropos, one of the moirai, who cut the thread of life.

Charon, a daimon who acted as ferryman of the dead.

Erebus, the primordial god of darkness, his mists encircled the underworld and filled the hollows of the earth

Erinyes, chthonic deities of vengeance

Hades, king of the underworld and god of the dead[10]

Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, she helped Demeter in the search for Persephone and was allowed to live in the Underworld as her magic works best at night

Hermes, the messenger god who acted as psychopompos

Hypnos, personification of sleep, twin of Thanatos, his Roman counterpart is Somnus

Keres, goddesses of violent death, sisters of Thanatos

Lampades, torch-bearing underworld nymphs

Limos was the goddess of starvation in ancient Greek religion. She was opposed by Demeter, goddess of grain and the harvest with whom Ovid wrote Limos could never meet, and Plutus, the god of wealth and the bounty of rich harvests.[1]

Persephone, queen of the underworld; wife of Hades and goddess of spring growth[11]

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria.

Tartarus, the darkest, deepest part of the underworld, often used for imprisoning enemies of the Olympians

Thanatos, personification of death, Roman counterpart is Mors[12]

Gods of the seven rivers of the underworld:

Acheron, god of the river Acheron

Alpheus, god of the river Alpheus

Cocytus, god of the river Cocytus
Eridanos, god of the river Eridanos
Lethe, goddess of the river Lethe
Phlegethon, god of the river Phlegethon
Styx, goddess of the river Styx, a river that formed a boundary between the living and the dead
Roman
Dea Tacita, goddess of the dead
Di inferi, ancient Roman deities associated with death and the Underworld
Dis Pater, god of the underworld
Laverna, goddess of thieves, cheats, and the underworld
Lemures, the malevolent dead
Libitina, goddess of funerals and burials
Manes, spirits of the dead
Mania, goddess of death
Mors, personification of death, Greek equivalent is Thanatos
Nenia Dea, goddess of funerals
Orcus, punisher of broken oaths; usually folded in with Pluto
Pluto, ruler of the Underworld
Proserpina, queen of the underworld
Soranus, underworld Sabine god adopted by the Romans
Viduus, god who separated the soul and body after death
Western Asia
Elamite
Inshushinak
Persian-Zoroastrian
Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, the destructive spirit (Persian mythology)[13]
Asto Vidatu or Astiwihad or Asto-widhatu, death deity (Persian mythology)[14]
Ossetian

Aminon, gatekeeper of the underworld.
Barastyr, ruler of the underworld.
Ishtar-Deela, lord of the underworld in Nakh.[15]
Uralic
Azyren (Mari people)
Kalma, Finnish goddess of death and decay, her name meaning "the stench of corpses"[16]
Nga (Nenets)
Tuoni (Finnish mythology), with his wife and children.[17]
Eastern Asia
Korean
Yeom-ra, or Great King Yeom-ra' (King Yama)
Chinese
Yanluo Wang

Yanluo Wang

Emperor(s) of Youdu (Capital City of the Underworld)

Di Guan Da Di

Dong Yue Da Di

Feng Du Da Di

Yanluo Wang (King Yama)

Meng Po

Judges of the Ten Underworld Courts

Jiang Ziwen

Bao Zheng

Dong Ji

Huang Xile

The rest only have surnames including Li, Yu, Lu, Bi, Lu and Xue.

Four Kings of the Underworld

Bao Zheng

Han Qinhu

Fan Zhongyan

Kou Zhun

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions

Cai Yulei

Zhao He

Zhang Heng

Duzi Ren

Zhou Qi

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions (Ver.2)

Shen Cha

Yang Yun

Yan Di (Shenlong)

Ji Kang

Immortal Wang

Governors of Fengdu

Deng Ai

Ji Ming

Imperial Censor of Fengdu

Han Yi

Zeng Yuanshan

Jiao Zhongqing

Ma Zhong

Song Youqing

Guan Yu (note: different from the famous general of three kingdoms)

Wu Lun

Tu Cha

Four Generals of the Direct Altar of Fengdu

Ma Sheng

Ma Chuanzhong

Chen Yuanbo

Guo Zhongyou

Eight Generals of the Inner Altar of Fengdu

Wei Tin, Ghost Capturing General

Liu Chu, Ghost Restraining General

Wang Jian, Ghost Flailing General

Meng E, Ghost Interrogating General

Che Zi, Guardian of the East Gate

Xia Dali, Guardian of the West Gate

Lie Weizhi, Guardian of the South Gate

Sang Tongguai, Guardian of the North Gate

Eight Generals of the Outer Altar of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanlian

Chen Yuanqing

Li Yuande

Fan YuanZhang

Du YuanZhen

Liu Yuanfu

Chang Yuan

Jia Taoyuan

Ten Masters of the Underworld

A Bang, Bull Head

Luo Cha, Horse Face

Xie Bi'an, Wondering God of the Day

Fan Wujiu, Wondering God of the Night

Hei Wuchang (Black Impermanence)

Bai Wuchang (White Impermanence)

Huangfeng (responsible for insects)

Paowei (responsible for animals)

Yusai (responsible for fishes)

Guaiwang (responsible for Hungry Ghosts)

(Note: in some versions, Xie Bi'an and Fanjiu are the Bai Wuchang and Hei Wuchang, respectively.)

Four Strongmen of Fengdu

**Zhang Yuanzhen, Taiyi Strongman
Hu Wenzhong, Tri-day Strongman
Sun Zhongwu, Demon-smiting Strongman
Tang Bocheng, Ghost-smiting Strongman
Two Agents of Fengdu**

**Xun Gongda, Great God of the Black Sky
Liu Guangzhong, Great God of the Black Fog
Wardens of the Nine Prison of Fengdu**

**Wang Yuanzhen
Zhen Yan
Yao Quan
Shi Tong
Zhou Sheng
Diao Xiao
Kong Sheng
Wu Yan
Wang Tong
Administers of the Six Paths of Rebirth of Fengdu**

**Cao Qing, Administer of the Path of Heaven
Tien Yan, Administer of the Path of Ghosts
Cui Cong, Administer of the Path of Earth
Ji Bie, Administer of the Path of Gods
Chen De, Administer of the Path of Hungry Ghosts
Gao Ren, Administer of the Path of Beasts
Judges of Fengdu**

**Cui (Chief Judge)
Wang Fu
Ban Jian
Zi He
Jia Yuan
Zhao Sheng
Zhang Qi
Yang Tong
Fu Po
Zhu Shun
Li Gong
Xue Zhong
Rong Zhen
Lu Zhongce
Chen Xun
Huang Shou
Zhou Bi**

Bian Shen

Cheng De

Liu Bao

Dong Jie

Guo Yuan

Japanese

Izanami, when she died she became queen of the underworld, Yomi, and goddess of the dead.

Enma, god and ruler of the dead in Japanese Buddhism

Shinigami, god of death

Susanoo

Ōkuninushi, an alternate ruler of the underworld

North and Central Asian mythology

Erlik (Turkic mythology)

Xargi (Siberian mythology)

Oceanian mythology

Wuluwaid (Australian Aboriginal mythology)

Degei (Fijian mythology)

Hine-nui-te-pō (Maori mythology)

Whiro (Maori mythology)

South Asian mythology

See also: Shmashana Adhipati

Hindu

Yama - the god of death & divine judge of afterlife

Chitragupta - Yama's record keeper, keeps account of the good & misdeeds of souls, on the basis of which the dead are judged.

Yamaduta - Spirits under control of Yama, who are responsible for bringing the dead souls into Yama's presence. However, from the anecdote of Satyavan & Savitri, it is shown that even Yama performs this role.

Kāla - the personification of time, also associated with death

Shiva - the god who is the destroyer of the world at the time of pralaya. As Kalantaka, he is also the conqueror of death. As Bhairava, he is strongly associated with death & destruction.

Kali - Shiva's spouse, strongly associated with death & destruction.

Chamunda - A related form of Kali, invoked for seeking death of enemies during wartime.

Tibetan Buddhist

Tibetan Buddhism, like all other Buddhist denominations, affirms the rejection of the existence of souls (anatta) & existence of a creator God (see the theory of

dependent origination), while at the same time affirming in the existence of heaven and hell. The beings listed here aren't 'gods of death' in the traditional sense, they are rather beings that invoke a lot of funerary aspect with them.

Citipati - guardian spirits of charnel grounds

Dakini - Female spirits strongly associated with the imagery of death.

Heruka - Beings strongly associated with the imagery of death & charnel grounds

Wrathful deities - Meditational deities invoking the imagery of death.

Southeast Asian mythology

Magwayen

Batara Kala (Balinese mythology), god of the underworld in traditional Javanese and Balinese mythology, ruling over it in a cave along with Setesuyara. Batara Kala is also named the creator of light and the earth. He is also the god of time and destruction, who devours unlucky people. He is related to Hindu concept of Kāla. In mythology, he causes eclipses by trying to eat the Sun or the Moon.

Shingon (nat) (Burmese)

Thongalel (Manipuri mythology)

Pong Lalondong (Toraja), god of death

Philippines

Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures

Tagbayan (Ifugao mythology): divinities associated with death that feast on human souls that are guarded by two headed monsters called kikilan[18]

Fulor (Ifugao mythology): a wood carved into an image of a dead person seated on a death chair; an antique which a spirit in it, who bring sickness, death, and unsuccessful crops when sacrifices are not offered[19]

Kabunyan (Kalanguya mythology): the almighty creator; also referred to as Agmattebew, the spirit who could not be seen; the mabaki ritual is held in the deity's honor during planting, harvesting, birth and death of the people, and other activities for livelihood[20]

Binangewan (Aeta mythology): spirits who bring change, sickness, and death as punishment[21]

Aring Sinukûan (Kapampangan mythology): sun god of war and death, taught the early inhabitants the industry of metallurgy, wood cutting, rice culture and even waging war[22]

Lakandánup (Kapampangan mythology): serpent goddess who comes during total eclipses; followed by famine; eats a person's shadow, which will result in withering and death; daughter of Áring Sínukuan and Dápu[23]

Sidapa (Bisaya mythology): the goddess of death; co-ruler of the middleworld called Kamaritaan, together with Makaptan[18]

Sidapa (Hiligaynon mythology): god who lives in the sacred Mount Madia-as; determines the day of a person's death by marking every newborn's lifespan on a

very tall tree on Madya-as[24]

Hangin (Hiligaynon mythology): the spirits of the death wind; takes the life of the elderly[24]

Patag'aes (Suludnon mythology): awaits until midnight then enters the house to have a conversation with the living infant; if he discovers someone is eavesdropping, he will choke the child to death; their conversation creates the fate of the child, on how long the child wants to live and how the child will eventually die, where the child will always get to choose the answers; once done, Patag'aes takes out his measuring stick, computes the child's life span, and then departs, sealing the child's fate[25]

Pamulak Manobo (Bagobo mythology): supreme deity who controls good harvest, rain, wind, life, and death; in some myths, the chief deity is simply referred as the male deity, Diwata[18]

Malakal Maut (Maranao mythology): the angel of death; takes the souls of someone after three to seven days from the falling of the person's leaf from the sacred Sadiarathul Montaha tree in the realm called Sorga; appears either a handsome prince or a grotesque monster, depending if the soul he is getting comes from a sinner or a virtuous person; punishes the souls of sinners until final judgment, while lifting up the souls of the good onto heaven[26]

Kumakatok - hooded and cloaked harbingers of death that would knock on doors of the dying in Tagalog mythology

Magwayen - the goddess of afterlife and the first ocean deity, according to Visayan mythology. Known for being the goddess who collects souls and takes them to Sulad with her boat. The souls are initially transferred to her via Pandaki, who gets the soul from Sidapa.

Sitan - god and caretaker of the underworld realm for evil souls known as Kasamaan in Tagalog mythology. Maca, the realm of the good dead, is jointly ruled by Sitan and Bathala.

Manduyapit - bring souls across a red river in Manobo mythology[27]

Mama Guayen - ferries souls to the end of the world in Ilonggo mythology[27]

Badadum - deity in Waray mythology that gathers family members at the mouth of a river to make a farewell to the deceased[27]

Vietnam

Diêm Vương (King Yama)

Mạnh Bà

Hắc Bạch Vô Thường, two spirits capture souls.

Đầu Trâu

Mặt Ngựa

American mythology

Mictlāntēcutli

Mictēcacihuātl as depicted in the Codex Borgia

Aztec

Cihuateteo (Aztec mythology), Divine women. Spirits of women who died during labor.

Coatlicue (Aztec mythology), minor goddess of death, as well as the goddess of life and rebirth

Itztlacoliuhqui (Aztec mythology), personification of winter-as-death

Mictecacihuatl (Aztec mythology),[28] the chief death goddess; Queen of Mictlan (underworld) or Lady of the Dead

Mictlantecuhtli (Aztec mythology), the chief death god; lord of the Underworld[29]

Tlaloc (Aztec mythology), water god and minor death god; ruler of Tlalocan, a separate underworld for those who died from drowning

Xipe Totec (Aztec mythology), hero god, death god; inventor of warfare and master of plagues

Xolotl (Aztec mythology), god of sunset, fire, lightning, and death

Cahuilla

Muut

Guarani

Luisson, Guarani mythology

Haida

Ta'xet, Haida mythology

Tia (goddess)

Inca

Supay (Inca mythology)

Vichama (Inca mythology)

Inuit

Aipaloovik

Pana

Latin American Folk Catholicism

Santa Muerte, folk saint and goddess of death in Mexico

San La Muerte, folk saint and god of death in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil

San Pascualito, folk saint and god of death in Guatemala and Mexico

Maya

Camazotz, bat god who resides in the underworld

Cizin

Ixtab

Xtabay

Maya death gods known under various names (Hunhau, Uacmitun Ahau, Ah

Puch, Kisin, Yum Kimil)

Narragansett

Chepi

Taíno

Maquetauire Guayaba

Opiel Guabiron

Umbanda and Candomblé

Exu caveira

Exu Tranca-rua das almas

Haitian Vodou

Gede Iwa

Baron Samedi, Baron La Croix, Baron Cimetiere, Baron Kriminel

Ghede Nibo

Maman Brigitte

See also

Afterlife

Death (personification)

Liminal deity

List of deities

List of night deities

List of fictional demons

List of theological demons

List of ghosts

Psychopomp

Time and fate deities

Sailor Saturn

Veneration of the dead

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The dwelling one went to after death varied depending on where one died, at the battlefield or not. If not at the battlefield, one would go to Hel (not to be confused with the Christian Hell). Of the slain at the battlefield, some went to Fólkvangr, the dwelling of Freyja and some went to Valhalla, the dwelling of Odin (see Grímnismál). The ninth hall is Folkvang, where bright Freyja. Decides where the warriors shall sit. Some of the fallen belong to her. And some belong to Odin.

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vte

Death

vte

Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Death deitiesComparative mythologyLists of deities

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Lists of legendary creatures

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The following is a list of lists of legendary creatures, beings and entities from the folklore record. Entries consist of legendary and unique creatures, not of particularly unique individuals of a commonly known species.

Alphabetical lists

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Creature type-based lists
Main article: List of legendary creatures by type
See also

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Lists of deities by cultural sphere

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of

the world, listed by region or culture.

Africa

Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German (Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.[1][2]

North Africa

Berber deities

Guanche deities

Egyptian deities

Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth

Sub-Saharan Africa

African deities

Alusi

Yoruba deities

Afro-American religion

Loa

Orisha

Americas

Central America

Aztec deities

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The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity

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Portal Category

Disambiguation icon

This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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List of deities by classification

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

Motif-index

A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

A0 Creator

A100—A199. The gods in general

A101. Supreme God

A104. The Making of the Gods

A107. Gods of Darkness and Light (darkness thought of as evil and light as good).

A109.1. Triple deity

A116. Triplet gods

A111.1. Mother of the gods

A111.2. Father of the Gods

A117.5. Gods as spirits of the deified dead

A131. Gods with animal features

A132.3. Equine god / goddess

A132.5. Bear god / goddess

A132.9. Cattle god / goddess

A161.2. King of the Gods

A177.1. Gods as Dupe or Tricksters

A192. Death or departure of the gods

A193. Gods of Dying-and-rising

A200—A299. Gods of the Upper World

A210. Gods of the Sky

A220. Gods of the Sun

A240. Gods of the Moon

A250. Gods of the Stars

A260. Gods of Light

A270. Gods of the Dawn

A280. Gods of the Weather

A281. Gods of Storms

A282. Gods of the Wind

A284. Gods of Thunder

A287. Gods of Rain

A300—A399. Gods of the Underworld

A310. God of the World of the Dead

A311. Conductor of the Dead

A400—A499. Gods of the Earth (The Human Sphere)

A400. Gods of the Earth

A401. Mother Earth

A405. Gods of Nature

A410. Local Gods

A411. Gods of the Hearth and Household

A415. Gods of Clans or Nations

A420. Gods of Water

A430. Gods of Vegetation

A431. Gods of Fertility
A435. Gods of Trees and Forests
A440. Gods of Animals
A450. Gods of Trades and Professions
A451. Artisan Gods
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A460. Gods of Abstractions (also Z110. Abstractions personified)
A461. Gods of Wisdom
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A463.1. the Fates (goddesses who preside over the fates of men)
A464. Gods of Justice
A465. Gods of the Arts
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A473. Gods of Wealth
A475. Gods of Love and Lust
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A485. Gods of War
A486. the Furies (goddesses of vengeance)
A487. Gods of Death
A490. Miscellaneous Gods of the Earth
A491. God of Travellers
A493. Gods of Fire
A500—A599. Demigods and Culture Heroes
A502. Heroes or demigods as fourth race of men.
A510. Origin of the culture hero (demigod).
A515.1.1. Twin culture heroes.
A521. Culture hero as dupe or trickster.
A531. Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.
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Gods of Smithing
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The following is a list of lists of legendary creatures, beings and entities from the

folklore record. Entries consist of legendary and unique creatures, not of particularly unique individuals of a commonly known species.

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Legendary creatures of the Argentine Northwest region

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List of mythical creatures in Egyptian mythology

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Wikimedia Commons has media related to legendary creatures.

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A Greek dryad depicted in a painting

In religion, a nature deity is a deity in charge of forces of nature, such as water, biological processes, or weather. These deities can also govern natural features such as mountains, trees, or volcanoes. Accepted in animism, pantheism, panentheism, polytheism, deism, totemism, shamanism, Taoism, Hinduism, and paganism, the nature deity can embody a number of archetypes including mother goddess, Mother Nature, or lord of the animals.

African

Akan mythology

Asase Yaa, Mother of the Dead and the goddess of the harsh earth and truth

Asase Afua, the goddess of the lush earth, fertility, love, procreation and farming

Bia, personification of the Bia River and god of the wilderness and wild animals

Tano, personification of the Tano River and god of the river and thunder

Bantu mythology

Jengu, Sawabantu and Duala water spirits

Nyambe, Bantu Supreme deity and god of the sun

Nzambi, Bakongo Sky Father and god of the sun

Nzambici, Bakongo Sky Mother and goddess of the moon and earth

Simbi, Bakongo nature spirits of the water and forest

Egyptian mythology

Ash, god of the oasis and the vineyards of the western Nile Delta

Geb, god of earth

Nut, sky goddess and sister and wife of Geb

Igbo mythology

Ala, Igbo alusi, goddess of the earth, morality, fertility, and creativity

Amadioha, Igbo alusi, god of thunder and lightning

Anyanwu, Igbo alusi, sun goddess of good fortune, knowledge, and wisdom

Voodoo mythology

Mawu-Lisa, Dahomey goddess of creation, the sun, and the moon

Xevioso, Dahomey god of thunder

Yoruba mythology

Aja, Yoruba orisha, patron of whirlwinds, the forest, forest animals, and herbal healers

Oko, Yoruba orisha, patron of new harvest of the white African yam and of hunting

Osanyin, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest, herbs, and healing

Oshosi, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest and of hunting

Oshun, Yoruba orisha, patron of water, purity, fertility, love, and sensuality

Zulu mythology

iNyanga, Zulu moon goddess

Nomhoyi, Zulu goddess of rivers

Nomkhubulwane, Zulu goddess mother of fertility, rain, agriculture, rainbow, and beer

Unsondo, Zulu god of the sky, sun, thunder, and earthquakes

American

Aztec mythology

Xochipilli, god of art, games, beauty, dance, flowers, maize, and song

Xochiquetzal, goddess of fertility, beauty, female sexuality, protection of young mothers, pregnancy, childbirth, vegetation, flowers, and the crafts of women

Tonantzin, mother goddess

Chicomecōātl, a goddess of agriculture

Brazilian mythology/Guarani mythology

Curupira, a powerful demon or forest spirit and guardian of nature

Haitian Vodou

Baron Samedi, loa of the dead

Grand Bois, loa associated with trees, plants and herbs

L'inglesou, loa who lives in the wild areas of Haiti and kills anyone who offends him

Loco, loa associated with healers and plants, especially trees

Inca mythology

Pachamama, fertility goddess who presides over planting, harvesting and earthquakes

Maya mythology

Yum Kaax, god of agriculture, wild plants and animals

Native American mythology

Asintmah, Athabaskan earth and nature goddess, and the first woman to walk the earth

Ngen, Mapuche spirits of nature

Asian

Chinese mythology

Dou Mu Niang Niang, Mother Goddess of the Big Dipper

Tai Sui, Star deities of sixty years cycle

Chang'e, moon goddess

Lei Gong, god of thunder

Hou Tu Niang Niang, Mother Earth and Overlord of all Tu Di Gong

Tu Di Gong, earth deity of a specific locality and nearby human communities

Gonggong, ancient god of water

Zhurong, ancient god of fire

Hebo, god of Yellow River

San Shan Guo Wang, lords of the Three Mountains in Southern China

Hinduism

Yaksha, are a broad class of nature spirits. Their female counterpart are known as Yakshini.

Prithvi or Bhumi, goddess regarded as "Mother Earth"; Sanskrit for Earth

Agni, god of fire

Varuna, god of oceans

Vayu, god of wind

Indra, god of rain, lightning and thunders

Aranyani, goddess of the forests and the animals that dwell within it

Japanese mythology

Amaterasu, goddess of the sun

Izanagi, forefather of the gods, god of creation and life and first male

Izanami, Izanagi's wife and sister, goddess of creation and death, first female

Konohanasakuya-hime, the blossom princess and symbol of delicate earthly life

Shinigami, god of death

Suijin, god of water

Fūjin, god of wind

Kagu-tsuchi, god of fire

Susanoo, god of storms, (fertility in Izumo legends), younger brother to

Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi

Tsukuyomi, god of the moon and oceans, younger brother of Amaterasu and older brother of Susanoo

Korean mythology

Dangun, god-king of Gojoseon, god of the mountain

Dokkaebi, nature spirits

Lady Saso, goddess of the mountain

Jacheongbi, goddess of the grain, agriculture, harvest, growth, and nourishment

Jeonggyun Moju, mother of Suro of Geumgwan Gaya and Ijinashi of Daegaya, goddess of the mountain

Jik, god of grains

Sa, god of the earth

Sansin, local mountain gods

Philippine mythology

See also: Anito and Deities of Philippine mythology

Amihan, Tagalog god of the monsoon

Apúng Sinukuan (Maria Sinukuan), Kapampangan mountain goddess associated with Mount Arayat

Dumakulem, god of mountains

Dumangan, a Tagalog god of good harvest

Lakapati or Ikapati, goddess of cultivated land and agriculture[1]

Dayang Masalanta (Maria Makiling), Tagalog mountain goddess associated with Mount Makiling

Mayari goddess of the moon

Kan-Laon, Visayan god of time associated with the volcano Kanlaon

Tala, Tagalog goddess of the morning and evening star

Vietnamese mythology

Ông Trời, god of the heaven/sky and king of the gods

Mẫu Thượng Thiên, goddess of the heavens/skies

Thiên Y A Na, the goddess has the same job as the Mẫu Thượng Thiên

Mẫu Thượng Ngàn, goddess of the mountains and forests

Tản Viên Sơn Thánh, god of Ba Vì mountain range

Mẫu Thoải, the goddess who governs all things related to water

Mẫu Địa, goddess of the earth

Lạc Long Quân, one of the Long Vươngs at the head of the Water Palace

Western Asian

Arab mythology

Dhat-Badan, Yemeni and Horn African goddess of the oasis

Armenian mythology

Ara the Handsome, a dying-and-rising agricultural deity

Aralez, winged dog-like creatures with the ability to resurrect the dead by licking wounds

Areg (Arev) or Ar, god of the Sun

Astlik, deity of fertility and love

Tsovinar, also known as "Nar of the Sea", goddess of waters and the ocean

Mihr, cognate with the Mithra and god of the sun and light

Spandaramet, chthonic goddess of fertility, vineyards, and the underworld

Vishap, a dragon closely associated with water

Hittite mythology

Irpitiga, lord of the earth

Sarruma, god of the mountains

Mesopotamian mythology

Abu, minor Sumerian god of plants

Damu, vegetation god

Emesh, Sumerian god of vegetation

Kishar, goddess representing the earth

Ningishzida, vegetation god

Ninhursag, Sumerian mother goddess associated with the earth and fertility

Ningikuga, Sumerian goddess of reeds and marshes

Ua-Ildak, Babylonian and Akkadian goddess responsible for pastures and poplar

trees[2]

Ki, an earth goddess

Enten, god of fertility and agriculture

Persian mythology

Spenta Armaiti, goddess of earth

Ameretat, goddess of vegetation

Haurvatat, goddess associated with water

Anahita, goddess of waters

Tishtrya, god of rain and lightning

Apam Napat, god of waters

Turco-Mongol

Umay, the goddess of nature, love and fertility in Turkic mythology. Also known as Yer Ana.

İye, deities or spirits or natural assets.

Baianai, the god of the forest, animals, and hunt in Turkic mythology.

Ukulan, the god of water in Turkic mythology

European

Baltic mythology

Medeina, Lithuanian goddess of forests, trees, and animals

Zemes mātē, goddess of the earth

Celtic mythology

Abnoba, Gaulish goddess associated with forests and rivers

Artio, Gaulish bear goddess of the wilderness

Arduinna, goddess of the Ardennes forest region

Cernunnos, god associated with horned male animals, produce, and fertility

Druantia, hypothetical Gallic tree goddess proposed by Robert Graves in his 1948 study *The White Goddess*; popular with Neopagans.

Nantosuelta, Gaulish goddess of nature, the earth, fire, and fertility

Sucellus, god of agriculture, forests, and alcoholic drinks

Viridios, god of vegetation, rebirth, and agriculture, possibly cognate with the Green Man

Karærin, Celtic goddess who protects animals and nature

Sínann, Irish goddess, embodiment of the River Shannon, the longest river on Ireland, and a goddess of wisdom

English mythology

Apple Tree Man, the spirit of the oldest apple tree in an orchard[3]

Churnmilk Peg, female guardian spirit of unripe nut thickets

Melsh Dick is the male counterpart to Churnmilk Peg[4]

Etruscan mythology

Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness, wine, health, and growth in all things

Selvans, god of the woodlands

Artumes, goddess of the hunt, woodlands, the night, and the wild

Finnish mythology

Lempo, god of wilderness and archery

Tapio, god and ruler of forests

Mielikki, goddess of forests and the hunt. Wife of Tapio.

Georgian mythology

Dali, goddess of mountain animals such as ibex and deer

Germanic mythology

Ēostre or Ostara, the goddess of spring

Fjörgyn, the female personification of the earth. She is also the mother of the goddess Frigg and, very rarely, mother of Thor

Freyja, goddess of fertility, gold, death, love, beauty, war and magic

Freyr, god of fertility, rain, sunlight, life and summer

Iðunn the goddess of spring who guards the apples that keep the gods eternally young; wife of the god Bragi[5]

Jörð, personification of the earth and the mother of Thor

Nerthus, goddess of the earth, called by the Romans Terra Mater

Njörð, god of the sea, fishing, and fertility

Rán, goddess of the sea, storms, and death

Skaði, goddess of mountains, skiing, winter, archery and hunting

Sif, goddess of earth, fertility, and the harvest

Thor, god of thunder, lightning, weather, oak trees, and fertility

Ullr, god of hunting, archery, skiing, and mountains

Germanic folklore

Nøkken, male water spirit

Elf, beautiful, fairy-like creature that lives in the forest and streams

Greek mythology

Anthousai, flower nymphs

Aphrodite, goddess of love, beauty, pleasure, and fertility

Apollo, god of the sun, light, healing, poetry and music, and archery

Aristaeus, god of shepherds, cheesemaking, beekeeping, honey, honey-mead, olive growing, oil milling, medicinal herbs, hunting, and the Etesian winds

Artemis, goddess of the hunt, the dark, the light, the moon, wild animals, nature, wilderness, childbirth, virginity, fertility, young girls, and health and plague in women and childhood

Aurae, nymphs of the breezes

Chloris, goddess of flowers

Cronus, god of the harvest

Cybele, Phrygian goddess of the fertile earth and wild animals

Demeter, goddess of the harvest, crops, the fertility of the earth, grains, and the seasons

Dionysus, god of wine, vegetation, pleasure, madness, and festivity. The Roman equivalent is Bacchus.[6]

Dryads, tree and forest nymphs

Epimeliades, nymphs of highland pastures and protectors of sheep flocks

Gaia, primal mother goddess and goddess of the earth and its personification

Hamadryades, oak tree dryads

Hegemone, goddess of plants, specifically making them bloom and bear fruit as they were supposed to

Helios, Titan-god of the sun

Horae, goddesses of the seasons and the natural portions of time

Meliae, nymphs of honey and the ash tree
Nymphs, nature spirits
Naiades, fresh water nymphs
Nereids, salt-water nymphs
Nyx, Primordial goddess and personification of night
Oceanides, fresh water nymphs
Oreades, mountain nymphs
Oxylus, god of forests & mountains
Pan, god of shepherds, flocks, mountain wilds, and rustic music
Persephone (Kore), goddess of spring growth
Physis, primeval goddess of nature
Rhea, goddess of fertility, motherhood, and the mountain wilds
Satyrs, rustic nature spirits
Selene, Titan-goddess of the moon
Greek rustic deities
Main article: List of Greek deities § Rustic deities
Mari
Mlande, god of the earth
Mlande-Ava, goddess of the earth
Nordic folklore
Rå, Skogsrå, Hulder, beautiful, female forest spirits
Roman mythology
Bacchus – god of wine, nature, pleasure and festivity; equivalent to the Greek god Dionysus
Ceres, goddess of growing plants and motherly relationships; equivalent to the Greek goddess Demeter
Diana, goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness and the moon; equivalent to the Greek goddess Artemis
Faunus, horned god of the forest, plains and fields
Feronia, goddess associated with wildlife, fertility, health and abundance
Flora, goddess of flowers and the spring; equivalent to the Greek goddess Chloris
Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness and health and growth in all things
Liber, cognate for Bacchus/Dionysus
Nemestrinus, god of the forests and woods
Ops, goddess of fertility and the earth
Pilumnus, nature god who ensured children grew properly and stayed healthy
Pomona, goddess of fruit trees, gardens and orchards
Silvanus, tutelary spirit or deity of woods and fields and protector of forests
Terra, primeval goddess personifying the earth; equivalent to the Greek goddess Gaia
Slavic mythology
Berstuk, evil Wendish god of the forest
Jarilo, god of vegetation, fertility, spring, war and harvest
Leshy, a tutelary deity of the forests.
Porewit, god of the woods, who protected lost voyagers and punished those who

mistreated the forest
 Veles, god of earth, waters and the underworld
 Mokosh, East-Slavic goddess of nature
 Oceanian
 Māori mythology
 Papatuanuku, the earth mother
 Ranginui, the sky father
 Ruamoko, god of volcanoes and seasons
 Tāne, god of forests and of birds
 Micronesian mythology
 Nei Tituaabine, Kiribati goddess of trees
 Toraja
 Indo' Ongon-Ongon, goddess of earthquakes
 Pong Banggai di Rante, earth goddess
 See also
 List of deities by classification
 List of tree deities
 Ekendriya
 Master of Animals
 Plant soul
 Potnia Theron
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Lists of mythological figures

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"Death-worship" redirects here. For the fictional ideology, see Political geography of Nineteen Eighty-Four § Eastasia.

Yama, the Hindu god of death and justice, and Lord of Naraka (hell). He was subsequently adopted by Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese mythology as the king of hell.

Maya death god "A" way as a hunter, Classic period

The mythology or religion of most cultures incorporate a god of death or, more frequently, a divine being closely associated with death, an afterlife, or an underworld. They are often amongst the most powerful and important entities in a given tradition, reflecting the fact that death, like birth, is central to the human experience. In religions where a single god is the primary object of worship, the representation of death is usually that god's antagonist, and the struggle between the two is central to the folklore of the culture. In such dualistic models, the primary deity usually represents good, and the death god embodies evil. Similarly, death worship is used as a derogatory term to accuse certain groups of morally abhorrent practices which set no value on human life. In monotheistic religions, death is commonly personified by an angel or demon standing in opposition to the god.

Occurrence

In polytheistic religions which have a complex system of deities governing various natural phenomena and aspects of human life, it is common to have a deity who is assigned the function of presiding over death. This deity may actually take the life of humans or, more commonly, simply rule over the afterlife in that particular belief system (a single religion may have separate deities performing both tasks). The deity in question may be good, evil, or neutral and simply doing their job, in sharp contrast to a lot of modern portrayals of death deities as all being inherently evil just because death is feared. Hades from Greek mythology is an especially common target. The inclusion of such a "departmental" deity of death in a religion's pantheon is not necessarily the same thing as the glorification of death.

A death deity has a good chance of being either male or female, unlike some functions that seem to steer towards one gender in particular, such as fertility and earth deities being female and storm deities being male. A single religion/mythology may have death gods of more than one gender existing at the same time and they may be envisioned as a married couple ruling over the afterlife together, as with the Aztecs, Greeks, and Romans.

In monotheistic religions, the one god governs both life and death (as well as everything else). However, in practice this manifests in different rituals and traditions and varies according to a number of factors including geography, politics, traditions, and the influence of other religions.

Africa and the Middle East

Section of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Hunefer, depicting the Weighing of the Heart in Duat, featuring the deities Anubis, Ammit and Thoth

Sub-Sahara Africa

Igbo

Ala (Igbo mythology)

Ogbunabali (Igbo mythology)

Yoruba

Eshu (Yoruba religion)

Iku (god) (Yoruba religion)

Akan

Owuo, Akan God of Death and Destruction, and the Personification of death.

Name means death in the Akan language.

Asase Yaa, one half of an Akan Goddess of the barren places on Earth, Truth and is Mother of the Dead

Amokye, Psychopomp in Akan religion who fishes the souls of the dead from the river leading to Asamando, the Akan underworld

Nkrabea, The deity of destiny and fate, believed to influence human fortunes and life paths, as well as their deaths.

Afroasiatic Africa

Somali

Huur, a messenger of Death who had the form of a large bird similar to Horus of ancient Egypt.

Afroasiatic Middle East

Canaanite

Mot

Egyptian

Aker (Egyptian mythology)

Andjety, an old Egyptian god

Anubis, guardian of the dead,[1] mummification, and the afterlife in ancient Egyptian religion

Aqen, a rarely mentioned deity in the Book of the Dead

Assessors of Maat, charged with judging the souls of the dead in the afterlife

Duamutef, one of the four sons of Horus

Hapi, one of the four sons of Horus

Imset, one of the four sons of Horus

Kherty Egyptian earth god

Medjed, an unusual looking god mentioned in the Book of the Dead

Nephthys (NebetHuet), Anubis' mother; sister of Osiris and Isis (Aset); also a guardian of the dead. She was believed to also escort dead souls to Osiris

Nehebkau, the primordial snake and funerary god associated with the afterlife, and one of the forty-two assessors of Maat

Osiris, lord of the Underworld[2]

Qebehseneuf, one of the four sons of Horus

Seker, a falcon god of the Memphite necropolis who was known as a patron of the living, as well as a god of the dead. He is known to be closely tied to Osiris

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria

Wepwawet, a wolf god of war, and brother of Anubis, being seen as one who opened the ways to, and through, Duat, for the spirits of the dead

Mesopotamian

Ereshkigal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),[3][4] first lady of the Underworld

Namtar (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), Ereshkigal's sukkal.

Nergal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), second lord of the Underworld

Inshushinak (Elamite mythology; also present in the Mesopotamian An-Anum god list.[5])

Nungal (Babylonian mythology), daughter of Ereshkigal

Erra (god)

Ugur (Hurrian religion;[6] also a sukkal of Nergal[7])

Ninazu

Ningishzida

Allani

Enmesharra, a primordial deity described as "lord of the underworld"

Kanisurra, a goddess whose name is derived from the term "ganzer," referring to the underworld (Mesopotamian)

Shuwala, a goddess of Hurrian origin worshipped in Ur

Lagamal, minor underworld deity

Birtum, husband of Manungal

Western Eurasia

European

Albanian

Djall, symbolizes the devil. (Djaj(plural))

Mortja, personification of death. An equivalent of Grim Reaper.(Female)(Mortjet, plural)

Vdekja, personification of death. (Female)

Balto-Finnic

Tuoni (Finnish mythology, Estonian mythology)

Balto-Slavic

Giltinė (Lithuanian mythology)

Māra (Latvian mythology)

Morana (Slavic mythology)

Peckols (Prussian mythology)

Peklenc

Veles

Chernobog (Slavic mythology)

Basque

Herio (Basque mythology)

Celtic

Ankou (Breton people)

Arawn

Cichol

Crom Cruach

Donn

Mannanan

The Morrigan

Scáthach Goddess of the dead

Germanic

See also: Death in Norse paganism

Rán uses her net to pull a seafarer into the depths in an illustration by Johannes Gehrts, 1901

Freyja, presides over Fólkvangr; chooses half of those who die in battle

Gefjon, a goddess who oversees those who die as virgins

Hel,[8][9] goddess of the dead and ruler of the land of the same name, Hel,

Odin[8][9] presides over Valhalla and gets half of those who die in battle; there they train for Ragnarök

Rán, the sea goddess who collects the drowned in her net

Etruscan

Aita, god of the underworld

Culga, a female underworld spirit

Februus, god of purification, death, the underworld, and riches

Mani, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of the dead

Mantus, god of the underworld

Orcus, god of the underworld

Tuchulcha, an underworld spirit

Vanth, winged spirit of the underworld

Greek

Hades or Serapis with his dog Cerberus

Achlys, goddess who symbolizes the mist of death. Goddess of poisons, personification of misery and sadness.

Apollo, god of diseases

Atropos, one of the moirai, who cut the thread of life.

Charon, a daimon who acted as ferryman of the dead.

Erebus, the primordial god of darkness, his mists encircled the underworld and filled the hollows of the earth

Erinyes, chthonic deities of vengeance

Hades, king of the underworld and god of the dead[10]

Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, she helped Demeter in the search for Persephone and was allowed to live in the Underworld as her magic works best at night

Hermes, the messenger god who acted as psychopompos

Hypnos, personification of sleep, twin of Thanatos, his Roman counterpart is Somnus

Keres, goddesses of violent death, sisters of Thanatos

Lampades, torch-bearing underworld nymphs

Limos was the goddess of starvation in ancient Greek religion. She was opposed by Demeter, goddess of grain and the harvest with whom Ovid wrote Limos could never meet, and Plutus, the god of wealth and the bounty of rich harvests.[1]

Persephone, queen of the underworld; wife of Hades and goddess of spring growth[11]

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria.

Tartarus, the darkest, deepest part of the underworld, often used for imprisoning enemies of the Olympians

Thanatos, personification of death, Roman counterpart is Mors[12]

Gods of the seven rivers of the underworld:

Acheron, god of the river Acheron

Alpheus, god of the river Alpheus

Cocytus, god of the river Cocytus

Eridanos, god of the river Eridanos

Lethe, goddess of the river Lethe

Phlegethon, god of the river Phlegethon

Styx, goddess of the river Styx, a river that formed a boundary between the living and the dead

Roman

Dea Tacita, goddess of the dead

Di inferi, ancient Roman deities associated with death and the Underworld

Dis Pater, god of the underworld

Laverna, goddess of thieves, cheats, and the underworld

Lemures, the malevolent dead

Libitina, goddess of funerals and burials

Manes, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of death

Mors, personification of death, Greek equivalent is Thanatos

Nenia Dea, goddess of funerals

Orcus, punisher of broken oaths; usually folded in with Pluto

Pluto, ruler of the Underworld

Proserpina, queen of the underworld

Soranus, underworld Sabine god adopted by the Romans

Viduus, god who separated the soul and body after death

Western Asia

Elamite

Inshushinak

Persian-Zoroastrian

Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, the destructive spirit (Persian mythology)[13]

Asto Vidatu or Astiwihad or Asto-widhatu, death deity (Persian mythology)[14]

Ossetian

Aminon, gatekeeper of the underworld.

Barastyr, ruler of the underworld.

Ishtar-Deela, lord of the underworld in Nakh.[15]

Uralic

Azyren (Mari people)

Kalma, Finnish goddess of death and decay, her name meaning "the stench of corpses"[16]

Nga (Nenets)

Tuoni (Finnish mythology), with his wife and children.[17]

Eastern Asia

Korean

Yeom-ra, or Great King Yeom-ra' (King Yama)

Chinese

Yanluo Wang

Yanluo Wang

Emperor(s) of Youdu (Capital City of the Underworld)

Di Guan Da Di

Dong Yue Da Di

Feng Du Da Di

Yanluo Wang (King Yama)

Meng Po

Judges of the Ten Underworld Courts

Jiang Ziwen

Bao Zheng

Dong Ji

Huang Xile

The rest only have surnames including Li, Yu, Lu, Bi, Lu and Xue.

Four Kings of the Underworld

Bao Zheng

Han Qinhu

Fan Zhongyan

Kou Zhun

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions

Cai Yulei

Zhao He

Zhang Heng

Duzi Ren

Zhou Qi

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions (Ver.2)

Shen Cha

Yang Yun

Yan Di (Shenlong)

Ji Kang

Immortal Wang

Governors of Fengdu

Deng Ai
Ji Ming
Imperial Censor of Fengdu

Han Yi
Zeng Yuanshan
Jiao Zhongqing
Ma Zhong
Song Youqing
Guan Yu (note: different from the famous general of three kingdoms)
Wu Lun
Tu Cha
Four Generals of the Direct Altar of Fengdu

Ma Sheng
Ma Chuanzhong
Chen Yuanbo
Guo Zhongyou
Eight Generals of the Inner Altar of Fengdu

Wei Tin, Ghost Capturing General
Liu Chu, Ghost Restraining General
Wang Jian, Ghost Flailing General
Meng E, Ghost Interrogating General
Che Zi, Guardian of the East Gate
Xia Dali, Guardian of the West Gate
Lie Weizhi, Guardian of the South Gate
Sang Tongguai, Guardian of the North Gate
Eight Generals of the Outer Altar of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanlian
Chen Yuanqing
Li Yuande
Fan YuanZhang
Du YuanZhen
Liu Yuanfu
Chang Yuan
Jia Taoyuan
Ten Masters of the Underworld

A Bang, Bull Head
Luo Cha, Horse Face
Xie Bi'an, Wondering God of the Day
Fan Wujiu, Wondering God of the Night

Hei Wuchang (Black Impermanence)
Bai Wuchang (White Impermanence)
Huangfeng (responsible for insects)
Paowei (responsible for animals)
Yusai (responsible for fishes)
Guaiwang (responsible for Hungry Ghosts)
(Note: in some versions, Xie Bi'an and Fanjiu are the Bai Wuchang and Hei Wuchang, respectively.)

Four Strongmen of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanzhen, Taiyi Strongman
Hu Wenzhong, Tri-day Strongman
Sun Zhongwu, Demon-smiting Strongman
Tang Bocheng, Ghost-smiting Strongman
Two Agents of Fengdu

Xun Gongda, Great God of the Black Sky
Liu Guangzhong, Great God of the Black Fog
Wardens of the Nine Prison of Fengdu

Wang Yuanzhen
Zhen Yan
Yao Quan
Shi Tong
Zhou Sheng
Diao Xiao
Kong Sheng
Wu Yan
Wang Tong
Administers of the Six Paths of Rebirth of Fengdu

Cao Qing, Administer of the Path of Heaven
Tien Yan, Administer of the Path of Ghosts
Cui Cong, Administer of the Path of Earth
Ji Bie, Administer of the Path of Gods
Chen De, Administer of the Path of Hungry Ghosts
Gao Ren, Administer of the Path of Beasts
Judges of Fengdu

Cui (Chief Judge)
Wang Fu
Ban Jian
Zi He
Jia Yuan
Zhao Sheng

Zhang Qi
Yang Tong
Fu Po
Zhu Shun
Li Gong
Xue Zhong
Rong Zhen
Lu Zhongce
Chen Xun
Huang Shou
Zhou Bi
Bian Shen
Cheng De
Liu Bao
Dong Jie
Guo Yuan
Japanese

Izanami, when she died she became queen of the underworld, Yomi, and goddess of the dead.

Enma, god and ruler of the dead in Japanese Buddhism

Shinigami, god of death

Susanoo

Ōkuninushi, an alternate ruler of the underworld

North and Central Asian mythology

Erlik (Turkic mythology)

Xargi (Siberian mythology)

Oceanian mythology

Wuluwaid (Australian Aboriginal mythology)

Degei (Fijian mythology)

Hine-nui-te-pō (Maori mythology)

Whiro (Maori mythology)

South Asian mythology

See also: Shmashana Adhipati

Hindu

Yama - the god of death & divine judge of afterlife

Chitragupta - Yama's record keeper, keeps account of the good & misdeeds of souls, on the basis of which the dead are judged.

Yamaduta - Spirits under control of Yama, who are responsible for bringing the dead souls into Yama's presence. However, from the anecdote of Satyavan & Savitri, it is shown that even Yama performs this role.

Kāla - the personification of time, also associated with death

Shiva - the god who is the destroyer of the world at the time of pralaya. As

Kalantaka, he is also the conqueror of death. As Bhairava, he is strongly associated with death & destruction.

Kali - Shiva's spouse, strongly associated with death & destruction.

Chamunda - A related form of Kali, invoked for seeking death of enemies during wartime.

Tibetan Buddhist

Tibetan Buddhism, like all other Buddhist denominations, affirms the rejection of the existence of souls (anatta) & existence of a creator God (see the theory of dependent origination), while at the same time affirming in the existence of heaven and hell. The beings listed here aren't 'gods of death' in the traditional sense, they are rather beings that invoke a lot of funerary aspect with them.

Citipati - guardian spirits of charnel grounds

Dakini - Female spirits strongly associated with the imagery of death.

Heruka - Beings strongly associated with the imagery of death & charnel grounds

Wrathful deities - Meditational deities invoking the imagery of death.

Southeast Asian mythology

Magwayen

Batara Kala (Balinese mythology), god of the underworld in traditional Javanese and Balinese mythology, ruling over it in a cave along with Setesuyara. Batara Kala is also named the creator of light and the earth. He is also the god of time and destruction, who devours unlucky people. He is related to Hindu concept of Kāla. In mythology, he causes eclipses by trying to eat the Sun or the Moon.

Shingon (nat) (Burmese)

Thongalel (Manipuri mythology)

Pong Lalondong (Toraja), god of death

Philippines

Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures

Tagbayan (Ifugao mythology): divinities associated with death that feast on human souls that are guarded by two headed monsters called kikilan[18]

Fulor (Ifugao mythology): a wood carved into an image of a dead person seated on a death chair; an antique which a spirit in it, who bring sickness, death, and unsuccessful crops when sacrifices are not offered[19]

Kabunyan (Kalanguya mythology): the almighty creator; also referred to as Agmattebew, the spirit who could not be seen; the mabaki ritual is held in the deity's honor during planting, harvesting, birth and death of the people, and other activities for livelihood[20]

Binangewan (Aeta mythology): spirits who bring change, sickness, and death as

punishment[21]

Aring Sinukûan (Kapampangan mythology): sun god of war and death, taught the early inhabitants the industry of metallurgy, wood cutting, rice culture and even waging war[22]

Lakandánup (Kapampangan mythology): serpent goddess who comes during total eclipses; followed by famine; eats a person's shadow, which will result in withering and death; daughter of Áring Sínukuan and Dápu[23]

Sidapa (Bisaya mythology): the goddess of death; co-ruler of the middleworld called Kamaritaan, together with Makaptan[18]

Sidapa (Hiligaynon mythology): god who lives in the sacred Mount Madia-as; determines the day of a person's death by marking every newborn's lifespan on a very tall tree on Madya-as[24]

Hangin (Hiligaynon mythology): the spirits of the death wind; takes the life of the elderly[24]

Patag'aes (Suludnon mythology): awaits until midnight then enters the house to have a conversation with the living infant; if he discovers someone is eavesdropping, he will choke the child to death; their conversation creates the fate of the child, on how long the child wants to live and how the child will eventually die, where the child will always get to choose the answers; once done, Patag'aes takes out his measuring stick, computes the child's life span, and then departs, sealing the child's fate[25]

Pamulak Manobo (Bagobo mythology): supreme deity who controls good harvest, rain, wind, life, and death; in some myths, the chief deity is simply referred as the male deity, Diwata[18]

Malakal Maut (Maranao mythology): the angel of death; takes the souls of someone after three to seven days from the falling of the person's leaf from the sacred Sadiarathul Montaha tree in the realm called Sorga; appears either a handsome prince or a grotesque monsters, depending if the soul he is getting comes from a sinner or a virtuous person; punishes the souls of sinners until final judgment, while lifting up the souls of the good onto heaven[26]

Kumakatok - hooded and cloaked harbingers of death that would knock on doors of the dying in Tagalog mythology

Magwayen - the goddess of afterlife and the first ocean deity, according to Visayan mythology. Known for being the goddess who collects souls and takes them to Sulad with her boat. The souls are initially transferred to her via Pandaki, who gets the soul from Sidapa.

Sitan - god and caretaker of the underworld realm for evil souls known as Kasamaan in Tagalog mythology. Maca, the realm of the good dead, is jointly ruled by Sitan and Bathala.

Manduyapit - bring souls across a red river in Manobo mythology[27]

Mama Guayen - ferries souls to the end of the world in Ilonggo mythology[27]

Badadum - deity in Waray mythology that gathers family members at the mouth of a river to make a farewell to the deceased[27]

Vietnam

Diêm Vương (King Yama)

Mạnh Bà

Hắc Bạch Vô Thường, two spirits capture souls.

Đầu Trâu

Mặt Ngựa

American mythology

Mictlāntēcutli

Mictēcacihuātl as depicted in the Codex Borgia

Aztec

Cihuāteteo (Aztec mythology), Divine women. Spirits of women who died during labor.

Coatlicue (Aztec mythology), minor goddess of death, as well as the goddess of life and rebirth

Itztlacolihui (Aztec mythology), personification of winter-as-death

Mictēcacihuātl (Aztec mythology),[28] the chief death goddess; Queen of Mictlan (underworld) or Lady of the Dead

Mictlantecuhtli (Aztec mythology), the chief death god; lord of the Underworld[29]

Tlaloc (Aztec mythology), water god and minor death god; ruler of Tlalocan, a separate underworld for those who died from drowning

Xipe Totec (Aztec mythology), hero god, death god; inventor of warfare and master of plagues

Xolotl (Aztec mythology), god of sunset, fire, lightning, and death

Cahuilla

Muut

Guarani

Luisson, Guarani mythology

Haida

Ta'xet, Haida mythology

Tia (goddess)

Inca

Supay (Inca mythology)

Vichama (Inca mythology)

Inuit

Aipaloovik

Pana

Latin American Folk Catholicism

Santa Muerte, folk saint and goddess of death in Mexico

San La Muerte, folk saint and god of death in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil

San Pascualito, folk saint and god of death in Guatemala and Mexico

Maya

Camazotz, bat god who resides in the underworld

Cizin

Ixtab

Xtabay

Maya death gods known under various names (Hunhau, Uacmitun Ahau, Ah Puch, Kisin, Yum Kimil)

Narragansett
Chepi
Taíno
Maquetauire Guayaba
Opiel Guabiron
Umbanda and Candomblé
Exu caveira
Exu Tranca-rua das almas
Haitian Vodou
Gede Iwa

Baron Samedi, Baron La Croix, Baron Cimetiere, Baron Kriminel

Ghede Nibo

Maman Brigitte

See also

Afterlife

Death (personification)

Liminal deity

List of deities

List of night deities

List of fictional demons

List of theological demons

List of ghosts

Psychopomp

Time and fate deities

Sailor Saturn

Veneration of the dead

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"House spirit" redirects here. For the alcohol industry term, see well drink.

Early-20th-century Slavic cult image of a Domovoy, the household deity, progenitor of the kin, in Slavic paganism

A household deity is a deity or spirit that protects the home, looking after the entire household or certain key members. It has been a common belief in paganism as well as in folklore across many parts of the world.

"Household god" in Gezer by R A Stewart Macalister

Household deities fit into two types; firstly, a specific deity – typically a goddess – often referred to as a hearth goddess or domestic goddess who is associated with the home and hearth, such as the ancient Greek Hestia.[1]

The second type of household deity is not one singular deity but a type or species of animistic, which usually has lesser powers than major deities. This type was common in the religions of antiquity, such as the lares of ancient Roman religion, the gashin of Korean shamanism, and cofgodas of Anglo-Saxon paganism. These survived Christianisation as fairy-like creatures existing in folklore, such as the Anglo-Scottish brownie and Slavic domovoy.

Household deities were usually worshipped not in temples but in the home, where they would be represented by small idols (such as the teraphim of the Bible, often translated as "household gods" in Genesis 31:19 for example), amulets, paintings, or reliefs. They could also be found on domestic objects, such as cosmetic articles in the case of Tawaret. The more prosperous houses might have a small shrine to the household god(s); the lararium served this purpose in the case of the Romans. The gods would be treated as members of the family and invited to join in meals or be given offerings of food and drink.

Types

In ancient and modern religions, a god would preside over the home.

Certain species, or types, of household deities existed. An example of this was the Roman Lares.

Many European cultures retained house spirits into the modern period. Some examples of these include:

Brownie (Scotland and England) or Hob (England) / Kobold (Germany) / Duende y Trasgu (Spain and Portugal) / Goblin / Hobgoblin

Domovoy (Slavic)

Nisse (Norwegian or Danish) / Tomte (Swedish) / Tonttu (Finnish)

Húsvættir (Norse)

Although the cosmic status of household deities was not as lofty as that of the Twelve Olympians or the Aesir, they were also jealous of their dignity and also had to be appeased with shrines and offerings, however humble.[2] Because of their immediacy, they had arguably more influence on the day-to-day affairs of men than the remote gods did. Vestiges of their worship persisted long after Christianity and other major religions extirpated nearly every trace of the major pagan pantheons. Elements of the practice can be seen even today, with Christian accretions, where statues to various saints (such as St. Francis) protect gardens and grottos. Even the gargoyles found on older churches could be viewed as guardians partitioning a sacred space.

For centuries, Christianity fought a mop-up war against these lingering minor pagan deities, but they proved tenacious. For example, Martin Luther's Tischreden have numerous – quite serious – references to dealing with kobolds.[3][4] Eventually, rationalism and the Industrial Revolution threatened to

erase most of these minor deities until the advent of romantic nationalism rehabilitated them and embellished them into objects of literary curiosity in the 19th century. Since the 20th century, this literature has been mined for characters for role-playing games, video games, and other fantasy personae, not infrequently invested with invented traits and hierarchies somewhat different from their mythological and folkloric roots.

Origins in animism and ancestor worship

Shinto as an exemplar of development

The general dynamics of the origin and development of household deities over a considerable span may be traced and exemplified by the historically attested origins and current practices of the Shinto belief system in Japan. As the Japanologist Lafcadio Hearn put it:

The real religion of Japan, the religion still professed in one form or other, by the entire nation, is that cult which has been the foundation of all civilized religion, and of all civilized society, – Ancestor-worship.[5]

Drawing the picture with broader strokes, he continues:

Three stages of ancestor-worship are to be distinguished in the general course of religious and social evolution; and each of these finds illustration in the history of Japanese society. The first stage is that which exists before the establishment of a settled civilization, when there is yet no national ruler, and when the unit of society is the great patriarchal family, with its elders or war-chiefs for lords. Under these conditions, the spirits of the family-ancestors only are worshipped;—each family propitiating its own dead, and recognizing no other form of worship. As the patriarchal families, later on, become grouped into tribal clans, there grows up the custom of tribal sacrifice to the spirits of the clan-rulers;—this cult being superadded to the family-cult, and marking the second stage of ancestor-worship. Finally, with the union of all the clans or tribes under one supreme head, there is developed the custom of propitiating the spirits of national rulers. This third form of the cult becomes the obligatory religion of the country; but it does not replace either of the preceding cults: the three continue to exist together.[6][full citation needed]

Furthermore,

Whenever a child is born in Japan, a local Shinto shrine adds the child's name to a list kept at the shrine and declares him or her a "family child" (氏子 ujiko). After death an ujiko becomes a "family spirit", or "family kami" (氏神 ujigami).

Many Japanese houses still have a shrine (kamidana, kami shelf) where offerings are made to ancestral kami, as well as to other kami.

Cultural evolution and survival

Edward Burnett Tylor, one of the main founders of the discipline of cultural anthropology, spoke of survivals, vestiges of earlier evolutionary stages in a culture's development. He also coined the term animism. Tylor disagreed with Herbert Spencer, another founder of anthropology, as well as of sociology, about the innateness of the human tendency towards animistic explanations, but both agreed that ancestor worship was the root of religion and that domestic deities were survivals from such an early stage.[7]

Animism and totemism

In contradistinction to both Herbert Spencer and Edward Burnett Tylor, who defended theories of animistic origins of ancestor worship, Émile Durkheim saw its genesis in totemism. This distinction is somewhat academic since totemism may be regarded as a particularized manifestation of animism, and a synthesis of the two positions was attempted by Sigmund Freud. In Freud's Totem and Taboo, both totem and taboo are outward expressions or manifestations of the same psychological tendency, a concept which is complementary to, or which rather reconciles, the apparent conflict. Freud preferred to emphasize the psychoanalytic implications of the reification of metaphysical forces but with particular emphasis on its familial nature. This emphasis underscores, rather than weakens, the ancestral component.[8]

Domestic deities and ancestor worship

Jacob Grimm (1835)

Shrine of the household deities lares in Pompeii, showing the offering altar and a niche for votive images

European folklorist Jacob Grimm did not hesitate to equate the Roman lar familiaris to the brownie.[9] He explains in some detail in his Deutsche Mythologie:

Larva betrays its affinity to lar ..., and the good kindly lares were often held to be manes or souls of departed ancestors. So in our German superstition we find instances of souls becoming homesprites or kobolds, and still oftener is there a connexion between unquiet spirits and spectres.[10]

Thomas Keightley (1870)

To underscore the equivalence of brownie, kobold, and goblin, consider the words of the English historian and folklorist Thomas Keightley:

The Kobold is exactly the same being as the Danish Nis, and Scottish Brownie, and English Hobgoblin. [b] He performs the very same services for the family to whom he attaches himself. ... The Nis, Kobold, or Goblin, appears in Scotland under the name of Brownie.[11]

MacMichael (1907)

MacMichael elaborated his views on the folkloric belief complex as follows:

What are our elves and fairies, goblins, nisses, brownies, and pixies but latter-day survivals of arkite ancestor worship? Brownies and pixies were probably invariably of good character, originally, a likelihood suggested by the good points which in many respects survive in their character, their virtues being turned into vices, and, contrariwise, their vices into virtues, as good or ill fortune befell the household and its appurtenances. Is not the bowl of milk placed for the Brownie in the corner of the room a survival of the drink-offering of wine which was poured out before the household gods of the Romans?[12]

New International Encyclopaedia

Demonstrating that this evolution and functional equivalence has generally come to be accepted and that their nature is indeed that proposed by Grimm, one may refer to the early twentieth century New International Encyclopaedia:

The term fairy, however, is also loosely used to include other beings of a similar character like the brownie, elf, fay, gnome, goblin, kobold, pixy, puck, salamander, sprite, sylph, troll and undine. ... Fairy lore contains likewise certain elements of ancestor-worship, of mythology, and of older religious beliefs.[13]

and also

The resemblance to the Robin Goodfellow (q.v.) of the English and the Kobold of the Germans is conspicuous, and the Roman Lar is also suggested by this suspicion.[14]

Origin of ancestor worship in animism

Hearn (1878)

William Edward Hearn, a noted classicist and jurist, traced the origin of domestic deities from the earliest stages as an expression of animism, a belief system thought to have existed also in the Neolithic and the forerunner of Indo-European religion. In his analysis of the Indo-European household, in Chapter II, "The House Spirit", Section 1, he states:

The belief which guided the conduct of our forefathers was ... the spirit rule of dead ancestors.[15]

In Section 2, he proceeds to elaborate:

It is thus certain that the worship of deceased ancestors is a vera causa, and not a mere hypothesis. ...

In the other European nations, the Slavs, the Teutons, and the Kelts, the House Spirit appears with no less distinctness. ... [T]he existence of that worship does not admit of doubt. ... The House Spirits had a multitude of other names which it is needless here to enumerate, but all of which are more or less expressive of

their friendly relations with man. ... In [England] ... [h]e is the Brownie. ... In Scotland this same Brownie is well known. He is usually described as attached to particular families, with whom he has been known to reside for centuries, threshing the corn, cleaning the house, and performing similar household tasks. His favorite gratification was milk and honey.[16]

George Henderson (1911)

George Henderson elaborated on the presumed origin of ancestor worship in animism:

The second phase of this stage of thought [Animism] would be a cult of human ancestors, specially of tribal chiefs and clan-heroes: this is Manism or Ancestor Worship proper, culminating in hero worship. ... it is to be noted that the characteristics pertaining to a particular clan or tribal community, which mark ancestor worship, will have fallen very much to the background if they can be at all inferred among the Celts; the relations emphasised will be found pertaining to mythologic concepts and to the Nature-Myth. For, as modifications and transitions in behalf are constant, ancestor worship gets partly transcended. But in Manism the guardian spirit has its specific influence on the tribal consciousness. I recollect Aoibhell of Craig Liath, the guardian spirit of the Dal Caiss, mentioned in the narrative concerning Brian Boru in the Wars of the Gaedhel and the Gall; there is also Mag Molach or Hairy Hand, and Bodach An Duin of Rothiemurchus, as well as the more familiar belief in the Brownie which renders offices of help in some houses,—a feeble survival of early phases of cult.[17]

List

Domestic or hearth goddesses from various mythologies include:

African

Bes, a god in Ancient Egyptian religion

Ekwu, a god in Igbo Odinani

European

Agathodaemon in Ancient Greek religion

Aitvaras in Lithuanian mythology

Berehynia (originally a river spirit, since 1991, has become a hearth goddess in Ukrainian Romantic nationalism)

Brigid, a goddess in Ancient Celtic religion

Brownie or Urisk in Scottish folklore

Bwbachod in Welsh folklore

Cofgodas in Anglo-Saxon paganism

Domovoy in Slavic paganism

Frigg, a goddess in Old Norse religion

Gabija, a goddess in Baltic paganism

Haltija, or Haldjas in Finnish paganism, Finnish folklore, and Estonian folklore.

Heinzelmannchen in German folklore

Hestia, a goddess in Greek paganism
Hob, Lubber fiend, and Puck in English folklore
Húsvættir, Norse
Jack o' the bowl in Swiss folklore
Kikimora in Slavic paganism
Kobold in German folklore
Lares in Ancient Roman religion
Lutin in French folklore
Matka Gabia, a goddess in Slavic paganism
Monaciello, Monachiccio, Mamucca, Lu Laùru, Aguriellu, or Mazapegol in Italian folklore
Penates, in Ancient Roman religion
Safa, in Ossetian mythology
Tomte, or Nisse in Scandinavian folklore
Trasgu in Spanish folklore and Portuguese folklore
Vesta, a goddess of Traditional Roman religion, both state and domestic
West Asian
I Gudli Saibia, a female guardian angel in Romani mythology[citation needed]
East Asian
icon
This section needs additional citations for verification. Please help improve this article by adding citations to reliable sources in this section. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed.
Find sources: "Household deity" – news · newspapers · books · scholar · JSTOR (January 2023) (Learn how and when to remove this message)
Anito in prehispanic Filipino culture.
All gashin, the most prominent being Teoju, Seongju, Jowang, or Samshin in Korean folk religion
Imoinu (Emoinu), a household hearth goddess in Meitei mythology and Sanamahism of Manipur
Kamui Fuchi, a goddess in the Ainu folklore in Japan
Leimarel Sidabi, a household mother goddess in Meitei mythology and Sanamahism of Manipur
Menshen, divine guardians of doors and gates in Chinese folk religion
Ông Táo, kitchen god in Vietnamese folk religion
Ông Địa, is the god of the earth and patron of the land on which the houses are built in Vietnamese folk religion
Sanamahi, the most predominant god in Meitei mythology and Sanamahism of Manipur
Tu Di Gong (earth deity), in Chinese folk religion
Yumjao Leima (Yumjao Lairembi), a household mother goddess in Meitei mythology and Sanamahism of Manipur
Zao Jun (kitchen god), in Chinese folk religion
Zashiki-warashi, in Japanese folklore
North American
Chantico, a goddess in Aztec mythology

See also

Ancestral shrine and Ancestral tablets

Chinese ancestral worship

Dharmapala

Kitchen God

Teraphim

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For example, reserving a seat at the hearth for the brownie, and offering him milk and honeycomb.

See Brüder Grimm, Wörterbuch, s.v. "kobold", "poltergeist", etc.

"Luther glaubt nicht mehr an katholische Wunder, aber er glaubt noch an Teufelswesen. Seine Tischreden sind voll kurioser Geschichtchen von Satanskünsten, Kobolden und Hexen." ("Erstes Buch".)

"Luther no longer believes in Catholic miracles, but he still believes in diabolical entities. His Table Talks are full of curious tales of satanic arts, kobolds, and witches."

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Michael defeats Satan

Archangel Michael defeating the Archdemon Satan.

This is a list of angels in religion, theology, astrology and magic, including both specific angels (e.g., Gabriel) and types of angels (e.g., seraphim).

List

Groups

Hierarchical Groups

Name Alternate Names Role(s)/Domain(s) Religion(s)

Chayot Ha KodeshChayot, Living creatures A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (1st in the Mishneh Torah and Reshit Chochmah, 4th in the Zohar) (Judaism)

Holders of the firmament

Judaism, Christianity

Ophanim^[note 1] Ophanim (plural), Galgalim (plural), sometimes identified as Thrones A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (2nd in the Mishneh Torah and Maseket Atzilut and Reshit Chochmah, 5th in the Zohar, 9th in the Berit Menuchah) (Judaism)

Wheels of the Heavenly Chariot (Merkabah)

Judaism, Christianity

Thrones Sometimes identified as Ophanim Judaism, Christianity

Erelim Valiant Ones A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (1st among the ten orders of angels in the Berit Menuchah, 2nd in the Zohar, 3rd in the Mishneh Torah, and 10th in the Maseket Azilut.) (Judaism)

Appear in moments of death and national tragedy Judaism

Hashmal^[1] 'Amber', Sometimes identified as Dominions A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (4th in the Mishneh Torah, 5th in the Berit Menuchah, 6th

in the Zohar, 7th in the Maseket Atzilut and Reshit Chochmah) (Judaism)

Judaism, Christianity

Dominions Kyriotetes, Lordships Governors of the movements of celestial bodies[2] Judaism, Christianity

Seraph[note 1] Seraphim (plural) A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (1st in the Maseket Atzilut, 3rd in the Zohar and Reshit Chochmah, 5th in the Mishneh Torah, 10th in the Berit Menuchah) (Judaism) Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Malak Malakim (plural) A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (1st in the Zohar, 4th in the Berit Menuchah, 6th in the Mishneh Torah, 8th in the Maseket Atzilut, 9th in the Reshit Chochmah) (Judaism)

Messenger angels Judaism

Elohim Deities, godly beings who are not the Supreme God A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (7th in the Mishneh Torah, 8th in the Zohar) (Judaism) Judaism

Bene Elohim Sons of God A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (3rd in the Berit Menuchah, 8th in the Mishneh Torah, and 9th in the Zohar and Maseket Atzilut) (Judaism) Judaism, Christianity

Cherub[note 1] Cherubim (plural) A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (3rd in the Maseket Atzilut, 4th in the Reshit Chochmah, 8th in the Berit Menuchah, 9th in the Mishneh Torah) (Judaism) Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Ishim Man-like angels A notable group in the hierarchy of angels (2th in the Berit Menuchah, 6th in the Maseket Atzilut, 10th in the Zohar and Mishneh Torah and Reshit Chochmah) (Judaism)

Lowly angels which are assigned to speak with the mortal prophets and appear to them in visions.

Judaism

Powers Authorities The angels who have power over evil to keep balance and order. Judaism, Christianity

Virtues The angel who assist and give miracles. They govern elements and strengthen relation to God.

The conduit of spirits (in gnosticism). They transmit divine energy empowering souls to face over challenges.

Judaism, Christianity

Principalities Princedom, Rulers The guardian prince of nation. Angels who protects cities and nation. Judaism, Christianity

Archangels (rank) Judaism, Christianity

Angels (rank) Lowest rank of angels in most interpretations Judaism, Christianity

Categorical Groups

Name Alternate Names Role(s)/Domain(s) Religion(s)

Archangel (Title) A title designated to angels of the highest rank, generally a specifically named angel. Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Chalkydri Kalkydra Carriers of the Sun's heat[3] Judaism, Christianity

Destroying angels Memitim, Mashhit, spoilers, ravagers Angels of testing, punishment, and destruction. They test the resolve and faith of mortals by tempting them, akin to sabotage, then accuse and judge them, and finally punish and torment both wicked humans and angels. Judaism, Christianity

Fallen angels Sparks of the higher, spiritual realm (Pleroma) who fell into Kenoma to teach humanity through sins. Mentioned in the Book of Enoch, Sariel (Uriel), Penemue, Azazel, Ramiel, and Kasdeja, 5 of the 20 leaders of 200 fallen angels that were listed in 1 Enoch 69. Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Hamalat al-Arsh Bearers of the Throne Bearing the throne of God Islam
Kabbalistic angels 'The Explicit Name'; Angels of the Shem HaMephorash A list of 72 celestial spirits of the 9 choir orders, whose names with esoteric meaning are derived from the 72-fold name of the Hebrew god as found in the Book of Exodus

Kiraman Katibin Recorders of human thoughts, acts and feelings Islam
Luminary An angel-like being. They are considered to be emanations of the supreme divine triad consisting of the Father (Invisible Spirit), the Mother (Barbelo), and the Child (Autogenes) Judaism (Gnosticism)

Mu'aqqibat Hafaza Islam

Nephilim In some sources, their origin is disputed as being the offspring of angels and human mortals. Judaism (Enoch)

Recording angels Record-keepers Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Song-Uttering Choirs Multiple domains, as they are composed of multiple orders Judaism

Uthra Benevolent beings that live in škinas (ܫܟܝܢܐ, "celestial dwellings") in the World of Light (alma ḏ-nhūra) and communicate with each other via telepathy. They serve as guardians (naṭra) and act as "divine messengers of the light" Mandaicism

Watcher Grigori, Guardian angels Various Judaism, Christianity

Zodiac angels Archangels of the Zodiac Twelve archangels that rule over the 12 signs of the Zodiac. Judaism, Christianity

Tennin Japanese Buddhism

Individual angels

Name(s)	Affiliations and Type	Role(s)/Domain(s)
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Common Name	Alternate Names	Name meaning	Religion(s)	Rank
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Abaddon	Apollyon, Exterminans	'Destroyer'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam	
Thrones	Watcher, Archangel	Angel of Death; Lord of the bottomless pit		

Abatur	Abatur Rama, Abatur Muzania, Ancient of Days, The Third Life, Yawar, Bhaq Ziwa	'Father of the excellencies'	Mandaicism	Uthra
Father of the Uthras				

Abdiel	'Servant of El'/El's servant	Christianity
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Achaiah	Forbearance of God/'God is forbearing'	Judaism
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(Kabbalah)	Seraphim	Kabbalistic angel	Opposes and rules over the demon Amon
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Adathan	Mandaicism	Uthra	Guardian of the "first river",
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stands at the Gate of Life
Adriel 'Flock of God'
'My help is God, of God's flock'

Judaism, Christianity

Advachiel Adnachiel, Aduachiel, Adnachiel, Adnakhiel, and Adernahael
Judaism, Christianity Guardian Angel, Zodiac angel Angel of the
Month of November and the Zodiac of Sagittarius; Represents the thighs and
buttocks of the human body

Af[4] Mashhit Angel of wrath, represents the wrath
of God

Agriel Zazel Judaism, Christianity, Islam Seraph Archangel The
Intelligence Angels of all kinds, Guardian Angel of Saturn

Aker Judaism, Christianity, Islam Archangel[citation
needed] One of nine Angels of the end of Earth

Aladiah God is favorable' Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim
Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Buer

Ambriel 'Orator of God' Judaism, Christianity Thrones
Guardian Angel, Zodiac angel Angel of the Month of May and the Zodiac
of Gemini; Represents the arms of the human body

Ananiel 'Rain of God', 'Cloud of God', 'Storm of God' Christianity
Watcher Angel of water, guard of the gates of the South Wind[5]

Anael God is infinitely good' Judaism (Kabbalah) Archangels
Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Andras

Aniel Anael Grace of God'/'God is Gracious'/'God is my grace'; 'God, Lord of
virtues' Judaism (Kabbalah) Powers Kabbalistic angel Opposes
and rules over the demon Phenex

Anush Mandaism Uthra Teacher of John the Baptist,
miracle worker in Jerusalem

Arakiel Araciel, Arakiba, Araqael, Araquel, Arkas, Arkiel, Arqael, Sarquael

Aretstikapha 'Earth of God', 'the Land of the Mighty One', 'The Mighty Land'
'World of distortion' Judaism, Christianity Watcher, Archangel

Teacher of the "signs of the earth" (geomancy)

One of the five Watcher satans

Arariel Azariel Judaism Angel of rivers, waters of
the earth, cure of stupidity

Ariel Judaism, Christianity Archangel Lion of God, Angel
of nature elements

Armaros Armoni, Armoniel 'Curse of God'/God has cursed, 'Cursed one'
Judaism, Christianity Watcher Angel of deceit

Arphugitonos Judaism, Christianity, Islam
Archangel[citation needed] One of nine Angels of the end of Earth

Artiya'il Islam Removes human grief, sadness and
anxiety

Asaliah God the just judge' Judaism (Kabbalah) Virtues
Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Vual

Asbeel 'Deserter/Forsaker of God'/'God has deserted/forsaken'
 Christianity Fallen angel, Watcher Angel of destruction, one of
 the five Watcher satans
Asmodel 'Destroyer of God's enemies' Judaism, Christianity
 Cherub Guardian Angel, Zodiac angel Angel of the Month of April and
 the Zodiac of Taurus; Represents the neck of the human body
Azazel sometimes identified with Samael (Judaism), Lucifer (Christianity), or
Azazel (Arabic) 'Strength of God', 'God's Ruggedness'
 'God's scapegoat', 'God has sent away', 'God's Abandoned' Judaism,
 Christianity, Islam, Yazdânism Cherub Archangel, Watcher, Guardian
 (khazana) of paradise. (Domains of Samael may also apply to)
Azrael Ashriel
Mal'ak al-Mawt (Arabic)

'Help from God' Early Christianity, Islam The Death Psychopomp
Barachiel 'God has blessed' Judaism, Christianity Guardian
 Angel, Archangel Chief of the guardian angels
Baraqiel Baraqel, Baraqijal, Barchiel 'Lightning of God' Judaism,
 Christianity Watcher, Guardian Angel, Archangel, Zodiac angel Angel
 of the Month of February and the Zodiac of Pisces; Represents the feet of the
 human body; Thunderstorm/Lightning, Teacher of astrology
Barbiel Barbuel, Barubiel, Varviel 'Sincerity of El'/'Purity of God'
 Judaism, Christianity Guardian Angel, Zodiac angel Angel of the
 Month of October and the Zodiac of Scorpio; Represents the genitals of the
 human body;
Beburos Judaism, Christianity, Islam Archangel[citation
 needed] One of nine Angels of the end of Earth
Bezael 'God's Shadow'/'In the Shadow of God' Judaism,
 Christianity Watcher
Bihram Rabba Mandaism Uthra Presides over the
 masbuta, or baptism ritual
Cahethel God is adored'/'The adored God' Judaism (Kabbalah)
 Seraphim Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon
Barbatos
Caliel Invocation of God'/'God is Invocable'/'The invocable God'
 Judaism (Kabbalah) Thrones Kabbalistic angel Opposes and
 rules over the demon Bathin
Cambiel Cafziel, Cafzyel, Caphziel, Kambriel 'Exalter of God', 'Maker of God'
 Judaism, Christianity (Orthodox Christianity)[citation needed]
 Principalities Archangel, Zodiac Angel One of nine Angels of the end
 of Earth; Angel of the Month of January and the Zodiac of Aquarius; Represents
 the legs and ankles of the human body; Angel of Transformation, Metaphysics
 and a guardian Angel with a watcher named Tamiel
Cassiel Cassael, Casziel, Kasiel 'God is my wrath', 'God is my leap'
 Judaism, Christianity, Islam Archangel Angel of Solitude and
 Tears

Chamuel	Qafsiel, Qaphsiel, Qaspiel, Qephetzial, Quaphsiel	Orthodox Christianity[citation needed]	Archangel	Angel of Serenity and Devotion
Chauakiah	Joy of God/'God is Joyous'/'The God of joy'	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Powers	Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon
Marchosias				
Chazaqiel	'Cloud of God'/'God's Cloud, 'Shooting Star of God'/'God's Shooting Star	Judaism, Christianity	Watcher	Angel of the skies, Teacher of meteorology
Dadrail	Islam,[6]	Yazdânism	Archangel (in Yazdanism)	
Damabiah	Wisdom of God'/'God, the source of wisdom'	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels	Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon
Andrealphus				
Daniel	Dânêl 'God has judged' Teacher of the "signs of the sun" (Heliomancy)	Judaism, Christianity	Watcher	
Daveithai	Sethianism	Luminary		
Dobiel	"El is my Bear"	Judaism	Guardian angel of Ancient Persia	
Dumah	'Silence'	Judaism, Islam	Angel of silence and of the stillness of death, the wicked dead	
Eiael	'Pleased by God'/'God is pleasing'/'God, the pleasure of man's children'	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels	Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Amdusias
Eleleth	Sethianism	Luminary		
Elemiah	Hidden by God'/'God is hidden'/'The hidden God'	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim	Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demonSamigina
Exael[7]	Watchers	Taught humans how to build engines of war		
Etinsib Ziwa	'Splendid Transplant'	Mandaeism	Uthra	Starts battle against Nbaṭ
Gabriel	Jibreel (Arabic), sometimes Melek Taus	'Man of God'Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Mandaeism, Yazdânism, Yazidism	Cherubim[citation needed], one of the Seraphim[citation needed]	Archangel One of nine Angels of the end of Earth; Destruction (in Judaism), Messenger, General of Military, Leader of All-Angels (in Islam), God's Left Hand, Ruhul Quddus (in Islam), Ruhul Amin (in Islam), Seven Mysteries (Yazidism)
Gabuthelon	Judaism, Christianity, Islam	Archangel[citation needed]	One of nine Angels of the end of Earth	
Gadrael	Gadriel, Gadrel	'Wall of God', 'the helper of God'	Judaism, Christianity	Cherubim Watcher One of the five Watcher satans
Gamaliel	'Recompense of God'	Judaism, Christianity	Cherubim	Archangel Angel of protection and strength, Angel of Cherubs
Garshanel [8]	Garzanal	Judaism	Angel who wards off evil spirits	
Gubran	Gubran Uthra	Mandaeism	Uthra	Helps Nbaṭ lead a

rebellion against Yushamin and his 21 sons

Haaiah 'Spy of God'/'God is eavesdropping'/'God listening in concealment' Judaism (Kabbalah) Dominions Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Bune

Haamiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Powers Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Halphas

Habuhiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Angels Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Belial

Hadraniel Hadrianiel 'Majesty of God'/'God is Majestic Gnosticism Gatekeeper of the Second Heavenly Gate[9] Judaism,

Hahahel Judaism (Kabbalah) Virtues Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Focalor

Hahaiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Sitri

Hahasiah Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity Principalities

Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Balam

Hahuiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Thrones Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Naberius

Haiaiel Judaism (Kabbalah) Angels Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Dantalion

Hakamiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Zepar

Hamaliel 'Reverence of God'; 'Fear of God' Judaism, Christianity
Virtues Archangel, Zodiac angel Angel of the Month of August and the Zodiac of Virgo; Represents the belly of the human body; Angel of Birth, Household and Harvest[citation needed]; leader of the Powers along with Archangel Gabriel as the subordinate [citation needed]

Hanibal [citation needed] 'Grace of Baal'/'Baal is Gracious' Ancient Mesopotamian religion Angel of the god Baal Hadad

Haniel Hanael 'Oath of God' Judaism, Christianity

Archangel, Zodiac angel Angel of the Month of December and the Zodiac of Capricorn; Represents the knees of the human body; The Sephirah of Netzach; leader of the Principalities along with Archangel Netzach

Harahel Judaism (Kabbalah) Archangels Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Orias

Hariel Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Eligos

Harmozel Sethianism Luminary

Harut Islam Testing angel Sent as a test to the people of Babylon to see if they'd start learning sorcery even if the angel clarified multiple times that it is here as a test and to not abandon their faith by listening to it,[10] was paired with Marut.

Haziel Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim Kabbalistic angel

Opposes and rules over the demon Paimon

Hibil Ziwa Yawar Hibil Mandaicism Uthra Conquers the World of Darkness

Hofniel	Judaism	Archangel		
Hutriel	'Rod of God' Judaism, Christianity	Angels		Angel
of Punishment				
labamiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Seere			
lahhel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Valac			
lehahel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Valefor			
lehuiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Powers		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Gaap			
leiaiel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Thrones		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Ipos			
leialel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Amy			
leiazal	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Powers		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Raum			
lelahiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Virtues		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Shax			
leliel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Agares			
lerathel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Ronove			
leshim	Judaism, Christianity, Islam			Fallen angel Angel
of God				
lezalel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Cherubim		Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Beleth			
Imamiah	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity			Principalities
	Kabbalistic angel Opposes and rules over the demon Alloces			
Israfil Israfel				
Raphael (often associated)	Islam	Archangel		Signals the
	beginning of the Day of Judgment by blowing a horn three times			
Kasbeel	Judaism	Oathkeeper		
Jegudiel	Jehudiel, Jhudiel	Christianity		Archangel
	Responsibility and merciful love			
Jehoel[11]	Yahoel	Judaism, Christianity		Seraphim
	of Fire[12] Restraining Leviathan,[13]			Angel
Jequn[14]	Yekun, Yakum, Yaqum, Yeqon	'HE shall rise'		Judaism,
	Christianity, Islam	Watcher		One of the five Watcher satans, the
				ringleader who first tempted the other Watchers into having sexual relations with humans
Jerahmeel	Eremiel	'God shall have mercy'		Judaism, Christianity
	Archangel			
Jophiel	Iophiel, Iofiel, Jofiel, Yofiel, Youfiel, Zophiel, Zuriel, Dina	'Beauty of God'/God is Beautiful, 'God is my watchman', 'God is my rock'		Judaism,
	Christianity	Archangel		Angel of Beauty, Art, Wisdom, Understanding,

and Judgment; Metatron's companion[15]

Kadkadeal Yazdânism, Hinduism, Orthodox Islam
Archangel, Guardian angel One of heaven's guardian angel who followed the gatekeeper

Kalka'il Islam Gatekeeper of the Fifth Heaven

Kepharel Judaism Archangel

Kerubiel Cherubiel 'The Flames Which Dance Around the Throne of God'
Judaism Cherubim the principal regent who has reign over the Cherubim since Creation, and is one of the most exalted princes of Heaven

Kokabiel Kabaiel, Kakabel, Kochab, Kochbiel, Kokbiel, Kokhabiel 'Star of God'/God's Star, 'angel of the stars' Judaism, Christianity

Watcher Teacher of constellations

Kundaliel [citation needed] Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Thrones Archangel

Kolazonta [16] Kolazanta 'The Punisher', 'The Chastiser'

Destroying Angel Said to be a destroying angel who Aaron saw

Kushiel 'Rigid One of God' Judaism, Christianity Angels
one of seven Angels of Punishment, punishes those in Hell

Lailah Laylah, Leliel 'Night' Judaism Angel of Night, Conception, and Pregnancy

Laviah Judaism (Kabbalah) Cherubim Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Gusion

Lecabel Judaism (Kabbalah) Dominions Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Foras

Lehahiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Powers Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Furfur

Levuiah Judaism (Kabbalah) Thrones Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Sallos

Loviah Judaism (Kabbalah) Thrones Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Botis

Lucifer Helel (sometimes identified with Azazel, Samael, or Iblis), Yalal, Noctifer

Satan (Judaism), Devil (Christianity) 'Dawn-Bringer', 'Day Star', 'The Morning Star', 'Venus', 'Light-Bringer', 'Shining One', 'He who Laments', 'He who despairs'
Judaism, Christianity Cherubim Destroying angel Tester of the faithful (Judaism, Islam), personification of evil (Christianity)

Machidiel Malchedael, Malchidiel, Malahidael, Melkeial, Melkejal 'Help of God'/'Reward of God'/'Fullness of God' Judaism, Christianity Seraphim
Guardian Angel, Zodiac angel Angel of the Month of March and the Zodiac of Aries; Represents the head of the human body

Malik Islam Angel of Hellfire; the chief of the angels of hell

Manadel Judaism (Kabbalah) Powers Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Stolas

Manakel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Kimaris			
Macroprosopus	Makiel, Machiel, Machkiel	'God of concealed form'	
Judaism, Christianity (Orthodox Christianity)		Dominions	
Guardian angel of the Sixth Heaven			
Mahasiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Marbas			
Malakbel	'Messenger/Angel of Bel' Ancient Canaanite religion		
Angels		Angel of the god Bel; god of the Sun	
Manda d-Hayyi	Yuzataq	'Gnosis of Life', 'Knowledge of Life', 'Knower of the Life'	
Mandaeism	Uthra Messenger to John the Baptist, bringer of manda (knowledge or gnosis) to Earth		
Marfeil	'Healing'	Mandaeism	Uthra Appointed by Yawar
Ziwa over the east to watch over Ur			
Marut	Islam	Testing angel	Sent as a test to the people of Babylon to see if they start learning sorcery even if the angel clarified multiple times that it is here as a test and to not abandon their faith by listening to it,[10] was paired with Harut.
Mastema	'hatred', 'hostility', 'enmity', 'persecution'		Judaism,
Christianity	Angels	Nephilim	Evil Angel of Disasters; chief of the Nephilim
Matriel	Batariel	'Rain of God'	Ancient Canaanite religion,
Judaism, Orthodox Christianity, Orthodox Islam			
Seraphim	Archangel	Angel of rain, bringer of rainstorms; Archangel of the overseers throne	
Mebahel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Cherubim	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Leraie			
Mebahiah	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity		Principalities
Kabbalistic angel		Opposes and rules over the demon Orobas	
Mehiel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Haures			
Melahel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Thrones	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Aim			
Tawûsî Melek	'Peacock Angel'	Yazidism, Yarsanism	
Archangel		Lord of this World and Leader of the Heptad	
Metatron[17]	Mitatrush, Enoch (as human according to some)[18]		
'keeper of the watch', 'to guard and protect', 'one who serves behind the throne', 'one who occupies the throne next to the throne of glory'			
Judaism,	Christianity,	Islam	Seraphim
Archangel		The Celestial Scribe; leader of the Seraphim	
Michael	Mikael (Hebrew), Mikhail (Arabic), Saint Michael the Archangel		
'The One Who Is Like God'		Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Yazdânism, Bahá'í Faith	
Cherubim, one of the Seraph[19]		Archangel	God's Right Hand; One of nine Angels of the end of Earth; Leader and General of The Heavenly Host (in Judaism and Christianity); Angel of Death (in Catholicism), Second Command of

Military (in Islam), Angel of Mercy (in Islam)				
Mihael	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Virtues	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Haagenti				
Mikael	often associated with Michael	Judaism (Kabbalah)		
Virtues	Kabbalistic angel	Opposes and rules over the demon Vepar		
Mitzrael	Judaism, Christianity	Thrones	Archangel of the	
coastal region	Internal reparation, security, intelligence			
Mizrael	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Vapula				
Moroni	'beloved, good, everything nice and desirable'			Latter Day
Saint movement (Mormonism)		The Golden Plates, Herald of the		
Second Coming of Jesus Christ				
Mumiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Andromalius				
Munkar	'The Denied' Islam	Angel of Death	The Faith of the	
Dead				
Muriel	'Highness of God' Christianity	Dominions[20]	Guardian Angel,	
Zodiac angel	Angel of the Month of June and the Zodiac of Cancer;			
Represents the pectoral muscles and breasts of the human body;				
Administration, Patron of travellers				
Nakir	'The Denier' Islam	Angel of Death	The Faith of the Dead	
Nanael	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity	Principalities		
Kabbalistic angel		Opposes and rules over the demon Caim		
Nbat	Nbat Rba, Nbat Ziwa	'Sprout'	Mandaism	Uthra King of Air,
first great Radiance				
Nelchael	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Thrones	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Morax				
Nemamiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Ose				
Netzach	'eminence', 'everlastingness', 'perpetuity'		Judaism,	
Christianity				
Angel of Eternity; Leader of the Principalities along with Archangel Haniel				
Nidbai	Mandaism	Uthra	Guardian spirit of the heavenly	
yardena (river) in the World of Light				
Nithael	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity	Principalities		
Kabbalistic angel		Opposes and rules over the demon Murmur		
Nithaiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Glasya-Labolas				
Nsab	Nsab Rba, Nsab Ziwa	'Plant' Mandaism	Uthra	Son of Yushamin;
admonishes his father Yushamin over his rebellion				
Nuriel	'God is my fire'/'God is my light'		Judaism	
Hailstorms				
Omael	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions	Kabbalistic angel	
Opposes and rules over the demon Forneus				

Ophaniel	Ofaniel	Judaism, Christianity	Cherubim; sometimes listed as one of the Thrones	
Oroiael		Sethianism	Luminary[21]	
Pahaliah	'God's Redeemer'	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity		
	Thrones	Kabbalistic angel	Angel of theology, morals, virtuosity; Opposes and rules over the demon Purson	
Penemue	'The insider'	Judaism, Christianity	Watcher	One of the five Watcher satans
Phaniel	'God has turned', 'The face of God'	Judaism, Christianity		
	Archangel	Repentance and hope		
Poiel	Poyel	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity	Principalities	
	Kabbalistic angel	Opposes and rules over the demon Gemory		
Poteh[22]			Angel of Oblivion, Forgetfulness	
Pravuil	Vretil	Judaism	Archangel, recording angel	God's scribe and record-keeper
Ptahil	The Fourth Life, Gabriel	'God opened'/'God created'	Mandaeism	
	Uthra	Creator of the material world		
Puriel	Pyriel, Puruel, Pusiell, Pyruel, Purel	Judaism		
	Examines the souls of those brought to heaven			
Radueriel		Judaism	Heavenly treasures of the books[23]	
Raguel	Akrasiel, Raguil, Rakul, Raquel, Rasuil, Reuel, Rafael	'God shall pasture'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam	Archangel Angel of Justice; archangel of justice, fairness, harmony, vengeance, and redemption
Ramiel	Remiel	'God has thundered'	Judaism, Christianity	
	Archangel, Watcher	Angel of divine visions and guiding of souls to heaven		
Raphael	Israfil (Arabic, often associated), Libiel	'God has healed'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Yazdânism	Seraphim Archangel One of nine Angels of the end of Earth; All manners of healing (Christianity); leader of the Virtues
Raziel	Galizur	'God is my Mystery'	Judaism	Archangel
	Keeper of Secrets, Mysteries, and Magic			
Rehael		Judaism (Kabbalah)	Powers	Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Malphas			
Reiaiel		Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions	Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Astaroth			
Rikbiel		Judaism, Christianity	Cherubim	
Rochel		Judaism (Kabbalah)	Angels	Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Decarabia			
Sabriel		Judaism	Archangel	Miracles
Sachiel	Sachquiel, Shatquiel, Shataquiel, Sachquiel, Sikhael, Saquiel, Satquiel, Satquel, Sixael	Judaism, Christianity	Cherubim	Archangel
	Wealth and Charity			
Sahaquiel	'Ingenuity of God'/'God is Ingenuitous'	Judaism		
	Archangel	Guardian of the fourth heaven		

Sam Ziwa	Sam Mana Smira	Mandaeism	Uthra
Samael	Smal, Smil, Samil, or Samiel		
Satan (Judaism), sometimes identified with Azazel or Lucifer	'Venom of God'/'God is Venomous', 'Severity of God'/'God is Severe'	Judaism, Christianity	Death and fetching souls; Punisher of sinners; The chief of all the destroying angels
Head of satans			
Samyaza	Semyaza	'I have seen'/'HE has seen', 'Gazer from the heavens'	
	Judaism, Manichaeism	Watcher	Leader of the Watchers
Sandalphon	Elijah (as human, according to some)[15]	'Co-brother'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam
	Archangel	Protector of unborn children (some sources: "twin brother" of Metatron)	
Sarathiel	Christianity	Archangel	Discipline and Penance
Sariel	Sarakiel, Saraqael, Sauriel, Seriel, Souriel, Suriel, Suriyel, Suruel, Surufel		
sometimes identified with Samael and Azrael	'God is my Ruler'	Judaism, Gnosticism, Christianity, Islam[citation needed]	Archangel, Watcher
(according to some)			
Satan	Lucifer (Christianity), (the) Devil (Christianity), Beelzebub		
sometimes identified as Samael (Judaism), Azazel/Iblis (Islam)	'accuser', 'adversary', 'to obstruct and object', 'prosecutor'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Latter Day Saint movement, Bahá'í Faith, Theistic Satanism	Fallen Angel, Archdemon
Enemy of Jesus, lies, temptation, the Dragon, the ruler of demons (Christianity), Symbol of the lower nature of men (Bahá'í Faith)			
Sathariel	'Moon of God', 'Dawn of God'	Judaism, Christianity	
Watcher			
Saureil	Şaureil Qmamir Ziwa	Mandaeism	Uthra Angel of Death
Sealiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Virtues	Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Vine		
Seehiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions	Kabbalistic angel
	Opposes and rules over the demon Berith		
Selaphiel	Sealtiel, Selatiel	'I have asked God'	Christianity
	Patron saint of prayer and worship		Archangel
Seraphiel[24]	'Seraph of God/El'	Judaism, Christianity	Seraphim
	Angel of Silence; Chief of seraphim; Protector of Metatron		
Shamnail	Yazdânism	Archangel	
Shamsiel	Samsapeel, Shamshel, Shamshiel, Shashiel	'Sun of God'/'God is my Sun'	Judaism, Christianity
	Watcher	Ruler of the Fourth Heaven	
Sheetil	Mandaeism	Uthra	Teacher of John the Baptist, revealer of Mandaeism
Shihlun	Mandaeism	Uthra	Opposition to the creation of the material world by Ptahil and his assistant uthras[25]
Shilmai	Mandaeism	Uthra	Guardian spirit of the heavenly river Piriawis in the World of Light
Simat Hayyi	'Treasure of Life'	Mandaeism	Uthra Wife of Yawar Ziwa

Sitael	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Vassago			
Tamiel	Kasdaye, Kasdeja, Kasyade	'God is Perfect'/'Perfection of God'	
	Judaism, Christianity	Watcher, Fallen angel	One of the five
Watcher satans			
Tarwan	Tarwan-Nhura	Mandaeism	Uthra
Temeluchus	Temelouchus, Temlakos	'care-taking one'	Christianity
Care-taking of dead children killed by their parents			
Turail	Yazdânism	Archangel	
Turiel	'Rock of God'/'God is a rock', 'Mountain of God'/'God is a mountain'		
	Judaism, Christianity	Watcher	
Umabel	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Archangels	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Zagan			
Urfeil	Mandaeism	Uthra	Appointed by Yawar Ziwa over the
east to watch over Ur			
Uriel	'Flaming Light of God'/'El is my flaming light'		Judaism,
Christianity	Seraphim[26]	Archangel	One of nine Angels of the end of
Earth; Patron of the Arts			
Uziel	Judaism	Archangel	
Vasariah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Dominions	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Asmoday			
Vasariah[27]	Judaism, Christianity	Dominions	
Vehuel	Judaism (Kabbalah), Christianity	Principalities	
	Kabbalistic angel	Opposes and rules over the demon Crocell	
Vehuah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Seraphim	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Bael			
Verchiel	'Power of God'/'God is my power'/'God is powerful',		
	'Benediction of God'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam	Powers
Zodiac angel	Angel of the Month of July and the Zodiac of Leo; Represents		Archangel,
the heart of the human body;			
Archangel of pride, grace and beauty; Leader of Principalities			
Veualiah	Judaism (Kabbalah)	Virtues	Kabbalistic angel
Opposes and rules over the demon Sabnock			
Wormwood	'Bitter Star'	Christianity	War
Yadathan	Mandaeism	Uthra	Guardian of the "first river",
stands at the Gate of Life			
Yarhibol	'The Moon of Bel'	Ancient Canaanite religion	Angels
'Lord of the Springs; Angel of the god Baal Hadad			
Yawar Ziwa	Yawar Kasia, Yawar Rabba	'Dazzling radiance'	Mandaeism
Uthra Personification of light			
Yomiel	Jomjael, Yomyael	'Day of God'	Judaism, Christianity
Watcher			
Yufin-Yufafin	Mandaeism	Uthra	
Yukabar	Yukabar-Kušṭa, Yukabar-Ziwa	Mandaeism	Uthra Helps
Nbaṭ fight a rebellion against Yushamin			

Yukašar	Yukašar-Kana	'Source of Radiance'	Mandaeism	Uthra
Portrayed as the son of Ptahil				
Yurba Shamish, Adonai,[28]	Yorabba[29]		Mandaeism	Uthra The fighter; often mentioned as engaging in conversation with Ruha
Yushamin	The Second Life	Mandaeism	Uthra	Primal uthra
Zachariel[30]	Zahariel, Zerachiel, sometimes identified as Saraqael	'God has remembered'	Christianity	
	Archangel	Archangel who leads souls to judgement		
Zadkiel	Hesediel, Tzadkiel,[30]	Zadakiel, Zadchial, Zedekiel, Zedekul		
	'Righteousness of God'/'God is my Righteousness'	Judaism, Christianity		
	Archangel	Archangel of freedom, benevolence, mercy, and the Patron Angel of all who forgive; leader of the Dominions		
Zagagel	Zathael, Nathanel, Akatriel	'Crown of God'	Judaism, Christianity, Yazdânism	
	Archangel	archangel of messenger, protection, guardians, and the patron Angel of valor and bravery; eastern leader of the Dominions		
Zaphkiel	Tzaphkiel, Tzaphqiel, Zaphchial, Zaphiel, Zelel, Zadkiel (sometimes)			
	'Knowledge of God'/'God's knowledge'	Judaism, Christianity		
	Archangel	leader of the Thrones		
Zaqiel	Zavebe	'Hidden by God'/'God has hidden', 'Protected by God'/'God has protected', 'Favored by El'/'El has favored'	Judaism, Christianity	
	Watcher			
Zebuleon		Judaism, Christianity, Islam		Archangel[citation needed]
	One of nine Angels of the end of Earth			
Zephaniel		Judaism	Archangel	Chief of the Ishim[31]
Zephon		Judaism		Tiphereth[32]
Zihrun	Zihrun-Uthra, Yusmir-Kana, Zihrun-Šašlamiel			'HE warned me',
'secured'	Mandaeism	Uthra	Uthra of radiance, light, and glory [33]	
Zotiel	'Little one of God'	Judaism		One of the 'princes of paradise'
Zurriel	'Strength of God'	Judaism, Christianity, Islam		Principalities
	Archangel, Zodiac angel	Angel of the Month of September and the Zodiac of Libra; Represents the kidneys of the human body; Guardian angel of the forest and nature; leader of the Virtues		

See also
 Angels in art
 Fallen angel
 Guardian angel
 Gustav Davidson – author of A Dictionary of Angels
 Heavenly host
 Hierarchy of angels
 Ishim
 List of angels in fiction
 List of theological demons
 Seven Archangels

Notes

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Angels in Abrahamic religions

Categories: AngelsLists of angels

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The following are lists of angels:

List of angels in theology, a list of angels in religion, theology, astrology and magic

List of spirits appearing in grimoires, listing spirits whose titles show up in these

grimoires for invocative ritual purposes

List of angels in Ars Paulina, the first part containing the angels of the hours of the day and night; the second part dealing with the angels of the Zodiac signs

List of angels in Sefer HaRazim, containing the names of angels belonging to each of the Seven Heavens

List of angels in fiction, a list of notable angels that appear in works of fiction

List of Angels in Neon Genesis Evangelion, fictional entities from the anime television series Neon Genesis Evangelion

List of angels in Supernatural, featuring multiple characters presented as angels of God

List of films about angels, a list of films where angels appear

See also

Lists of demons

Disambiguation icon

This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

Categories: Lists of religion listsLists of angels

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Not to be confused with Angle.

This article is about the supernatural beings. For other uses, see Angel (disambiguation). "Angelology" redirects here. For the novel, see Angelology (novel).

Statue of the angel of the Annunciation, c. 1430–1440, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Schutzengel ("Guardian angel") by Bernhard Plockhorst depicts a guardian angel watching over two children.

The Archangel Michael wears a Roman military cloak and cuirass in this 17th-century depiction by Guido Reni.

An angel is a spiritual heavenly, or supernatural entity, usually humanoid with bird-like wings, often depicted as a messenger or intermediary between God (the transcendent) and humanity (the profane) in various traditions like the Abrahamic religions.[1][2][3] Other roles include protectors and guides for humans, such as guardian angels and servants of God.[4] In Western belief-systems the term is often used to distinguish benevolent from malevolent intermediary beings.[5]

Emphasizing the distance between God and mankind, revelation-based belief-systems require angels to bridge the gap between the earthly and the transcendent realm.[6] Angels play a lesser role in monistic belief-systems, since the gap is non-existent. However, angelic beings might be conceived as aid to achieve a proper relationship with the divine.[7]

Abrahamic religions describe angelic hierarchies, which vary by religion and sect. Some angels are indicated with names (such as Gabriel or Michael) or are of a specific kind or rank (such as a seraph or an archangel). Malevolent angels are often believed to have been expelled from heaven and are called fallen angels. In many such religions, the devil (or devils) are identified with such angels.

The Wounded Angel, Hugo Simberg, 1903, voted Finland's "national painting" in 2006

Angels in art are often identified with bird wings,[8] halos,[9] and divine light. They are usually shaped like humans of extraordinary beauty, though this is not always the case –sometimes, they are portrayed as being frightening or inhuman.[10]

Etymology, names

Gilded statue of El (c. 1400–1200 BC) from the site of Tel Megiddo. El is considered to be the cognate of the word "Ilah" and continues to appear in compound angelic names like Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, Raphael and others. The word angel arrives in modern English from Old English engel (with a hard g) and the Old French angele.[11] Both of these derive from Late Latin angelus,

which in turn was borrowed from Late Greek ἄγγελος angelos (literally "messenger").[12] The word's earliest form is Mycenaean a-ke-ro, attested in Linear B syllabic script.[13] According to the Dutch linguist R. S. P. Beekes, ángelos itself may be "an Oriental loan, like ἄγγαρος (ángaros, 'Persian mounted courier')." [14]

The rendering of ángelos is the Septuagint's default translation of the Biblical Hebrew term mal'ākh, denoting simply "messenger" without connoting its nature. In the Latin Vulgate, this meaning becomes bifurcated: when mal'ākh or ángelos is supposed to denote a human messenger, words like nuntius or legatus are applied. If the word refers to some supernatural being, the word angelus appears. Such differentiation has been taken over by later vernacular translations of the Bible, early Christian and Jewish exegetes and eventually modern scholars.[15]

Background

The concept of angels is historically best to be understood from different ideas of the concept of God throughout history. In polytheistic and animistic worldviews, supernatural powers (i.e. deities, spirits, daemons, etc.) were assigned to different natural phenomena.[16](p102)[17] Within a monotheistic framework, these powers were reconsidered to be servants of the supreme deity, turning autonomous supernatural beings into "angels".[16](p102)

By that, supernatural powers controlling or influencing humanity's perception of the world, including natural phenomena and humans, are ultimately under control of a supreme God.[16](p102) Prominent angels, such as Michael and Gabriel, reflect a connection to the Chief Semitic deity El. Even "bad" angels such as Satan, Samael, Iblis etc., can be understood as an operating force within the nature of humans, as responsible for selfish tendencies.[16](p102)

The idea of angels in early Hebrew scripture as supernatural agents is absent.[18] Instead, the Hebrew deity intervenes in human affairs, mostly by means of punishment.[19] Only in later thought of post-exilic and prophetic writings, the Biblical deity is conceptualized as distant and more merciful, his interventions replaced by the idea of angels.[19] However, such angels still carry out the gruesome attributes of God and can be both benevolent and malevolent.[19] The notion of angels as embodiment of good emerges only under influence of Zoroastrianism, in which the Devil is conceived as the principle of evil, with a hosts of demons, in battle with the holy entities (Aməša Spənta) created by Ahura Mazda (principle of good).[19][18]

The influence of dualistic tendencies and replacement of divine powers by angels is evident in the Qumran writings. In the Angelic Liturgy, the Hebrew term elim (deities, heavenly powers) is used for angelic beings and not for God.[20](p23) The War Scroll speaks about angels of light fighting against demonic beings of darkness.[20](p20)

Zoroastrianism

Main article: Yazata

Relief of Angel, Taq-e Bostan

In Zoroastrianism there are different angel-like figures. They patronize human beings and other creatures, and also manifest God's energy.

The Amesha Spentas, although rather emanations of Ahura Mazda ("Wise Lord", God) than distinct messengers, have often been compared to angels.[21][22] Similar to angels in Abrahamic tradition, Vohu Manah reveals to Zoroaster the true nature of God.[23]

Additionally to the Amesha Spentas, the Fravashi have often been compared to angels, functioning as a guardian angel, and have been adopted as such by Zoroastrians themselves since the 19th century.[24] Unlike the Amesha Spentas, the Fravashi appear as individualized warriors of Ahura Mazda's celestial army, descending from heaven to aid those who summon them against demons.[25]

Judaism

Main article: Angels in Judaism

In Judaism, angels (Hebrew: מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk*; "messenger"), are understood through interpretation of the Tanakh and in a long tradition as supernatural beings who stand by God in heaven, but are strictly to be distinguished from God (YHWH) and are subordinate to him. Occasionally, they can show selected people God's will and instructions.[26] In the Jewish tradition they are also inferior to humans since they have no will of their own and are able to carry out only one divine command.[27]

Hebrew Bible

Tobias and the Angel by Filippino Lippi, created between c. 1472 and c. 1482

The Torah uses the Hebrew terms מַלְאָךְ אֱלֹהִים (*mal'āk ʾēlōhîm*; "messenger of God"), מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה (*mal'āk Yāhweh*; "messenger of the Lord"), בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (*bənē ʾēlōhîm*; "sons of God") and הַקְּדוּשִׁים (*haqqôḏəšîm*; "the holy ones") to refer to beings traditionally interpreted as angels.

The term 'מַלְאָךְ' (*'mal'āk*) is also used in other books of the Hebrew Bible. In the early stages of Hebrew writings, the term refers to human messengers, not to supernatural entities.[19][28] A human messenger might be a prophet or priest, such as Malachi, "my messenger"; the Greek superscription in the Septuagint translation states the Book of Malachi was written "by the hand of his messenger" ἀγγέλου (*angélu*). Examples of a supernatural messenger[29] are the "Malak YHWH", who is either a messenger from God,[30] an aspect of God (such as the logos),[31] or God himself as the messenger (the "theophanic angel.") [29][32]

In the early writings of the Hebrew Bible, both Hebrew: בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, romanized: Bənē hā'Ēlōhīm, lit. 'Sons of Gods' as well as the Hebrew: מַלְאָךְ, romanized: mal'āk, lit. 'messenger' are aspects of God.[33] In the earliest records, the Bənē hā'Ēlōhīm are in heaven. They are depicted as the heavenly court or the pantheon of religious belief-system of their time. They reflect the transcendent aspect of the Divine, but become progressively differentiated from the good aspect of the Divine. The mal'āk on the other hand, expresses the Divinities' interaction with the world. As such the mal'āk functions as the voice of the Divine, the Divine spirit, or as God himself. In Exodus 3:2-4, it is both Yahweh as well as a mal'āk Moses is addressed by.[34] The fusion of the Bənē hā'Ēlōhīm with the mal'āk is evident in the Book of Hiob. Here, Satan is both one of the Bənē hā'Ēlōhīm in the heavenly court, as well as a mal'āk expressing God's interaction with humanity.[35]

Michael D. Coogan notes that it is only in the late books that the terms "come to mean the benevolent semi-divine beings familiar from later mythology and art." [36] Daniel is the biblical book to refer to individual angels by name,[37] mentioning Gabriel in Daniel 9:21 and Michael in Daniel 10:13. These angels are part of Daniel's apocalyptic visions and are an important part of apocalyptic literature.[36][38]

In Daniel 7, Daniel receives a dream-vision from God. [...] As Daniel watches, the Ancient of Days takes his seat on the throne of heaven and sits in judgement in the midst of the heavenly court [...] an [angel] like a son of man approaches the Ancient One in the clouds of heaven and is given everlasting kingship.[39] Jeffrey Burton Russel writes that "the more the banim and the mal'ak were seen as distinct from the God, the more it was possible to thrust upon the evil elements in the divine character that Yahweh had discarded." [40]

Coogan explains the development of this concept of angels: "In the postexilic period, with the development of explicit monotheism, these divine beings—the 'sons of God' who were members of the Divine Council—were in effect demoted to what are now known as 'angels', understood as beings created by God, but immortal and thus superior to humans." [36] This conception of angels is best understood in contrast to demons and is often thought to be "influenced by the ancient Persian religious tradition of Zoroastrianism, which viewed the world as a battleground between forces of good and forces of evil, between light and darkness." [36] One of these is hāššātān, a figure depicted in (among other places) the Book of Job.

Rabbinic Judaism

Rabbinic Judaism has been an orthodox form of Judaism since the 6th century CE, after the codification of the Babylonian Talmud. In post-Biblical Judaism, certain angels took on particular significance and developed unique personalities and roles. According to Rabbinic Judaism, the angels have no bodies, but are eternally living creatures created out of fire. The Babylonian Talmud reads as "The Torah was not given to ministering angels." (לא נתנה תורה למלאכי השרת)

usually understood as a concession to human's imperfection, in contrast to the angels.[41] Thus, they occasionally appear in Midrashim as competition with humans.[42]

The angels as heavenly beings, strictly following the laws of God, become jealous of God's affection for man. Humans, by following the Torah, in prayer, by resisting evil instincts (yetzer hara) and by teshuva, are preferred to the flawless angels. As a result, they are also inferior to humans in the Jewish tradition. In the Midrash, the plural of El (Elohim) used in Genesis in relation to the creation of human beings is explained by the presence of angels: God therefore consulted with the angels, but made the final decision alone. This story serves as an example, teaching that the powerful should also consult with the weak. God's own final decision highlights God's undisputable omnipotence.[42]

Although archangels were believed to rank among the heavenly host, no systematic hierarchy ever developed. Metatron is considered one of the highest of the angels in Merkabah and Kabbalah mysticism and often serves as a scribe; he is briefly mentioned in the Talmud[43] and figures prominently in Merkabah mystical texts. Michael, who serves as a warrior[44] and advocate for Israel (Daniel 10:13), is looked upon particularly fondly.[45] Gabriel is mentioned in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 8:15–17) and briefly in the Talmud,[46] as well as in many Merkabah mystical texts. There is no evidence in Judaism for the worship of angels, but there is evidence for the invocation and sometimes even conjuration of angels.[37]

Philo of Alexandria identifies the angel with the Logos inasmuch as the angel is the immaterial voice of God. The angel is something different from God himself, but is conceived as God's instrument.[47]

Four classes of ministering angels minister and utter praise before the Holy One, blessed be He: the first camp (led by) Michael on His right, the second camp (led by) Gabriel on His left, the third camp (led by) Uriel before Him, and the fourth camp (led by) Raphael behind Him; and the Shekhinah of the Holy One, blessed be He, is in the centre. He is sitting on a throne high and exalted[48]

Later interpretations

According to Kabbalah, there are four worlds and our world is the last world: the world of action (Assiyah). Angels exist in the worlds above as a 'task' of God. They are an extension of God to produce effects in this world. After an angel has completed its task, it ceases to exist. The angel is in effect the task. This is derived from the book of Genesis when Abraham meets with three angels and Lot meets with two. The task of one of the angels was to inform Sara and Abraham of their coming child. The other two were to save Lot and to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah.[37]

Three angels hosted by Abraham, Ludovico Carracci (c. 1610–1612), Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Jewish philosopher Maimonides explained his view of angels in his Guide for the Perplexed II:4 and II

... This leads Aristotle in turn to the demonstrated fact that God, glory and majesty to Him, does not do things by direct contact. God burns things by means of fire; fire is moved by the motion of the sphere; the sphere is moved by means of a disembodied intellect, these intellects being the 'angels which are near to Him', through whose mediation the spheres move ... thus totally disembodied minds exist which emanate from God and are the intermediaries between God and all the bodies [objects] here in this world.

—Guide for the Perplexed II:4, Maimonides

Maimonides had a neo-Aristotelian interpretation of the Bible. Maimonides writes that to the wise man, one sees that what the Bible and Talmud refer to as "angels" are actually allusions to the various laws of nature; they are the principles by which the physical universe operates.

For all forces are angels! How blind, how perniciously blind are the naive?! If you told someone who purports to be a sage of Israel that the Deity sends an angel who enters a woman's womb and there forms an embryo, he would think this a miracle and accept it as a mark of the majesty and power of the Deity, despite the fact that he believes an angel to be a body of fire one third the size of the entire world. All this, he thinks, is possible for God. But if you tell him that God placed in the sperm the power of forming and demarcating these organs, and that this is the angel, or that all forms are produced by the Active Intellect; that here is the angel, the "vice-regent of the world" constantly mentioned by the sages, then he will recoil. – Guide for the Perplexed II:4

One of Melozzo's musician (seraphim) angels from the Basilica dei Santi Apostoli, now in the sacristy of St. Peter's Basilica

Angel of the Revelation by William Blake, created between c. 1803 and c. 1805
Christianity

An angel on a confessional in a Roman Catholic church in Warsaw as a metaphor of the seal of confession

Main article: Angels in Christianity

The Medieval Christian concept of angels derives from Hebrew and Greek scriptures.[49] In the Bible, angels are anthropomorphized intermediaries between God and humanity.[50] Some angels appear to be impersonal forces of the divine will, while others have individual names and personalities.[51]

In the formative stage, the Christian concept of an angel characterized the angel

as a 'messenger' of God. The word "angel" can be drawn to the term or role of a "messenger" throughout the Bible in both old and new testaments - (Hebrews 1:14) calls them "ministering [or serving] spirits", sent by God to aid the "heirs of salvation". Later came identification of individual angelic messengers: Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel.[52] Then, in the space of slightly over two centuries (from the 3rd to the 5th) the image of angels took on definite characteristics both in theology and in art.[53] Ellen Muehlberger has argued that in Late Antiquity, angels were conceived of as one type of being among many, whose primary purpose was to guard and to guide Christians.[54]

In systematic Christian theology, angels are imagined as incorporeal entities and in opposition to corporeal humans, as in the writings of Origen and Thomas Aquinas.[55][56]

Bible

Angels are represented throughout Bibles as spiritual beings which are intermediate between God and humanity: "For thou hast made him [man] a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour" (Psalms 8:4–5). Christians, based on Psalms and Genesis 2:1, believe that angels were the first beings created by God before the creation of Earth (Psalms 148:2–5; Colossians 1:16). Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible refer to intermediary beings as angels, instead of daimons, thus giving raise to a distinction between demons and angels.[57] In the Old Testament, both benevolent and fierce angels are mentioned, but never called demons. The symmetry lies between angels sent by God, and intermediary spirits of foreign deities, not in good and evil deeds.[58]

In the New Testament, the existence of angels, just like that of demons, is taken for granted.[59] They can intervene and intercede on behalf of humans. Angels protect the righteous (Matthew 4:6, Luke 4:11). They dwell in the heavens (Matthew 28:2, John 1:51), act as God's warriors (Matthew 26:53) and worship God (Luke 2:13).[60] In the parable of the Rich man and Lazarus, angels behave as psychopomps (Luke 16:22). The Resurrection of Jesus features angels, telling the woman that Jesus is no longer in the tomb, but has risen from the dead.[61] Angels don't marry (Matthew 22:30, Mark 12:25, and Luke 20:34–46).[62]

Paul the Apostle acknowledges good (2 Cor 11:14; Gal 1:8; 4:14) and evil angels in his writings.[63][64] According to 1 Corinthians 6:3, angels will be judged by God, implying that angels can be both good and evil. Some scholars suggest that Gal 3:19 means that the Law of Moses was introduced by angels rather than God, combined with his statements in Galatians, implies a negative role.[65] In Colossians 2:18, he criticizes the worship of angels.[66]

Interaction with humans

Kristus i Getsemane (1873), an angel comforting Jesus before his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, by Carl Heinrich Bloch (1834–1890)

Forget not to show love unto strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.—Hebrews 13:2

Three separate cases of angelic interaction deal with the births of John the Baptist and Jesus. In (Luke 1:11), an angel appears to Zechariah to inform him that he will have a child despite his old age, thus proclaiming the birth of John the Baptist. In Luke 1:26, Gabriel visits Mary in the Annunciation to foretell the birth of Jesus. Angels proclaim the birth of Jesus in the Adoration of the shepherds in Luke 2:10.[67]

According to Matthew 4:11, after Jesus spent 40 days in the desert, "...the Devil left him and, behold, angels came and ministered to him." In Luke 22:43 an angel comforts Jesus during the Agony in the Garden.[68] In Matthew 28:5 an angel speaks at the empty tomb, following the Resurrection of Jesus and the rolling back of the stone by angels.[67]

In 1851 Pope Pius IX approved the Chaplet of Saint Michael based on the 1751 reported private revelation from archangel Michael to the Carmelite nun Antonia d'Astonac.[69] In a biography of Gemma Galgani written by Germanus Ruoppolo, Galgani stated that she had spoken with her guardian angel.

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, by Gustave Doré in 1855

Pope John Paul II emphasized the role of angels in Catholic teachings in his 1986 address titled "Angels Participate In History Of Salvation", in which he suggested that modern mentality should come to see the importance of angels.[70]

According to the Vatican's Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, "The practice of assigning names to the Holy Angels should be discouraged, except in the cases of Gabriel, Raphael and Michael whose names are contained in Holy Scripture."[71]

Theology

Further information: Christian theology

By the late 4th century, the Church Fathers agreed that there were different categories of angels, with appropriate missions and activities assigned to them. There was, however, some disagreement regarding the nature of angels. Some argued that angels had physical bodies,[72] while some maintained that they were entirely spiritual. Some theologians had proposed that angels were not divine but on the level of immaterial beings subordinate to the Trinity. The resolution of this Trinitarian dispute included the development of doctrine about angels.[73]

According to Augustine of Hippo, the term 'angel' refers to "the name of their office, not [...] their nature", as they are pure spirits who act as messengers, clarifying: "If you seek the name of their nature, it is 'spirit'; if you seek the name

of their office, it is 'angel': from what they are, 'spirit', from what they do, 'angel'." [74] Gregory of Nazianzus thought that angels were made as "spirits" and "flames of fire", following Hebrews 1, and that they can be identified with the "thrones, dominions, rulers and authorities" of Colossians 1. [54]

Forty Gospel Homilies by Pope Gregory I (c. 540 – 12 March 604) noted angels and archangels. [75] The Fourth Lateran Council's (1215) *Firmiter credimus* decree (issued against the Albigenses) declared that the angels were created beings and that men were created after them. The First Vatican Council (1869) repeated this declaration in *Dei Filius*, the "Dogmatic constitution on the Catholic faith".

In the Middle Ages, theologians had to address Augustine's ideas of "angelic knowledge", as set out in *De Genesi ad litteram*, which he divided into "morning" knowledge, knowledge of Creation before it is created derived from direct access to the Word of God, and "evening" knowledge, knowledge of Creation derived from perceiving it after it has been created. [76] Thomas Aquinas (13th century) related angels to Aristotle's metaphysics in his *Summa contra Gentiles*, [77] *Summa Theologica*, [78] the 8th question of *Quaestiones Disputatae de Veritate*, [76] and in *De substantiis separatis*, [79] a treatise on angelology.

Aquinas varied significantly from the Augustinian view in two major respects: angels were not created in an initial state of bliss, and only beatified angels have "morning" knowledge. [80] In other words: angels have an angelic nature, but in their natural states have no access to Divine "morning" knowledge of Creation, which they only gain with supernatural assistance. [81] This was Aquinas' most original contribution to Christian angelology. [80] Although angels have greater knowledge than men, they are not omniscient, as Matthew 24:36 points out. [82]

According to the *Summa Theologica*, angels were created instantaneously by God in a state of grace in the Empyrean Heaven (LXI. 4) at the same time when he created all the contents of the corporeal world (LXI. 3). They are pure spirits whose life consists in knowledge and love. Being bodiless, their knowledge is intellectual and not through senses (LIV. 5). Differently from humans, their knowledge is not acquired from the exterior world (having acquired all knowledge they would ever receive in the moment of their creation); moreover they attain to the truth of a thing at a single glance without need of reasoning (LV. a; LVIII. 3,4). They know all that passes in the external world (LV. 2) and the totality of creatures, but they don't know human secret thoughts that depends on human free will and thereby are not necessarily linked up with external events (LVII. 4). They don't know also the future unless God reveals it to them (LVII. 3). [83]

According to Aquinas, angels are the closest creatures to God. Therefore, like God, they are constituted by pure form without matter. [84] While they do not have a physical composition of matter and form (called hylomorphism), they possess the metaphysical composition of act (the act of being [85]) and potency (their finite essence, yet without being [85]). [86] Each angel is a species which a unique

individual belongs to; angels differ one from another by way of their unique and irrepetible form. In other words, form - and not matter - is their principle of individuation.[87]

Islam

Main article: Angels in Islam

Depiction of an angel in a Persian miniature (Iran, 1555)

Bowl with humans, angels, and divs (demons). Iran Qajar dynasty, 1215-1221 A.H. (1800-1805). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Germany. This bowl depicts humans, angels, and horned demons.

Belief in angels is fundamental to Islam. The Quranic word for angel (Arabic: ملاك Malāk) derives either from Malaka, meaning "he controlled", due to their power to govern different affairs assigned to them,[88] or from the root either from 'l-k, l-'-k or m-l-k with the broad meaning of a "messenger", just like its counterparts in Hebrew (mal'ákh) and Greek (angelos). Unlike their Hebrew counterpart, the term is exclusively used for heavenly spirits of the divine world, but not for human messengers. The Quran refers to both angelic and human messengers as "rasul" instead.[89]

The Quran is the principal source for the Islamic concept of angels.[90] Some of them, such as Gabriel and Michael, are mentioned by name in the Quran, others are only referred to by their function. Most Muslim theologians, such as al-Suyuti, based on a hadith stating that the angels have been created through light (nūr) or fire (nār), depict angels as entities consisting of substance, in contrast to philosophers who argued for angels being disembodied spirits.[91] Additionally, angels are thought to be endowed with reason and be subject to God's tests. Al-Maturidi (853–944 CE) states that the inhabitants of heaven were tested by adornments, just as humans and jinn on earth were tested, pointing at Sūrat al-Kahf [Q. 18:7].[92][93] When angels fail their tests, they might end up on earth, such as Harut and Marut. If the devils (šayāṭīn) have been angels once or form a separate type of creature from the beginning, is discussed in Islamic tradition.[94] Contrary to popular belief, angels are never described as agents of revelation in the Quran, although interpretation credits Gabriel with that.[95] Angels are not limited to benevolent tasks, but can also carry out grim orders.[96] Not demons, but angels are tasked to guard and punish sinners in hell.[97]

Angels play a significant role in Mi'raj literature, where Muhammad encounters several angels during his journey through the heavens.[98] Further angels have often been featured in Islamic eschatology, Islamic theology and Islamic philosophy.[99] Individual angels are further evoked in exorcism rites, with their names engraved in talismans or amulets to call upon their powers.[100]

Theology (Kalām)

Classical period

The Angels meet Adam, the prototypical human being, before they are being tested to prostrate themselves before Adam. They share, albeit to a lesser degree, the defiant reaction of Iblis, the future devil, who, in contrast to the angels, is depicted with a dark face. Painting from a manuscript of the *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (The Conference of the Birds) of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. Iran, Shiraz, 899/1494.[101] Islamic theology usually distinguishes between three types of invisible creatures: angels (*malā'ikah*), djinn, and devils (*šayāṭīn*).[102] Islamic theologian al-Ghazali (c. 1058 – 1111) divides human nature into four domains, each representing another type of creature: animals, beasts, devils and angels.[103] Reconciling the literal meaning (*Zāhir*) with the Avicennan cosmology of *falsafa* of angels, he identified angels with the "celestial intellects" or "immaterial souls".[104] Angels, made from light (*Nūr*) and thus associated with reason ('*aql*), represent the intellectual capacity of a human and the ability to bound the devilish qualities from within.[105][106] By that, Ghazali does not deny the literal reality of angels, but rejects that they could be perceived directly.[107]

Although belief in angels remains one of Six Articles of Faith in Islam, one can not find a dogmatic angelology in Islamic tradition. However, theologians generally distinguish between the angels in heaven (*karubiyin*), fully absorbed in the *ma'rifa* (knowledge) of God, and the messengers (*rasūl*) who carry out divine decrees between heaven and earth.[108][109] Others add a third group of angels, and categorize angels into *İlliyyūn Mukarrebūn* (those around God's throne), *Mudabbirāt* (carrying the laws of nature), and *Rasūl* (messengers).[110] Al-Baydawi based this divide into two groups on Quranic verses: angels who are self-immersed in knowledge of "the Truth" (*al-Haqq*), based on "they laud night and day, they never wane" (21:29), they are the "highmost" and "angels brought near" and those who are the executors of commands, based on "they do not disobey Allah in what He commanded them but they do what they are commanded" (66:6), who are the administrators of the command of heaven to earth.[111]:509

Modern and Contemporary movements

Some modern scholars have emphasized a metaphorical reinterpretation of the concept of angels.[112]

Salafism and Wahhabism generally emphasize a literal interpretation of angels against modernistic interpretations, as for example, suggested by Nasr Abu Zayd. Simultaneously, many traditional materials regarding angels accepted during the Classical period are often disregarded by Wahhabis and Salafis. The Muslim Brotherhood scholars Sayyid Qutb and Umar Sulaiman Al-Ashqar reject much established material from earlier periods, for example, the story of Harut and Marut or calling the Angel of Death Azrail. Sulayman Ashqar not only rejects the traditional material itself, but also disapproves of previous scholars who used such reports.[113]

Iconography

Muhammad advancing on Mecca, with the angels Gabriel, Michael, Israfil and Azrail. (Siyer-i Nebi, 16th century)

In Islam, just like in Judaism and Christianity, angels are often represented in anthropomorphic forms combined with supernatural images, such as wings, being of great size or wearing heavenly articles.[114] The Quran describes them as "messengers with wings—two, or three, or four: He [God] adds to Creation as He pleases..."[115] The 13th century book *Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (The Wonders of Creation) by Zakariya al-Qazwini describes Islamic angelology, and is often illustrated with many images of angels. The angels are typically depicted with bright, vivid colors, giving them unusual liveliness and other-worldly translucence.[116] While some angels are referred to as "Guardians of the Kingdom of God," others are associated with hell. An undated manuscript of *The Wonders of Creation* from the Bavarian State Library in Munich includes depictions of angels both alone and alongside humans and animals.[116] Angels are also illustrated in Timurid and Ottoman manuscripts, such as *The Timurid Book of the Prophet Muhammad's Ascension* (Mir'ajnama) and the *Siyer-i Nebi*. [117]

Bahá'í faith

In his *Kitáb-i-Íqán* Bahá'u'lláh, founder of the Bahá'í Faith, describes angels as people who "have consumed, with the fire of the love of God, all human traits and limitations", and have "clothed themselves" with angelic attributes and have become "endowed with the attributes of the spiritual". 'Abdu'l-Bahá describes angels as the "confirmations of God and His celestial powers" and as "blessed beings who have severed all ties with this nether world" and "been released from the chains of self", and "revealers of God's abounding grace". The Bahá'í writings also refer to the Concourse on High, an angelic host, and the Maid of Heaven of Bahá'u'lláh's vision.[118]

I raised my hand another time, and bared one of Her breasts that had been hidden beneath Her gown. Then the firmament was illumined by the radiance of its light, contingent beings were made resplendent by its appearance and effulgence, and by its rays, infinite numbers of suns dawned forth, as though they trekked through heavens that were without beginning or end. I became bewildered at the pen of God's handiwork, and at what it had inscribed upon Her temple. It was as though She had appeared with a body of light in the forms of the spirit, as though She moved upon the earth of essence in the substance of manifestation. I noticed that the houris had poked their heads out of their rooms and were suspended in the air above Her. They grew perplexed at Her appearance and Her beauty and were entranced by the raptures of Her song. Praise be to Her creator, fashioner, and maker--to the one Who made Her manifest.

Then she nearly swooned within herself, and with all her being she sought to inhale My fragrance. She opened Her lips, and the rays of light dawned forth from

Her teeth, as though the pearls of the cause had appeared from Her treasures and Her shells.

She asked, "Who art Thou?"

I said, "A servant of God and the son of his maidservant." [119]

—Tablet of the Maiden, Bahá'u'lláh

Philosophy

Ethics

Western Christian philosophy utilized angels as a thought experiment about moral decision making. Angels, as purely spiritual beings, served as an example on how someone makes decisions during optimal psychological and cognitive conditions.[120] The voluntarist account maintains that choices are based on free-will and that angels either stayed in heaven or fell by their own volition.[121] While the intellectualists need to explain how a spiritual being can suffer from cognitive deficiencies, voluntarists need to explain how beings under the same psychological conditions make different moral choices. Henry of Ghent (c. 1217 – 29 June 1293) asserts that evil volition must precede mistaken consideration. Defective reasoning is described as the result of evil will.[122] Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225 – 7 March 1274), following an intellectualist approach, argued that the mind cannot comprehend all thoughts at once.[123] As such, angels only consider on whatever they focus on, but if they do not focus on the highest good, they commit evil actions. Therefore, decisions are based on intellectual capacity rather than free-will.

Muslim theologian Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (1149 or 1150 – 1209) demonstrated his virtue ethics on the famous discussion as whether angels or prophets are more noble.[124] While proposing a voluntarist theory earlier, which regarded voluntary actions of humans higher than obedience of angels, his later theories argue for the superiority of angels. Following the Falsafiyya and Mu'tazila, al-Razi describes angels as morally perfect beings. He argued that angels are perfect in power and knowledge and thus, there is no obstacle in their moral perfection, whereas humans suffer from physical limitations and cannot obtain moral excellence.[124] Giving priority of essence and attributes over effort and actions, al-Razi constructs a virtue ethic in contrast to the consequentialist ethics more prevailing among his contemporaries.[124]

Metaphysics

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (December 2024)
In Ancient Greek philosophy, there is no significant distinction made between good and evil spirits.[125] Under Iranian influence, the sublunary sphere was traced to inspiring angels.[125] Philo of Alexandria already identified the Neo-Platonic interpretation of daemons as angels. The daemons were thought to be intermediary between the supernatural and earthly realm, interpreted by Philo

as the Greek term for angels.[58]

In the commentaries of Proclus (4th century) on the Timaeus of Plato, Proclus uses the terminology of "angelic" (aggelikos) and "angel" (aggelos) in relation to metaphysical beings. According to Aristotle, just as there is a Prime Mover,[126] so too, must there be spiritual secondary movers.[127]

Ibn Sina, developed an angelological hierarchy of Intellects, which are created by "the One" (God). Accordingly, the first creation by God is the supreme intellect. From that intellect, intermediary spirits (angels) emanate. From these intellects, the intellect corresponding to the soul finally emerges. It is by the last Intellect that matter is animated and illuminates the mind.[128][129]

Materialism removed angels from philosophical and scientific consideration. Thomas Hobbes declared angels to be "accidences of the brain" without any external reality. Immanuel Kant's critique of knowledge further diminished the rational justification for angels.[130]

Esotericism

Graeco-Roman world

Main article: Magic in the Greco-Roman world

The Greek magical papyri, a set of texts forming into a completed grimoire that date somewhere between 100 BC and 400 AD, also list the names of the angels found in monotheistic religions, but they are presented as deities.[131] Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, though of Jewish origin, were popular figures in Hellenistic Egyptian paganism.[132]

Gnosticism

Main article: Gnosticism

In Gnostic cosmologies, angels are generally hostile celestial powers. Numerous references to angels present themselves in the Nag Hammadi Library, in which they both appear as malevolent servants of the Demiurge and innocent associates of the aeons.[133]

The angels are credited with creating the world and also its rulers in constant battle against each other. They are usurpers of spiritual powers to whom the Gnostic must strive against to become free from envy and greed, and eventually obtains salvation in the immaterial realms.[134]

On the other hand, the soul may act as an angel-like messenger who reveals mysteries and awakens knowledge in human consciousness.[135]

Hermetic Qabalah

Main article: Hermetic Qabalah

According to the Kabbalah as described by the Golden Dawn there are ten archangels, each commanding one of the choirs of angels and corresponding to

one of the Sephirot. It is similar to the Jewish angelic hierarchy.

Rank	Choir of Angels	Translation	Archangel	Sephirah	
1	Hayot Ha Kodesh	Holy Living Ones	Metatron	Keter	
2	Ophanim	Wheels	Raziel	Chokmah	
3	Erelim	Brave ones[136]	Tzaphkiel	Binah	
4	Hashmallim	Glowing ones, Amber ones[137]		Tzadkiel	Chesed
5	Seraphim	Burning Ones	Khamael	Gevurah	
6	Malakim	Messengers, angels	Raphael	Tipheret	
7	Elohim	Godly Beings	Uriel	Netzach	
8	Bene Elohim	Sons of Elohim	Michael	Hod	
9	Cherubim	[138] Gabriel	Yesod		
10	Ishim Men (man-like beings, phonetically similar to "fires")				Sandalphon
	Malkuth				

Theosophy

Main article: Theosophy

In the teachings of the Theosophical Society, Devas are regarded as living either in the atmospheres of the planets of the Solar System (Planetary Angels) or inside the Sun (Solar Angels) and they help to guide the operation of the processes of nature such as the process of evolution and the growth of plants; their appearance is reputedly like colored flames about the size of a human. It is believed by Theosophists that devas can be observed when the third eye is activated. Some (but not most) devas originally incarnated as human beings.[139]

It is believed by Theosophists that nature spirits, elementals (gnomes, undines, sylphs, and salamanders), and fairies also can be observed when the third eye is activated.[140] It is maintained by Theosophists that these less evolutionarily developed beings have never been previously incarnated as humans; they are regarded as being on a separate line of spiritual evolution called the "deva evolution"; eventually, as their souls advance as they reincarnate, it is believed they will incarnate as devas.[141]

It is asserted by Theosophists that all of the above-mentioned beings possess etheric bodies that are composed of etheric matter, a type of matter finer and more pure that is composed of smaller particles than ordinary physical plane matter.[141]

Yazidism

Main articles: List of Yazidi holy figures and Yazidism § Holy figures

In Yazidism, there are seven Divine Beings (often called 'angels' in the literature) who were created by God prior to the creation of the world. God appointed Tawûsî Melek as their leader and assigned all of the world's affairs to these seven Divine Beings.[142] These Divine Beings are referred to as Tawûsî Melek, Melek Şemsedîn, Melek Nasirdîn, Melek Fexredîn, Melek Sicadîn, Melek Şêxsîn and Melek Şêxûbekir.

In art

Main articles: Angels in art and Putto

Draft for an Angel by Desiderius Lenz

According to mainstream Christian theology, angels are wholly spiritual beings and therefore do not eat, excrete or have sex, and have no gender. Although their different roles, such as warriors for some archangels, may suggest a human gender, Christian artists were careful not to give them specific gender attributes, at least until the 19th century, when some acquire breasts for example.[143]

Three Putti Next to a Cartouche, after François Boucher, 1727–1760, etching and engraving, 26.5 × 21.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

In an address during a General Audience of 6 August 1986, entitled "Angels participate in the history of salvation", Pope John Paul II explained that "[T]he angels have no 'body' (even if, in particular circumstances, they reveal themselves under visible forms because of their mission for the good of people)."[70] Christian art perhaps reflects the descriptions in Revelation 4:6–8 of the Four Living Creatures (Greek: τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα) and the descriptions in the Hebrew Bible of cherubim and seraphim (the chayot in Ezekiel's Merkabah vision and the Seraphim of Isaiah). However, while cherubim and seraphim have wings in the Bible, no angel is mentioned as having wings.[144] The earliest known Christian image of an angel—in the Cubicolo dell'Annunziazione in the Catacomb of Priscilla (mid-3rd century)—is without wings. In that same period, representations of angels on sarcophagi, lamps and reliquaries also show them without wings,[145] as for example the angel in the Sacrifice of Isaac scene in the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (although the side view of the Sarcophagus shows winged angelic figures).

The earliest known representation of angels with wings is on the "Prince's Sarcophagus", attributed to the time of Theodosius I (379–395), discovered at Sarigüzel, near Istanbul, in the 1930s.[146] From that period on, Christian art has represented angels mostly with wings, as in the cycle of mosaics in the Basilica of Saint Mary Major (432–440).[147] Four- and six-winged angels, drawn from the higher grades of angels (especially cherubim and seraphim) and often showing only their faces and wings, are derived from Persian art and are usually shown only in heavenly contexts, as opposed to performing tasks on earth. They often appear in the pendentives of church domes or semi-domes. Prior to the Judeo-Christian tradition, in the Greek world the goddess Nike and the gods Eros and Thanatos were also depicted in human-like form with wings.

John Chrysostom explained the significance of angels' wings:

They manifest a nature's sublimity. That is why Gabriel is represented with wings. Not that angels have wings, but that you may know that they leave the heights and the most elevated dwelling to approach human nature. Accordingly, the

wings attributed to these powers have no other meaning than to indicate the sublimity of their nature.[148]

Angels are typically depicted in Mormon art as having no wings based on a quote from Joseph Smith ("An angel of God never has wings").[149]

In terms of their clothing, angels, especially the Archangel Michael, were depicted as military-style agents of God and came to be shown wearing Late Antique military uniform. This uniform could be the normal military dress, with a tunic to about the knees, an armour breastplate and pteruges, but was often the specific dress of the bodyguard of the Byzantine Emperor, with a long tunic and the loros, the long gold and jewelled pallium restricted to the Imperial family and their closest guards.

The basic military dress was shown in Western art into the Baroque period and beyond (see Reni picture above), and up to the present day in Eastern Orthodox icons. Other angels came to be conventionally depicted in long robes, and in the later Middle Ages they often wear the vestments of a deacon, a cope over a dalmatic. This costume was used especially for Gabriel in Annunciation scenes—for example the Annunciation in Washington by Jan van Eyck.

Some types of angels are described as possessing more unusual or frightening attributes, such as the fiery bodies of the Seraphim, and the wheel-like structures of the Ophanim.

Southern German Baroque angel, by Ignaz Günther, circa 1760–1770, lindenwood with traces of gesso, 26.7 x 18.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Southern German Baroque angel, by Ignaz Günther, circa 1760–1770, lindenwood with traces of gesso, 26.7 x 18.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Arquebusier Angels, hundreds of colonial paintings depicting these angels, Colonial Bolivia and Peru, 17th century, were part of the Cusco Colonial Painting School

Arquebusier Angels, hundreds of colonial paintings depicting these angels, Colonial Bolivia and Peru, 17th century, were part of the Cusco Colonial Painting School

The extraordinary-looking Cherubim (immediately to the right of Ezekiel) and Ophanim (the nested-wheels) appear in the chariot vision of Ezekiel

The extraordinary-looking Cherubim (immediately to the right of Ezekiel) and Ophanim (the nested-wheels) appear in the chariot vision of Ezekiel

An angel in the former coat of arms of Tenala

An angel in the former coat of arms of Tenala

Sopó Archangels, a series of archangels painted around 1650 in colonial

Colombia.

Sopó Archangels, a series of archangels painted around 1650 in colonial Colombia.

Apparition of Saint Michael, ca. 1686 by Cristóbal de Villalpando. Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral collection. Colonial Mexico.

Apparition of Saint Michael, ca. 1686 by Cristóbal de Villalpando. Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral collection. Colonial Mexico.

16th century stone statue depicting the Angel of Portugal, at the Machado de Castro National Museum, in Portugal.

16th century stone statue depicting the Angel of Portugal, at the Machado de Castro National Museum, in Portugal.

An illustration of a dying woman witnessing angels, presumably depicting a deathbed vision, by Frederick William Fairholt for the 1844 short story "A Forlorn Hope".

An illustration of a dying woman witnessing angels, presumably depicting a deathbed vision, by Frederick William Fairholt for the 1844 short story "A Forlorn Hope".

See also

Angel of the North

Angels in art

Apsara

Chalkydri

George Clayton

Classification of demons

Cupid and Eros

Dakini

Demigod

Elioud

Eudaemon (mythology)

Exorcism

Gandharva

Ghost

Genius (mythology)

Hierarchy of angels

Holy Spirit

In paradisum

List of angels in theology

List of films about angels

Non-physical entity

Substance theory

Uthra

Valkyrie

Watcher (angel)

Yaksha
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Hierarchy of angels

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Orthodox icon of nine orders of angels

In the angelology of different religions, a hierarchy of angels is a ranking system of angels. The higher ranking angels have greater power and authority than lower ones, and different ranks have differences in appearance, such as varying numbers of wings or faces.

Abrahamic religions

Judaism

Main article: Angelic hierarchy in Judaism

The Jewish angelic hierarchy is established in the Hebrew Bible, Talmud, Rabbinic literature, and traditional Jewish liturgy. They are categorized in different hierarchies proposed by various theologians. For example, Maimonides, in his Mishneh Torah or Yad ha-Chazakah: Yesodei ha-Torah, counts ten ranks of angels.[1][2][3][4] The Zohar, in Exodus 43a, also lists ten ranks of angels.[5] Jacob Nazir, in his Maseket Atzilut, also listed ten ranks of angels.[5] Abraham ben Isaac of Granada, in his Berit Menuchah, also listed ten ranks of angels.

All of them are ranked with 1 being the highest, and all subsequent numbers being lower ranks.

Rank	Angelic Class			Notes	Refs
	Mishneh Torah	Zohar	Maseket Atzilut	Berit Menuchah	Reshit Chochmah
1	4	N/A	N/A	1	Chayot Ha Kodesh/Chayot[6] See Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 10
2	5	2	9	2	Ophan See Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 10
3	2	10	1	5	Erel See Isaiah 33:7
4	6	7	5	7	Hashmal See Ezekiel 1:4
5	3	1	10	3	Seraph See Isaiah 6
6	1	8	4	9	Malakh/Malak Messengers, angels
7	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	Elohim "Godly beings", Divine beings who were not the Supreme God
8	9	9	3	N/A	Bene Elohim "Sons of God"
9	N/A	3	8	4	Cherub See Hagigah 13b
10	10	6	2	10	Ish "manlike beings" see Genesis 18:2 Daniel 10:5
N/A	7	N/A	N/A	8	El 2 Corinthians 13:3
N/A	N/A	4	7	N/A	Shinan 3 Enoch

N/A N/A 5 6 6 Tarshish 3 Enoch
Christianity

The ceiling mosaic of the Baptistry in Florence (c. 1240-1300) depicts (in the innermost octagon of images) all nine of the orders of angelic beings: the Seraphim and Cherubim are shown with Christ at lower center, while the other ranks each occupy a separate field, above which are their Latin designations.

Main article: Angels in Christianity

The most influential angelic hierarchy was that put forward by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the 5th or 6th century in his book *De Coelesti Hierarchia* (On the Celestial Hierarchy). Dionysius described nine levels of spiritual beings which he grouped into three orders:[7][8][9]

Highest orders

Seraphim

Cherubim (Chayot)

Thrones (Ophanim, Erelim)

Middle orders

Dominions (Hashmallim)

Virtues (Malakim, Tarshishim)

Powers

Lowest orders

Principalities

Archangels

Angels

The Assumption of the Virgin by Francesco Botticini (1475–77) at the National Gallery London, shows three hierarchies and nine orders of angels, each with different characteristics.

During the Middle Ages, various schemes were proposed, some drawing on and expanding on Pseudo-Dionysius, others suggesting completely different classifications.

Pseudo-Dionysius (*On the Celestial Hierarchy*) and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae*) drew on passages from the New Testament, specifically Ephesians 1:21 and Colossians 1:16, to develop a schema of three Hierarchies, Spheres or Triads of angels, with each Hierarchy containing three Orders or Choirs.

Bonaventure summarized their nine offices as follows: announcing, declaring, and leading; regulating, enforcing, and commanding; receiving, revealing, and anointing.[10] Thomas agreed with Jerome's commentary on Mt 18:10 that every living human possesses a guardian angel. Of the angelic orders, he asserted that only the lowest five are sent by God to manifest themselves in the corporeal world, while the four highest remain in Heaven at His presence.[11]

The Chaplet of Saint Michael the archangel, a Catholic devotion also called the rosary of the angels, approved by Pope Pius IX, includes prayers and specific

invocations for each of the nine choirs of angels.[12][13]

Islam

Main article: Angels in Islam

There is no standard hierarchical organization in Islam that parallels the Christian division into different "choirs" or spheres, and the topic is not directly addressed in the Quran. However, it is clear that there is a set order or hierarchy that exists between angels, defined by the assigned jobs and various tasks to which angels are commanded by God. Some scholars suggest that Islamic angels can be grouped into fourteen categories, with some of the higher orders being considered archangels. Qazwini describes an angelic hierarchy in his *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* with *Ruh* on the head of all angels, surrounded by the four archangelic cherubim. Below them are the seven angels of the seven heavens.[14]

Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) divided the angels into eight groups, which shows some resemblance to Christian angelology:[15]

Hamalat al-'Arsh, those who carry the 'Arsh (Throne of God),[16] comparable to the Christian Seraphim.

Muqarrabun (Cherubim), who surround the throne of God, constantly praising God (*tasbīḥ*)

Archangels, such as *Jibrā'īl*, *Mīkhā'īl*, *Isrāfīl*, and *'Azrā'īl*

Angels of Heaven, such as *Riḍwan*.

Angels of Hell, *Mālik* and *Zabānīya*

Guardian angels, who are assigned to individuals to protect them

The angels who record the actions of people

Angels entrusted with the affairs of the world, like the angel of thunder.

Zoroastrian

icon

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There is an informal Zoroastrian angelic hierarchy, with the specific angelic beings called *yazatas* having key positions in the day-name dedications on the Zoroastrian calendar segregated into the *ameshaspentas* (the second to seventh of the 30 days of the month), *yazatas* and *minoos* (the last six of the 30 days of the month).

Role-playing games

Angels are occasionally presented in role-playing games as having ordered hierarchies, within which higher level angels have more power and the ability to cast more spells or exercise other magical abilities. For example, Angels in *Dungeons & Dragons*, a subgroup of the beings called *Celestials*, come in three

different types, the progressively more powerful Astral Deva, Planetary, and Solar.[17][18] Another game which has summonable angels is Shin Megami Tensei, often classified under Divine, or Heralds. In the game series Bayonetta, Black Angels are supporting and all seven spheres are present, each divided in the same seven way as the traditional hierarchy.

See also

Christian demonology

De Coelesti Hierarchia

List of angels in theology

Living creatures (Bible)

Luminary (Gnosticism)

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For the German family and their group of companies, see Franz Haniel & Cie.

"Anael" redirects here. For other uses, see Anael (disambiguation).

"Aniel" redirects here. For other uses, see Aniel (disambiguation).

The Virtue Haniel, engraving by Crispijn van de Passe, circa 1575. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Haniel (Hebrew: חַנַּיִל, Ḥannī'ēl, "God is my grace"; Coptic: ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲉⲗ Ananiēl;[[]¹

Arabic: أنايايل, 'Anyā'il), also known as Hananel, Anael, Hanael or Aniel, is an angel in Jewish lore and angelology, and is often included in lists as being one of the seven archangels.[[]² Haniel is generally associated with the planet Venus, and is

the archangel of the sephirah Netzach. The name Haniel derives from the Hebrew חַנַּן (ḥn), meaning "grace, favour, charm"[3] (qualities associated with Venus) + the suffix -'Ēl, "God". It is equivalent to the Phoenician name Hannibal. Haniel is one of the archangels encrypted in the Sigillum Dei Aemeth of Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley.[4]

Gallery

Anael as the regent of the moon, Museo Soumaya Plaza Loreto, Mexico City.
Anael as the regent of the moon, Museo Soumaya Plaza Loreto, Mexico City.

Archangel Haniel, stained-glass window at the Main Protestant Chapel in Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune, Jacksonville, North Carolina.

Archangel Haniel, stained-glass window at the Main Protestant Chapel in Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune, Jacksonville, North Carolina.

See also

List of angels in theology

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Deva (Hinduism)

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In the earliest Vedic literature, Devas are benevolent supernatural beings;^[1] above, a gilt-copper statue of Indra, "Chief of the Gods", from 16th-century Nepal.

This article contains Indic text. Without proper rendering support, you may see question marks or boxes, misplaced vowels or missing conjuncts instead of Indic text.

Translations of

Deva

English Heavenly, divine, shiny, exalted, anything of excellence, donor of knowledge or resources.

Sanskrit देव

(IAST: deva)

Assamese দেৱতা

(dewatā)

Balinese ꦢꦺꦮ

(déwa)

Bengali দেবতা

(debota)

Hindi देवता

(devatā)

Javanese ꦢꦺꦮ

(déwa)

Kannada ದೇವ

(deva)

Malayalam ദേവൻ

(devan)

Marathi देव
(dev)
Nepali देवता
(devatā)
Odia ଝେବତା
(debôta)
Punjabi ਦੇਵ
(Dēva)
Tamil தேவர்கள்
(tevarkaḷ)
Telugu దేవుడు
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Deva (Sanskrit: देव, Sanskrit pronunciation: [deːvə]) means 'shiny', 'exalted', 'heavenly being', 'divine being', 'anything of excellence',[1] and is also one of the Sanskrit terms used to indicate a deity in Hinduism.[2] Deva is a masculine term; the feminine equivalent is Devi. The word is a cognate with Latin deus ('god') and Greek Zeus.

In the earliest Vedic literature, all supernatural beings are called Devas[3][4][5] and Asuras.[6][7] The concepts and legends evolved in ancient Indian literature, and by the late Vedic period, benevolent supernatural beings are referred to as Deva-Asuras. In post-Vedic Hindu texts, such as the Puranas and the Itihasas of Hinduism, the Devas represent the good, and the Asuras the bad.[8][9] In some medieval works of Indian literature, Devas are also referred to as Suras and contrasted with their equally powerful but malevolent half-brothers, referred to as the Asuras.[10]

Devas, along with Asuras, Yakshas (nature spirits), and Rakshasas (ghoulish ogres/demons), are part of Indian mythology, and Devas feature in many cosmological theories in Hinduism.[11][12]

Etymology

Deva is a Sanskrit word found in Vedic literature of the 2nd millennium BCE. Sir Monier Monier-Williams translates it as "heavenly, divine, terrestrial things of high excellence, exalted, shining ones".[2][13] The concept also is used to refer to deity.[2]

The Sanskrit deva- derives from Indo-Iranian *daiv- which in turn descends from the Proto-Indo-European word, *deiwo-, originally an adjective meaning "celestial" or "shining", which is a (not synchronic Sanskrit) vrddhi derivative from *diw, zero-grade of the root *dyew- meaning "to shine", especially as the day-lit sky.[14] The feminine form of *deiwo- is *deiwoh2, which descends into Indic languages as devi, in that context meaning "female deity". Also deriving from *deiwo-, and thus cognates of deva, are "Zeus/Ζεύς" - "Dias/Δίας", the Greek father of the gods, Lithuanian Dievas (Latvian Dievs, Prussian Deivas), Germanic Tiwaz (seen in English "Tuesday") and the related Old Norse Tívar (gods), and Latin Deus "god" and divus "divine", from which the English words "divine" and "deity" are derived. It is related to *Dyeus which while from the same root, may originally have referred to the "heavenly shining father", and hence to "Father Sky", the chief God of the Indo-European pantheon, continued in Sanskrit Dyāus. The abode of the Devas is Dyuloka.[15]

According to Douglas Harper, the etymological roots of Deva mean "a shining one," from *div- "to shine," and it is cognate with Greek dios "divine" and Zeus, and Latin deus "god" (Old Latin deivos).[16] The word "Deva" shares similarities with Persian Daeva.[17][18][19]

Deva is masculine; the related feminine equivalent is devi.[20] Etymologically, Devi is cognate with Latin dea.[21] When capitalized, Devi or Mata refers to a divine mother goddess in Hinduism.[22] Deva is also referred to as Devatā,[13] and Devi as Devika.[20]

The word Deva is also a proper name or part of a name in Indian culture, where it refers to "one who wishes to excel, overcome" or the "seeker of, master of or a best among".[2]

Another interpretation of the word is derived from the word "dibbati", which means to play or to sport. This denotes their playful nature and that they enjoy themselves with the five sensual pleasures.[23]

Vedic literature

Main article: Rigvedic deities

Shiva/Rudra has been a major Deva in Hinduism since the Vedic times.[24] Above is a meditating statue of him in the Himalayas with Hindus offering prayers. Samhitas and Brahmanas

The 12 Devas protecting Buddha, by Tani Bunchō. The Hindu Devas were adopted by Japanese Buddhists in the first millennium as Jūni-ten[25] The Samhitas, which are the oldest layer of text in Vedas enumerate 33 devas,[note 1] either 11 each for the three worlds, or as 12 Adityas, 11 Rudras, 8 Vasus and 2 Asvins in the Brahmanas layer of Vedic texts.[2][5] The Rigveda states in hymn 1.139.11,

ये देवासो दिव्येकादश स्थ पृथिव्यामध्येकादश स्थ ।
अप्सुक्षितो महिनैकादश स्थ ते देवासो यज्ञमिमं जुषध्वम् ॥११॥[29]

O ye eleven deities whose home is heaven, O ye eleven who make earth your dwelling,
Ye who with might, eleven, live in waters, accept this sacrifice, O deities, with pleasure.
– Translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith[30]

Deities who are eleven in heaven; who are eleven on earth;
and who are eleven dwelling with glory in mid-air; may ye be pleased with this our sacrifice.
– Translated by HH Wilson[31]

—Rigveda 1.139.11

Some devas represent the forces of nature and some represent moral values (such as the Adityas, Varuna, and Mitra), each symbolizing the epitome of a specialized knowledge, creative energy, exalted and magical powers (Siddhis).[32][33] The most referred to Devas in the Rig Veda are Indra, Agni (fire) and Soma, with "fire deity" called the friend of all humanity, it and Soma being the two celebrated in a yajna fire ritual that marks major Hindu ceremonies. Savitr, Vishnu, Rudra, and Prajapati (later Brahma) are gods and hence Devas. Parvati (power and love) and Durga (victory) are some Devis or goddesses. Many of the deities taken together are worshiped as the Vishvedevas.[citation needed]

Important Devas

Brahma the deity of creation

Vishnu the deity of preservation

Shiva the deity of destruction and time; associated with fertility and regeneration

Ganesha the deity of new beginnings, wisdom, and luck

Hanuman the deity associated to courage, reverence and strength/avatar of Shiva

Kartikeya the deity of victory and war

Dhanvantari the deity of doctors and Ayurveda/avatar of Vishnu

Vishwakarma the deity of architecture

Dyaus the deity of the aether (or sky)

Vayu the deity of air, wind and breath
Varuna the deity of water and rain
Agni the deity of fire
Yama the deity of death and justice
Samudra the deity of the seas/form of Varuna
Kubera the deity of opulence and wealth
Kamadeva the deity of love
Indra the deity of weather, storms and sky
Ashwini Kumara the deity of health and medicine
Surya the deity of the sun, light and day
Chandra the deity of the moon and night
Mangala the deity of Mars and Aggression
Budha the deity of Mercury and Nature
Brihaspati the deity of Jupiter and teacher of the Devas
Shukra the deity of Venus and worship (bhakti) and teacher of the Asuras
Shani the deity of Saturn and deeds (karma)
Henotheism

In Vedic literature, Deva is not a monotheistic God; rather a "supernatural, divine" concept manifesting in various ideas and knowledge, in a form that combines excellence in some aspects, wrestling with weakness and questions in other aspects, heroic in their outlook and actions, yet tied up with emotions and desires.[33][34]

Max Muller states that the Vedic hymns are remarkable in calling every one of the different devas as "the only one, the supreme, the greatest".[13] Muller concluded that the Vedic ideas about devas are best understood neither as polytheism nor as monotheism, but as henotheism where gods are equivalent, different perspectives, different aspects of reverence and spirituality, unified by principles of Ṛta and Dharma.[13][35]

Characteristics of Devas in the Vedic literature

Ananda Coomaraswamy states that Devas and Asuras in the Vedic lore are similar to the Olympian gods and Titans of Greek mythology. Both are powerful but have different orientations and inclinations, with the Devas representing the powers of Light and the Asuras representing the powers of Darkness in Hindu mythology.[36][37] According to Coomaraswamy's interpretation of Devas and Asuras, both these natures exist in each human being, both the tyrant and the angel. The best and the worst within each person struggles before choices and one's own nature, and the Hindu formulation of Devas and Asuras is an eternal dance between these within each person.[38][39]

The Devas and Asuras, Angels and Titans, powers of Light and powers of Darkness in Rigveda, although distinct and opposite in operation, are in essence consubstantial, their distinction being a matter not of essence but of orientation, revolution or transformation. In this case, the Titan is potentially an Angel, the Angel still by nature a Titan; the Darkness in actu is Light, the Light in potentia

Darkness; whence the designations Asura and Deva may be applied to one and the same Person according to the mode of operation, as in Rigveda 1.163.3, "Trita art thou (Agni) by interior operation".

—Ananda Coomaraswamy, Journal of the American Oriental Society[40]
All-powerful beings, good or evil, are called Devas[2][5] and Asuras in the oldest layer of Vedic texts. A much-studied hymn of the Rigveda states Devav asura (Asuras who have become Devas), and contrasts it with Asura adevah (Asuras who are not Devas).[41][42] They are born from the same father, Prajapati, the primordial progenitor; his sons are envisioned as the Asuras and Devas.[43] They all share the same residence (Loka), eat together the same food and drinks (Soma), and have innate potential, knowledge and special powers in Hindu mythology; the only thing that distinguishes "Asuras who become Devas" from "Asuras who remain Asuras" is intent, action and choices they make in their mythic lives.[39][44]

Upanishads

Vishnu (above) is one of the Vedic Devas.[45] The third Valli of the Katha Upanishad discusses ethical duties of man through the parable of the chariot as a means to realize the state of Vishnu, one with Self-knowledge.[46][47]
The oldest Upanishads mention Devas, and their struggle with the Asuras. The Kaushitaki Upanishad, for example, in Book 4 states that "Indra was weaker than the Asuras when he did not know his own Atman (soul, self).[48] Once Indra had self-knowledge, he became independent, sovereign and victorious over the Asuras"; similarly, states Kaushitaki Upanishad, "the man who knows his inner self gains independence, sovereignty and is unaffected by all evil".[48]

Chandogya Upanishad, in chapter 1.2, describes the battle between Devas and Asuras on various sensory powers.[49] This battle between good and evil fails to produce a victor and simply manifests itself in the perceived universe, as good or evil sights witnessed by beings, as good or evil words shared between people, as good or evil smells of nature, as good or evil feelings experienced, as good or evil thoughts within each person. Finally, the Deva-Asura battle targets the soul, where Asuras fail and Devas succeed, because soul-force is serene and inherently good, asserts Chandogya Upanishad.[49]

Mantra 5.2.1 of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad describes Devas, Men, and Asuras as sons of Prajapati, the primordial father.[50] Each asks for a lesson on ethics. Prajapati tells the Devas to observe the virtue of temperance (self-restraint, Dama), the Men to observe the virtue of charity (Dana), and Asuras to observe the virtue of compassion (Daya). At the end of the Brāhmanam, the Upanishad declares that these are three cardinal virtues that should always be observed by all Devas, Men and Asuras.[50]

Medieval era Indian scholars, in their Bhasya (review and commentaries) on the

Upanishads, stated that the discussion of Devas and Asuras in the Upanishads is symbolic, and it represents the good and evil that resides and struggles within each human being. Adi Shankara, for example, in his commentary on Brihadaranyaka Upanishad asserted that Devas represent the human seeking for the sacred and spiritual, while the Asuras represent the human seeking for the worldly excesses.[51] Edelmann and other modern era scholars also state that the Devas versus Asuras discussion in Upanishads is a form of symbolism.[52][53]

In the later primary Upanishadic texts, Devas and Asuras discuss and act to seek knowledge, for different purposes. In one case, for example, they go to Prajāpati, their father, to understand what is Self (Atman, soul) and how to realize it. The first answer that Prajāpati gives is simplistic, which the Asuras accept and leave with, but the Devas led by Indra do not accept and question because Indra finds that he hasn't grasped its full significance and the given answer has inconsistencies.[54] Edelmann states that this symbolism embedded in the Upanishads is a reminder that one must struggle with presented ideas, learning is a process, and Deva nature emerges with effort.[54]

Puranas and Itihasas

In the Puranas and the Itihasas with the embedded Bhagavad Gita, the Devas represent the good, and the Asuras the bad.[8][9] According to the Bhagavad Gita (16.6-16.7), all beings in the universe have both the divine qualities (daivi sampad) and the demonic qualities (asuri sampad) within each.[9][55] The sixteenth chapter of the Bhagavad Gita states that pure god-like saints are rare and pure demon-like evil are rare among human beings, and the bulk of humanity is multi-charactered with a few or many faults.[9] According to Jeaneane Fowler, the Gita states that desires, aversions, greed, needs, emotions in various forms "are facets of ordinary lives", and it is only when they turn to lust, hate, cravings, arrogance, conceit, anger, harshness, hypocrisy, violence, cruelty and such negativity- and destruction-inclined that natural human inclinations metamorphose into something demonic (Asura).[9][55]

Everyone starts as an Asura in Hindu mythology, born of the same father. "Asuras who remain Asura" share the character of powerful beings obsessed with their craving for more power, more wealth, ego, anger, unprincipled nature, force and violence.[56][57] The "Asuras who become Devas" in contrast are driven by an inner voice, seek understanding and meaning, prefer moderation, principled behavior, morals, knowledge, and harmony.[56][57] The hostility between the two is the source of extensive legends and tales in the Puranic and the Epic literature of Hinduism; however, many texts discuss their hostility in neutral terms and without explicit condemnation.[44] Some of these tales are the basis for myths behind major Hindu festivals, such as the story of Asura Ravana and Deva Rama in the Ramayana and the legend of Asura Hiranyakashipu and Deva Vishnu as Narasimha,[44] the latter celebrated with the Hindu spring festival of Holika and Holi.[58]

Bhagavata Purana

In Bhagavata Purana, Brahma had ten sons: Marichi, Atri, Angira, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasistha, Daksa, Narada.[59] Marici had a son called Kasyapa.[60] Kasyapa had thirteen wives: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kadru etc.[61] The sons of Aditi are called Adityas,[62] the sons of Diti are called Daityas,[63] and the sons of Danu are called Danavas.[64] Br̥haspati (Jupiter, son of Angiras) is a guru of devas (vedic gods). Shukracharya (Venus, son of Bhrigu) is a guru of asuras (vedic demons) or/and Danavas.

Symbolism

Edelmann states that the dichotomies present in the Puranas literature of Hinduism are symbolism for spiritual concepts. For example, god Indra (a Deva) and the antigod Virocana (an Asura) question a sage for insights into the knowledge of the self.[54] Virocana leaves with the first given answer, believing now he can use the knowledge as a weapon. In contrast, Indra keeps pressing the sage, churning the ideas, and learning about means to inner happiness and power. Edelmann suggests that the Deva-Asura dichotomies in Hindu mythology may be seen as "narrative depictions of tendencies within our selves".[54]

The god (Deva) and antigod (Asura), states Edelmann, are also symbolically the contradictory forces that motivate each individual and people, and thus Deva-Asura dichotomy is a spiritual concept rather than mere genealogical category or species of being.[65] In the Bhāgavata Purana, saints and gods are born in families of Asuras, such as Mahabali and Prahlada, conveying the symbolism that motivations, beliefs, and actions rather than one's birth and family circumstances define whether one is Deva-like or Asura-like.[65] I

Classical Hinduism

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (July 2015)

The male Lokapala devas, the guardians of the directions, on the wall of Shiva temple, Prambanan (Java, Indonesia).

In Hinduism, Devas are celestial beings associated with various aspects of the cosmos. The Devas Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, form the Hindu trinity known as the Trimurthi and preside over the functioning of the cosmos and the evolution of creation. Lesser devas may control the forces of nature, such as Vayu, the Lord of the wind, Varuna the Lord of water, and Agni, the Lord of fire. Hinduism also has many other lesser celestial beings, such as the married Gandharvas (male celestial musicians) and Apsaras (female celestial dancers).

Sangam literature

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (July 2015)

Tamil Sangam literature (300BC-300CE) describes the offerings for devas. In

Silapathikaram, one of the five epics of Tamil by Ilango Adigal, is described the offering for Four kind of devas.[66]

The nine Devas, Khleangs artwork from Cambodia (~1000 CE). From left to right: Surya (Sun) on chariot, Chandra (Moon) on pedestal, Shiva on bull, Varuna on crocodile, Indra on elephant, Kubera on horse, Agni on ram, Rahu on clouds and Ketu on lion.

See also

Bhagavan

Daeva

Deva (Buddhism)

Deva (Theosophy)

Devata

Divinity

Diwata

God and gender in Hinduism

Hindu deities

Ishvara

Jangam

Vishvadevas

Notes

The list of Vedic Devas somewhat varies across the manuscripts found in different parts of South Asia, particularly in terms of guides (Aswins) and personified Devas. One list based on Book 2 of Aitereya Brahmana is:[26][27] Devas personified: Indra (Śakra), Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Aṃśa, Vidhatri (Brahma),[28] Tvāṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Vivasvat, Savitr (Dhatr), Vishnu.

Devas as abstractions or inner principles: Ānanda (bliss, inner contentment), Vijñāna (knowledge), Manas (mind, thought), Prāṇa (life-force), Vāc (speech), Ātmā (soul, self within each person), and five manifestations of Rudra/Shiva – Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta

Devas as forces or principles of nature – Pṛthivī (earth), Agni (fire), Antarikṣa (atmosphere, space), Jal (water), Vāyu (wind), Dyaus (aether or sky), Sūrya (sun), Nakṣatra (stars), Soma (moon)

Devas as guide or creative energy – Vasatkara, Prajāpati

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Didarganj Yakshi

3rd century BCE – 2nd century CE[1][2] Patna Museum, Patna

Devanagari यक्षिणी

Affiliation Devi

The Bhutesvara Yakshis, Mathura, 2nd century CE.

Yakshinis or Yakshis (Sanskrit: यक्षिणी, IAST: Yakṣiṇī or Yakṣī, IPA: [jəkʂiɳiː, jəkʂiː]; Prakrit: Yakkhiṇī or Yakkhī, IPA: [jəkʰiɳiː, jəkʰiː]) are a class of female nature spirits in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religious mythologies that are different from Devas and Asuras and Gandharvas or Apsaras. Yakshinis and their male counterparts, the Yakshas, are one of the many paranormal beings associated with the centuries-old sacred groves of India. Yakshis are also found in the traditional legends of Northeastern Indian tribes, ancient legends of Kerala, and in the folktales of Kashmiri Muslims. Sikhism also mentions yakshas in its sacred texts.[3]

The well behaved and benign ones are worshipped as tutelaries,[4] they are the attendees of Kubera, the treasurer of the gods, and also the Hindu god of wealth who ruled Himalayan kingdom of Alaka. There are also malign and mischievous yakshinis with poltergeist-like behaviours,[4] that can haunt and curse humans according to Indian folklore.[5]

The ashoka tree is closely associated with yakshinis. The young girl at the foot of the tree is an ancient motif indicating fertility on the Indian subcontinent.[6] One of the recurring elements in Indian art, often found as gatekeepers in ancient Buddhist and Hindu temples, is a yakshini with her foot on the trunk and her hands holding the branch of a stylized flowering ashoka or, less frequently, other tree with flowers or fruits.

In Buddhism

Yakshi under a flowering asoka tree. Shunga, 2nd–1st century BC, India
The three sites of Bharhut, Sanchi, and Mathura, have yielded huge numbers of Yakshi figures, most commonly on the railing pillars of stupas. These show a clear development and progression that establishes certain characteristics of the Yakshi figure such as her nudity, smiling face and evident (often exaggerated) secondary sexual characteristics that lead to their association with fertility. The yakshi is usually shown with her hand touching a tree branch, in a sinuous tribhanga pose, thus some authors hold that the young girl at the foot of the tree is based on an ancient tree deity.[6]

Yakshis were important in early Buddhist monuments as a decorative element and are found in many ancient Buddhist archaeological sites. They became Salabhanjikas (sal tree maidens) with the passing of the centuries, a standard decorative element of both Indian sculpture and Indian temple architecture.[7]

The sal tree (*Shorea robusta*) is often confused with the ashoka tree (*Saraca indica*) in the ancient literature of the Indian Subcontinent.[8] The position of the Salabhanjika is also related to the position of Queen Māyā of Sakya when she gave birth to Gautama Buddha under an asoka tree in a garden in Lumbini, while grasping its branch.[7]

List of yakshini found in Buddhist literature

Below is a nonexhaustive list of yakshinis found in Buddhist literature:[9]

Hārītī
Ālikā
Vendā
Anopamā
Vimalaprabhā
Śrī
Śankhinī
Meghā
Timisikā
Prabhāvatī
Bhīmā
Haritā
Mahādevī
Nālī
Udaryā
Kuntī
Sulocanā
Śubhru
Susvarā
Sumatī
Vasumatī
Citrākṣī
Pūrnasniṣā
Guhykā
Suguhyakā
Mekhalā
Sumekhalā
Padmocchā
Abhayā
Jayā
Vijayā
Revatikā
Keśinī
Keśāntā
Anila
Manoharā
Manovatī

Kusumavatī
Kusumapuravāsinī
Pingalā
Vīramatī
Vīrā
Suvīrā
Sughorā
Ghorā
Ghorāvatī
Surāsundari
Surasā
Guhyottamārī
Vaṭavāsinī
Aśokā
Andhārasunarī
Ālokasunarī
Prabhāvatī
Atiśayavatī
Rūpavatī
Surūpā
Asitā
Saumyā
Kāṇā
Menā
Nandinī
Upanandinī
Lokāntarā
Kuvaṇṇā (Pali)
Cetiyā (Pali)
Piyaṅkaramātā (Pali)
Punabbasumātā (Pali)
Bhesakalā (Pali)

In Hinduism

In the Uddamareshvara Tantra, thirty-six yakshinis are described, including their mantras and ritual prescriptions. A similar list of yakshas and yakshinis are given in the Tantraraja Tantra, where it says that these beings are givers of whatever is desired. They are the guardians of the treasure hidden in the earth. They can be Sattvik, Rajas or Tamas in nature.[citation needed]

36 Yakshinis

A Yakshin, 10th century, Mathura, India. Guimet Museum.

The sadhak can take yakshini as mother, sister or wife before commencing it. Proper mantra dikshaa from guru can speed up the mantra siddhi. They can be invoked with mantra "Om hreem shreem nityadravae mada (yakshini name) shreem hreem". The list of thirty six yakshinis given in the Uddamareshvara

Tantra is as follows, along with some of the associated legends:[5]

**Vichitra (The Lovely One)
Vibhrama (Amorous One)
Hamsi (The one with Swan)
Bhishani (The Terrifying)
Janaranjika (One who is charming)
Vishala (Large Eyed)
Madana (Lustful)
Ghanta (Bell)
Kalakarni (Ears Adorned with Kalas)
Mahabhaya (Greatly Fearful)
Mahendri (Greatly Powerful)
Shankhini (Conch Girl)
Chandri (Moon Girl)
Shmashana (Cremation Ground Girl)
Vatayakshini
Mekhala (Love Girdle)
Vikala
Lakshmi (Wealth)
Malini (Flower Girl)
Shatapatrika (100 Flowers)
Sulochana (Lovely Eyed)
Shobha
Kapalini (Skull Girl)
Varayakshini
Nati (Actress)
Kameshvari
Dhana yakshini
Karnapisachi
Manohara (Fascinating)
Pramoda (Fragrant)
Anuragini (Very Passionate)
Nakhakeshi: She gives fruit on Siddhi.
Bhamini
Padmini
Svarnavati:
Ratipriya (Fond of Love)
In Jainism**

An image of Jain goddess Ambika in Cave 34 of the Ellora Caves

An image of Jain goddess Chakreshvari, c. 10th century, Mathura Museum

Padmavati, 10th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Yaksha and yakshini couple Sarvānubhūti and Kuṣmāṇḍinī, with the Tirthankaras, 11th century.

In Jainism, there are twenty-five yakshis, including Panchanguli, Chakreshvari, Ambika, and Padmavati, who are frequently represented in Jain temples.[10] Each is regarded as the guardian goddess of one of the present tirthankar Shri Simandhar Swami and twenty-four Jain tirthankara. The names according to Tiloyapannatti (or Pratishthasarasangraha) and Abhidhanachintamani are:

**Panchanguli
Chakreshvari
Rohini, Ajitbala
Prajnapti, Duritari
Vajrashrankhala, Kali
Vajrankusha, Mahakali
Manovega, Shyama
Kali, Shanta
Jwalamalini, Mahajwala
Mahakali, Sutaraka
Manavi, Ashoka
Gauri, Manavi
Gandhari, Chanda
Vairoti, Vidita
Anantamati, Ankusha
Manasi, Kandarpa
Mahamansi, Nirvani
Jaya, Bala
Taradevi, Dharini
Vijaya, Dharanpriya
Aparajita, Nardatta
Bahurupini, Gandhari
Ambika or Kushmandini
Padmavati
Siddhayika
Legendary yakshis of south India**

The Besnagar Yakshi, 3rd–1st century BC.

In the literature and folktales of Kerala, yakshis are generally not considered benevolent. Many folk stories feature murdered women reborn as vengeful yakshis, some of which are listed below. Aside from those mentioned below, yakshis are also featured in Malayattoor Ramakrishnan's 1967 novel Yakshi, which describes their world as having a blue sun, carpets of crimson grass, streams of molten silver, and flowers made of sapphires, emeralds, garnets, and topaz. In the novel, young yakshis fly around on the backs of giant dragonflies. According to Ramakrishnan's novel, adult yakshis are required to enter the land of the living once a year to feed on the blood of human men.[3]

Chempakavally Ammal and Neelapilla Ammal

According to a legend from Thekkalai, next to Nagercoil in Tamil Nadu, a pair of beautiful sisters named Chempakavally and Neelapilla turned into vengeful yakshis after becoming victims of an honor killing by their father. Since their father killed them to keep them from the clutches of the lustful raja of the region, the sister yakshis tortured and killed everyone in the palace, and their father as well. The two yakshis haunted the place where they were killed until they were placated somewhat by many poojas and rituals and a temple constructed on the site. Idols of the sister yakshis are present inside. The older sister, Chempakavally, eventually transformed into a benevolent deity and traveled to Mount Kailash to worship Lord Shiva, while the younger sister, Neelapilla, remained ferocious. It is said that some of Neelapilla's devotees offer her the fingernail clippings or locks of hair from their enemies, beseeching her to destroy them.[3]

Kalliyankattu Neeli

See also: Kalliyankattu Neeli

One of the most famous stories of legendary Yakshis of Kerala is that of Kalliyankattu Neeli, who was said to be a Yakshi with divine beauty, who later assumed the form of a goddess.[11] The Yakshi theme is the subject of popular Keralite tales, like the legend of the Yakshi of Thiruvananthapuram, as well as of certain movies in modern Malayalam cinema.

Kanjirottu Yakshi

Mangalathu Sreedevi or Chiruthevi, also known as Kanjirottu Yakshi is a yakshi from the folklore of Kerala. According to legend, she was born into a Padamangalam Nair tharavad by name Mangalathu at Kanjiracode in South Travancore. She was also known as Chiruthevi. She was a ravishingly beautiful courtesan who had an intimate relationship with Raman Thampi, son of King Rama Varma and rival of Anizhom Thirunal Marthanda Varma.[12] Made arrogant by her beauty and the adoration heaped on her by men, she enjoyed toying with men's lives and driving them to financial ruin.

However, Chiruthevi was truly in love with Kunjuraman, her palanquin-bearer, who was already married and uninterested in her romantically. In frustration, Chiruthevi arranged to have Kunjuraman's wife killed. Kunjuraman finally agreed to sleep with Chiruthevi, but then murdered her to avenge his wife.

Immediately after her death, Chiruthevi was reborn as a yakshi in the village of Kanjirottu, where she magically transformed into a beautiful woman mere moments after her birth. She terrorized men and drank their blood, and continued to harass Kunjuraman. Her frenzy only subsided after she made a deal with her brother Mangalathu Govindan, a close associate of Kunjuraman and a great upāsaka (follower) of Lord Balarama. According to their agreement she would cohabit with Kunjuraman for a year on the condition that she would become a devotee of Narasimha after the year was up.[3][13] She accordingly spent one

year with Kunjuraman and later was installed at a temple which later came to be owned by Kanjiracottu Valiaveedu, though this temple no longer exists.

Reserve Bank of India headquarters, Delhi entrance with a yakshini sculpture (c. 1960) depicting "Prosperity through agriculture".[14]

Statue of Yakshi by Kanayi Kunjiraman at Malampuzha Dam, Kerala
Sundara Lakshmi, an accomplished dancer and consort of HH Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma, was an ardent devotee of Kanjirottu Yakshi Amma.

The Kanjirottu yakshi is now said to reside in Vault B of Sri Padmanabhaswamy Temple in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, which supposedly also contains an enormous treasure.[15] The enchanting and ferocious forms of this Yakshi are painted on the south-west part of Sri Padmanabha's shrine. The vault remains unopened due to ongoing legal issues[16] and the legend of the Yakshi, whom some believe will wreak havoc on the world if her prayers to Lord Narasimha within Vault B are disturbed by opening the vault.

Red sandstone 2nd century Kushan Empire Mathura region, Dallas Museum of Art, USA.

Beyond the Indian subcontinent and Hinduism

In China, Taiwan, and Japan yakshni are famous and well-known, such as Hariti, one of the Twenty-Four Protective Deities who are venerated as defenders of the Buddhist dharma in Mahayana Buddhism. The Kishimojin (Hariti) temple in Zoushigaya, Tokyo is dedicated to her.[17][18]

In Thailand, yakshni are known and worshiped as deity guardians in Thai Folk religion and Thai folklore, showing the influence of Buddhism and Hinduism on Thai culture. Yakshini have spirit houses and shrines devoted to them as Tutelary deities in Thai folk religion. Examples include Nang Phisuea Samudra (ศาลนางผีเสื้อสมุทร), considered the deity guardian of Phisuea Samut Fort, Phra Samut Chedi District, Samut Prakan Province, Seang Chan Beach in Mueang Rayong district, and Rayong province;[19][20][21][22][23] Nang Suphanapson chomtevi (นางสุพรรณอัปสรจอมเทวี), considered the deity guardian of Wat Nang thakian (วัดนางตะเคียน) in Mueang Samut Songkhram district, and Samut Songkhram province;[24][25][26] and Nang Panturat (ศาลนางพันธุรัตน์) from the Sang Thong, considered the deity guardian of Khao Nang Panthurat Forest Park, Khao Yai Sup district, Cha-am district, and Phetchaburi province.[27]

In Myanmar, yakshni are known and worshiped as deity guardians in Myanmar folk religion and Burmese folklore, showing the influence of Buddhism and Hinduism on Burmese culture. Examples include Popa Medaw, the deity guardian of Popa mountain, and the yakshni deity guardian of the Shwedagon Pagoda.

See also
Apsara
Fairy
Houri
Nariphon
Nymph
Salabhanjika
Shitala
Succubus
Yogini
List of tree deities

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Ideals of Female Beauty in Ancient India

Huntingdon Archive Archived 6 April 2015 at the Wayback Machine

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Hindu deities and texts

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Fairies in folklore

Categories: Buddhist legendary creaturesIndian folkloreFemale buddhas and supernatural beingsFemale legendary creaturesMythological hematophagesYakshasAgricultural goddessesJain minor deitiesForest spiritsLegendary creatures in Hindu mythology

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This is a list of African spirits as well as deities found within the traditional African religions. It also covers spirits as well as deities found within the African religions—which is mostly derived from traditional African religions. Additionally, prominent mythic figures including heroes and legendary creatures may also be included in this list.^[1]^[2]^[3]

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Akan

Abu-Mehsu

Amokye

Anansi

Asase Ya

Bosomtwe

Ntikuma

Katarwiri

Kwase Benefo

Kweku Tsin

Nyame

Owuo

Tano
Abam Kofi
Alur
Jok Odudu
Bambara
Bemba
Chiwara
Duga
Faro
Kontron
Muso Koroni
Ndomadyiri
Ninimini
Sanen
Suruku
Teliko
Baganda
Katonda
Ggulu
Kibuka
Kitaka
Kiwanuka
Mukasa
Musisi
Nambi
Warumbe
Wanema
Wanga
Bahumono
Owazi
Bakongo
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Bunzi
Chicamassichinuinji
Dinganga
Funza
Funzi
Kalunga
Kimbazi
Kuitikuiti
Lubangala
Lusiemo
Lusunzi
Makanga
Ma Kiela
Mamba Muntu

Mbantilanda
Mbenza
Mboze
Mbumba
Moni-Mambu
Mpulu Bunzi
Ngonda
Ntangu
Na Ngutu
Nzambici
Nzambi Ampungu
Nzazi
Nzumbi
Simbi bia Maza
Chagga
Ruwa (god)
Boloki
Libanza
Njambe
Dahomey
Main article: Loa
Agé
Ayaba
Da
Gbadu
Gleti
Gu
Lisa
Loko
Mawu
Nana Buluku
Salosteles
Sakpata
Xevioso
Zinsi
Zinsu
Dinka
Abuk
Aiwei
Deng
Kejok
Nhialic
Efik
Abassi
Atai
Fang

**Mebege
Nzame
Fulani
Baa-Wamnde
Bâgoumâwel
Bocoonde
Buytoorin
Celi
Dandi
Dumunna
Foroforondu
Ga
Gorko-mawđo
Guéno
Habbana-koel
Hammadi
Kaidara
Kiikala
Koumbasara
Koumen
Lewru
Naagara
Naange
Ndurbeelee
Nedđo
Nedđo-mawđo
Njeddo Dewal
Nounfayiri
Rongo
Silé Sadio
Sitti
Tongo
Tooke
Tyanaba
Gikuyu
Ngai
Hausa
Bayajida
Gizo
Igbo
Main article: Odinani
Aha Njoku
Ala
Amadioha
Agwu
Anyanwu**

Chukwu
Ekwensu
Ikenga
Nmuo Mmiri or Nne Mmiri.
Ogbunabali
Ijo
Egbesu
Ogboinba
Ozidi
Woyengi
Kissi
Kuino
Khoikhoi
Gaunab
Heitsi-eibib
Tsui'goab
Krachi
Ogboinba
Owuo
Wulbari
Lotuko
Ajok
Lugbara
Adroa
Adroanzi
Lunda
Zombi
Maasai
Neiterkob
Ngai
Mbundu
Kabundungulu
Kalunga-Ngombé
Kimanaueze
Kishi
Kianda
Musisi
Sudika-Mbambi
Nubian
Amesemi
Amon
Apedemak
Arensnuphis
Dedun
Mandulis
Mehit

Menhit
Sebiumecker
Nuer
Kwoth
Nyanga
Main article: Mwindo epic
Kahindo
Kasiyembe
Katee
Kentse
Kiruka
Kitundukutu
Kubikubi
Mbura
Mitandi
Mpaca
Mukiti
Muisa
Musoka
Mweri
Mwindo
Nkuba
Ntumba
Nyamurairi
Ongo
Yana
Oromo
Waaq
Pygmy
Arebati
Khonvoum
Sawar
Jengu
Serer
Roog
Koox
Kopé Tiatie Cac
Kokh Kox
Takhar
Shona
Musikavanhu
Nyadenga
Nyami Nyami
Somali
Waaq
Songhai

Dongo
Faran Baru Koda
Faran Maka Bote
Fono
Harakoy Dikko
Irikoy
Kyirey
Manda Hausakoy
Moussa Gname
Moussa Nyawri
Nana Miriam
N'Debbi
Nyaberi
Zaberi
Sotho
Modimo
Ditaolane
Tumbuka
Chiuta
Yoruba
Main article: Orisha
Aganju
Aja
Babalú Aye
Eshu
Erinle
Elegua
Ibeji
Nana
Oba
Obatala
Ogun
Oko
Olokun
Olorun
Osanyin
Oshun
Oshosi
Oshumare
Ori
Orunmila
Oya
Shango
Yemoja
Osun
Venda

Huveane
Tharu
Xhosa
uThixo
Qamata
Hlakanyana
Amagqirha
Tikoloshe
Zulu
Hlakanyana
Inkosazana
Mbaba Mwana Waresa
Unkulunkulu
Umvelinqangi
Uncama
Tikoloshe
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Religion in Africa

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Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Traditional African religionsAfro-American religionLists of deitiesAfrican deitiesAfrica religion-related lists

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List of Native American deities

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List of Native American deities, sortable by name of tribe or name of deity.

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North American deities

Tribe or group	Deity or spirit or man	Notes
Abenaki	Azeban	Trickster
Gluskab	Kind protector of humanity	
Malsumis	Cruel, evil god	
Pamola	Bird spirit; causes cold weather	
Tabaldak	The creator	
Blackfoot	Apistotookii	Creator[1]
Napi	Trickster	[1]
Cahuilla	Tahquitz	Creator, death, or evil.
Haida	Ta'xet	God of violent death[2]
Tia	Goddess of peaceful death	[2]

Ho-Chunk Red Horn 'He Who Wears (Human) Faces on His Ears'
 Hopi Aholi A kachina
 Angwusnasomtaka Crow Mother, a kachina
 Kokopelli Fertility, flute player, a kachina
 Kokyangwuti Creation, Spider grandmother[3]
 Muyingwa Germination of seeds, a kachina
 Taiowa Sun spirit, creator
 Innu Kanipinikassikueu Provider of caribou[4]
 Matshishkapeu Spirit of the anus[4]
 Inuit Igaluk Lunar deity
 Nanook Master of bears
 Nerrivik Sea mother and food provider
 Pinga Goddess of the hunt, fertility, and medicine
 Sedna Sea goddess, ruler of the underworld
 Torngasoak Sky god
 Iroquois Adekagagwaa Summer
 Gaoh Wind god
 Gendenwitha Maiden, transformed into Morning Star by Dawn.
 Gohone Winter
 Hahgwehdaetgan God of evil. Twin of Hahgwehdiyu.
 Hahgwehdiyu Creator; god of goodness and light. Twin of Hahgwehdaetgan.
 Onatha Fertility
 Klamath Llao God of the underworld
 Skell Spirit of the sky/above-world
 Kwakiutl Kewkwaxa'we Raven spirit
 Lakota Whope Peace
 Wi Solar spirit, father of Whope
 Etu Personification of time
 Mi'kmaq Niskam The sun; architect
 Miwok Coyote Trickster
 Modoc Kumookumts Creator; god of goodness and light[5]
 Narragansett Cautantowwit Creator
 Wompanànd The Eastern God[6]
 Chekesuwànd The Western God[6]
 Wunnamaméanit The Northern God[6]
 Sowwanànd The Southern God[6]
 Wetuomanit The House God[6]
 Squauanit God of Women[6]
 Muckquachuckquand God of Children[6]
 Keesuckquànd The Sun God[7]
 Nanepaûshat The Moon God[7]
 Paumpagussit The Sea[7]
 Yotáanit The Fire God[7]
 Navajo Asdzáą Nádleehé Creation deity, changing woman
 Bik'eh Hózhó Personification of speech
 Haashch'ée Ooł'ohí Deity of the hunt

Haashch'éełti'í The Talking god, god of the dawn and the east
 Hashch'éoghan The House-god, god of evening and the west
 Niltsi Wind god
 Tó Neinilii 'Water sprinkler', rain god
 Jóhonaa'éeí Sun
 Yoolgai Asdzáá 'White-shell woman', lunar deity
 Ma'ii Coyote trickster god
 Black God Creator of the stars, god of fire
 See also Diné Bahane'
 Pawnee Pah Lunar deity
 Shakuru Solar deity
 Tirawa Creator
 SalishAmotken Supreme deity
 Seneca Eagentci Sky goddess
 Hagones Trickster
 Hawenniyo A fertility god
 Kaakvha Solar deity
 Sioux Haokah Sacred clown
 Anpao Spirit with two faces that represents the dawn
 Snohomish Dohkwibuhch Creator
 Taíno Yaya (Hayah) Supreme God/Great Spirit
 Yaya'al/Yayael (YasHayah) The son of Yaya (Hayah)
 Atabey (goddess) Mother goddess of fresh water and fertility. Female counterpart of the god Yúcahu
 Yúcahu The masculine spirit of fertility in Taíno mythology along with his mother Atabey who was his feminine counterpart
 Guabancex The top Storm Goddess; the Lady of the Winds who also deals out earthquakes and other such disasters of nature.
 Juracán The zemi or deity of chaos and disorder believed to control the weather, particularly hurricanes.
 Guatauva The god of thunder and lightning who is also responsible for rallying the other storm gods.
 Coatrisquie The torrential downpour Goddess, the terrible Taíno storm servant of Guabancex and side-kick of thunder God Guatauva.
 Bayamanaco Old man fire; the Taíno spirit of Cohoba and guardian of the secrets of sweet potato bread.
 Boinayel God of the sun and of good weather; Marohu's twin brother.
 Márohu God of the moon and of rain, rainstorms, and floods; Boinayel's twin brother.
 Maketaori Guayaba The god of Coaybay or Coabey, the land of the dead.
 Opiyel Guabiron A dog-shaped god that watched over the dead; often associated with the Greek Cerberus.
 Tongva Chinigchinix Mythological figure of the Mission Indians
 Wyandot Airesekui Creation[8]
 Heng Storm god[9]
 Iosheka Creation[10]

South American deities

Tribe or group	Deity or spirit	Notes
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Inca	Apu	God or spirit of mountains.
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All of the important mountains have their own Apu, and some of them receive sacrifices to bring out certain aspects of their being. Some rocks and caves also are credited as having their own apu.

Ataguchu	God who assisted in creation myth.
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Catequil	God of thunder and lightning.
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Cavillace	Virginity goddess. Ate a fruit, which was actually the sperm of Coniraya, the moon god. And gave birth to a son.
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Cavillace's son	Son of Cavillace and Coniraya. When he was born, Cavillace demanded that the father step forward. No one did, so she put the baby on the ground and it crawled towards Coniraya. She was ashamed because of Coniraya's low stature among the gods, and ran to the coast of Peru, where she changed herself and her son into rocks.
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Ch'aska/ Ch'aska Quyllur	Goddess of dawn and twilight.
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Coniraya	Moon god. Fashioned his sperm into a fruit, which Cavillaca then ate, and gave birth to a child.
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Pachamama	Fertility Goddess. Wife of Vircocha.
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Viracocha	Creation God. Husband of Pachamama.
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Mama Killa	Moon Goddess. Daughter of Vircocha and Pachamama. Wife of Inti.
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Inti	Sun God. Son of Vircocha and Pachamama. Husband of Mama Killa.
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Manco Cápac	Son of either Viracocha or Inti. First Emperor of Cuzco of the Inca Empire.
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Mama Ocllo	Wife of Manco Cápac. First Empress of Cuzco of the Inca Empire.
------------	---

Ayar Cachi	Brother of Manco Cápac.
------------	-------------------------

See also

Mythologies of the indigenous peoples of the Americas

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Indigenous peoples of the Americas

vte

Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Deities of the Indigenous peoples of North AmericaLists of deitiesNative American-related lists

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Coyote and Opossum appear in the stories of several tribes.

The Indigenous peoples of the Americas comprise numerous different cultures.

Each has its own mythologies, many of which share certain themes across cultural boundaries. In North American mythologies, common themes include a close relation to nature and animals as well as belief in a Great Spirit that is conceived of in various ways. As anthropologists note, their great creation myths and sacred oral tradition in whole are comparable to the Christian Bible and scriptures of other major religions.[1]

Northern America

Proportion of Indigenous Americans in each county of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico as of the 2020 United States Census

There is no single mythology of the Native Americans in the United States, the Indigenous peoples in Canada and other peoples, but numerous different canons of traditional narratives associated with religion, ethics and beliefs.[2][3] Such stories are deeply based in Nature and are rich with the symbolism of seasons, weather, plants, animals, earth, water, fire, sky, and the heavenly bodies. Common elements are the principle of an all-embracing, universal and omniscient Great Spirit, a connection to the Earth and its landscapes, a belief in a parallel world in the sky (sometimes also underground and/or below the water), diverse creation narratives, visits to the 'land of the dead', and collective memories of ancient sacred ancestors.[3]

A characteristic of many of the myths is the close relationship between human beings and animals (including birds and reptiles). They often feature shape-shifting between animal and the human form. Marriage between people and different species (particularly bears) is a common theme. In some stories, animals foster human children.

Although most Native North American myths are profound and serious, some use light-hearted humor – often in the form of tricksters – to entertain, as they subtly convey important spiritual and moral messages. The use of allegory is common, exploring issues ranging from love and friendship to domestic violence and mental illness.

Some myths are connected to traditional religious rituals involving dance, music, songs, and trance (e.g. the Sun Dance).

Most of the myths from this region were first transcribed by ethnologists during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These sources were collected from Native American elders who still had strong connections to the traditions of their ancestors. They may be considered the most authentic surviving records of the ancient stories, and thus form the basis of the descriptions below.[4][better source needed]

Northeast (Southeastern Canada and Northeastern US, including the Great Lakes)

From the full moon fell Nokomis – from The Story of Hiawatha, 1910[5]
Myths from this region feature female deities, such as the creator, Big Turtle;[6][7] and First Mother, from whose body grew the first corn and tobacco.[8] The two great divine culture heroes are Glooskap[9][10] and Manabus.[11]

Other stories explore the complex relationships between animals and human beings. Some myths were originally recited as verse narratives.[9]

Anishinaabe traditional beliefs - The Anishinaabeg peoples (Algonquin/Nipissing, Ojibwa/Chippewa/Saulteaux/Mississaugas, Odawa, Potawatomi and Oji-Cree)
Ho-Chunk mythology - A North American tribe located in now eastern Wisconsin.
Iroquois mythology - A confederacy of tribes located in the New York state area.
Lenape mythology

Seneca mythology - A North American tribe located south of Lake Ontario.

Wyandot religion - A North American tribe located around the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

Great Plains

Stories unique to the Great Plains feature buffalo, which provided the Plains peoples with food, clothing, housing and utensils. In some myths they are benign, in others fearsome and malevolent.[12] The Sun is an important deity;[13][14] other supernatural characters include Morning Star[13][8][14] and the Thunderbirds.[15][12][16]

A common theme is the making of a journey, often to a supernatural place across the landscape or up to the parallel world in the sky.[13][17]

One of the most dominant trickster stories of the Plains is Old Man, about whom numerous humorous stories are told.[18][13] The Old Man, known as Waziya, lived beneath the earth with his wife, and they had a daughter. Their daughter married the wind and had four sons: North, East, South, and West. The sun, moon and winds then ruled the universe together.[19]

An important supernatural hero is the Blood Clot Boy, transformed from a clot of blood.[20][21]

Ho-Chunk mythology

Lakota mythology

Pawnee mythology

Southeastern US

Important myths of this region deal with the origin of hunting and farming,[22][23] and the origin of sickness and medicine.[23]

An important practice of this region was animism, the belief that all objects, places, and creatures have a soul.[24] Most death, disease, or misfortune would be associated with the failure to put the soul of a slain animal to rest. When this

happens, the animal could get vengeance through their "species chief". Large amounts of rare materials found with this regions dead suggest strong evidence that they believed in a sort of afterlife. It is thought that when a member of a tribe died, their soul would hover over their communities, trying to get their friends and relatives to join them, so their funeral ceremonies were not just to commemorate the dead, but to protect the living.

The Green Corn ceremony, also known as Busk, was an annual celebration of a successful corn crop. Their fires were put out and rekindled, grudges are forgiven, and materials are thrown out or broken to then be replaced. It was essentially a renewing of life and community for these tribes.[24][25]

Cherokee Myth of Creation

There was a time when there was no earth, and all creatures lived in a place above the sky called Galvlo'i. Everything below was only water, but when Galvlo'i got too crowded, the creatures decided to send down Water Beetle to see if he could find them a new place to live. He obliged and dove down into the water, all the way to the bottom of the sea, where he picked up a bit of mud and brought it to the surface. Once above the water, the mud spread out in all directions and became an island.[24] The Great Spirit secured the island by attaching cords to it and tying it to the vault in the sky.

Though the land was now stable, the ground was too soft for any of the animals to stand on, so they sent down Buzzard to scope it out. He flew around for some time until he could find a dry enough spot to land, and when he did the flapping of his wings caused the mud to shift. It went down in some places and up in others, creating the peaks, valleys, hills, and mountains of the earth. The rest of the creatures were now able to come down, but they soon realized it was very dark, so they invited the sun to come with them. Everyone was happy except Crawfish, who said his shell turned a bright red because the sun was too close, so they raised the sun seven different times until Crawfish was satisfied.

The Great Spirit then created plants for this new land, after which he told the animals to stay awake for seven days. Only Owl was able to do so, and as a reward, the Great Spirit gave him the gift of sight in the dark. The plants tried as well, but only the pines, firs, holly, and a select few others were able to stay awake, so he gave them the gift of keeping their leaves year-round. Great Spirit then decided he wanted to have people live on this island, so he created one man and one woman. The pair did not yet know how to make children, so the man took a fish and pressed it against the woman's stomach, after which she gave birth. They did this for seven days until Great Spirit felt there was enough humans for the time being, and made it so a woman could only give birth once a year.[26]

See also:

Cherokee mythology – A North American tribe that migrated from the great lakes

area to the southeastern woodlands.

Choctaw mythology – A North American tribe from the area of modern-day Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Creek mythology – A North American tribe from the area of modern-day Georgia and Alabama.

Caribbean US

Taíno mythology – This mythology and philosophy expresses the spiritual beliefs of the maritime Maipurean island settlers from the Amazon and/or Arawakan group of peoples. Their lineage and mythologies include having a creator deity as well as endless cyclical spontaneous birth. Immigrating from North East South America, their stories include gods and deity veneration as well as a view beyond that. Some of the philosophies include a concept of reality as illusion; and also that this world is a dream. Some petroglyphs on the islands include references interpreted to suggest galactic or alien life. Today's members of the community have established several views of mythology; some indicating ancestor veneration while others focus on deity and spirit veneration. The belief sets indicate the lineage rather than pointing to one absolute truth. A commonality between lineages includes honoring ancestors through cemi/zemi stones; spiritual homes of the lineage, as well as respecting sun and moon spirits. Weather spirits and spirits of the honored dead are also respectfully acknowledged.

California and Great Basin

Myths of this region are dominated by the sacred creator/trickster Coyote. Other significant characters include the Sun People,[27] the Star Women[28] and Darkness.[29]

A few of the most distinctive ceremonies of this region were their funeral customs and their commemoration of the dead. When a death occurred, the house in which it happened would be burnt down, and there would sometimes be bans on speaking the name of the dead. Widows would be smeared with pitch and their hair would be cut until the annual mourning releases them. This mourning came to be known as the "burning", the "cry", or the "dance of the dead". During these ceremonies, multiple properties are burned while the tribe dances, chants, and wails, in order to appease the ghosts.[30]

Another common ceremony is one that takes place when adolescents hit puberty. Girls go through a series of grueling tabus when her first period starts but is followed by a celebratory dance when it ends. Boys will undergo an official initiation into the tribe by participating in ceremonies that recount the tribes' mysteries and myths.[30][31]

See also:

Earth-maker myth

Kuksu – a religion in Northern California practiced by members within several Indigenous peoples of California.

Miwok mythology – a North American tribe in Northern California.

Ohlone mythology – a North American tribe in Northern California.

Pomo religion – a North American tribe in Northern California.

Southwest

Myths of the Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo peoples tell how the first human beings emerged from an underworld to the Earth. According to the Hopi Pueblo people, the first beings were the Sun, two goddesses known as Hard Being Woman (Huruing Wuhti)[32] and Spider Woman.[32][33] It was the goddesses who created living creatures and human beings. Other themes include the origin of tobacco and corn,[34] and horses;[33] and a battle between summer and winter. Some stories describe parallel worlds in the sky[35] and underwater.[35]

Multi-sensory experiences also are prominent in Ancestral Pueblo ceremonial rituals; for example, to evoke a paradisiacal realm, Chacoan people would perform sensorial ceremonies by use of exotic artifacts such as turquoise, shell, cacao, copper bells, and macaws.[36]

See also:

Ute mythology – a North American tribe located in both the Northwestern and Southwestern United States.

Diné Bahane' (Navajo) – a North American nation from the Southwestern United States.

Hopi mythology – a North American tribe in Arizona.

Zuni mythology – a North American tribe in New Mexico.

Plateau

Myths of the Plateau region express the people's intense spiritual feeling for their landscapes and emphasize the importance of treating with respect the animals that they depend upon for food.[37][38] Sacred tricksters here include Coyote[39] and Fox.[40]

See also:

Salish mythology – a North American tribe or band in Montana, Idaho, Washington and British Columbia, Canada

Arctic (coastal Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland)

The myths of this region are strongly set in the landscape of tundra, snow, and ice. Memorable stories feature the winds, the moon, and the giants. Some accounts say that Anguta is the supreme being, who created the Earth, sea and heavenly bodies. His daughter, Sedna created all living things – animals and plants. Sedna is also regarded as the protecting divinity of the Inuit.[41]

Subarctic (inland northern Canada and Alaska)

Here some myths reflect the extreme climate[42] and the people's dependence on salmon as a major food resource.[43] In imagination, the landscape is populated by both benign and malevolent giants.[44]

Northwest

In this region, the dominant sacred trickster is Raven, who brought daylight to the world[45] and appears in many other stories. Myths explore the people's relationship with the coast and the rivers along which they traditionally built their towns. There are stories of visits to parallel worlds beneath the sea[46] and up in the sky.[47]

See also:

Kwakwaka'wakw mythology – an Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

Lummi – a North American tribe from the Pacific Northwest, Washington state area.

Nuu-chah-nulth mythology – a group of indigenous peoples living on Vancouver Island in British Columbia.

Haida mythology – a nation living in Haida Gwaii and the Alaska Panhandle.

Tsimshian mythology – an indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest Coast living on the British Columbia Coast and Alaska's Annette Islands.

Aztecs

The Aztecs, who predominantly inhabited modern-day central Mexico, had a complex system of beliefs based on deities who directly affected the lives of humans, including those who controlled rain, the rising Sun, and fertility.

Voluntary human sacrifice was a central piece to the order of the universe and human survival.

The Aztecs viewed people as servants and warriors of the gods, whom were not merciful or generous, but all-powerful beings that needed to be fed and appeased in order to avoid disaster and punishment.[48] Thus, the concept of human sacrifice emerged. This practice was not new and had been used in other cultures such as the Mayans, but the Aztecs made this their main event, so to speak, in their ceremonies. These sacrifices were mainly to appease the Sun God, Huitzilopochtli.

Creation Myth

According to Aztec belief, the creation of the earth started with a god called Omēteotl, otherwise known as the Dual God, as they were made from the union of Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacihuatl, whom the Aztecs believed were the lord and lady of their sustenance. Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacihuatl had four children:

Xipe Totec, which translates to "the flayed god" in Nahuatl, is associated with the color red. He is the god of the seasons and all things that grow on the earth.

Tezcatlipoca, which translates to "smoking mirror", is associated with the color black. He is the god of the earth and the most powerful of the four children.

Quetzalcoatl, which translates to "plumed serpent", is associated with the color white. He is the god of air. Finally, Huitzilopochtli, which translates to

"hummingbird of the south", is associated with the color blue. He is the god of

war.[49]

Quetzalcoatl (The Plumed Serpent), the god of the air. And Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror), the god of the earth.

The four children decided they wanted to create a world with people to live in it. Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli made the first attempt, starting by making fire. This fire became the sun, but only half a sun, because it was not big or bright enough to light their entire world. They then made the first man and woman, which they called Cipactonal and Oxomoco respectively. Their many children were called macehuals, and were to be the farmers of the land. From there they created time, and then the underworld known as Mictlán. There are many stories of how the age of the fifth and final sun came to be. One story tells of how Tezcatlipoca took flint and used it to make fires to light the world again, before discussing with his brothers what should be done. They decided to make a new sun that feeds on the hearts and blood of humans. To feed it, they made four hundred men and five women. This is where the story goes into different directions. Some say that both Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc wanted their sons to become the new sun, so they each threw their sons into one of the fires created by Tezcatlipoca. Tlaloc waited for the fire to burn out before throwing his son into the embers, so his son became the moon. Quetzalcoatl elected to throw his son directly into the fiery blaze, so he became the fifth and final sun that we see in the sky today.[49] Another story tells of the gathering of the gods at the ancient city of Teotihuacan, to discuss how to make a new sun. A god by the name of Nanahuatzin, god of disease, offered to throw himself into the fire and become the new sun. Being a weak and sickly god, the others thought he should not be the one to do it, and that a stronger and more powerful god should be the sun. Tecuciztecatl, a very wealthy god, stepped forward and said he would do it, but was not able to find the courage to jump into the flames. Nanahuatzin, with little hesitation, then threw himself into the fire. Seeing his bravery, Tecuciztecatl decided to jump in too. They were both transformed into suns, but the light was now too bright to see anything, so one of the other gods threw a rabbit at Tecuciztecatl, dimming his light and turning him into the moon. Nanahuatzin, now the new sun, was essentially reborn as Ollin Tonatiuh. The problem they now had was that he would not move from his position in the sky unless the other gods sacrificed their blood for him.[48][49] So a god by the name of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, lord of dawn, threw a dart at Tonatiuh, but missed. Tonatiuh then threw one back at Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, hitting him in the head and turning him into Itzlacolihqui, god of coldness, frost, and obsidian. Realizing that they could not refuse, the other gods offered their bare chests to him, and Quetzalcoatl cut out their hearts with a sacrificial knife. With the blood of the gods, Tonatiuh began to move across the sky in the same pattern that we see to this day. Quetzalcoatl took the clothing and ornaments of the sacrificed gods and wrapped them in bundles, which the people then worshipped.

Central America

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (January 2023)
Central America refers to the narrow area between North and South America, although the geographic outline of this region is arbitrary in the context of the indigenous tribes; many nations lived in and passed through this region. The religion in this area can be characterized by connection with the natural world, and many groups had positions such as priests and shamans to facilitate this relationship. The Aztec Empire also stretched south into this region.[50]

Lencan mythology – a Central American people of southwest Honduras and eastern El Salvador in Central America.

Maya mythology – an ancient Central American people of southern Mexico and northern Central America.

Olmec religion – an ancient Central American people of south-central Mexico, in the present-day states of Veracruz and Tabasco.

Purépecha religion – a Central American people centered around Lake Pátzcuaro.

Talamancan mythology – combined mythologies of the Bribri and Cabécar peoples of the Talamanca region in Costa Rica.

Southern America

[icon]

This section needs expansion. You can help by adding to it. (January 2023)
There are numerous different mythologies of the Indigenous peoples of South America.[51]

Brazilian mythology – the subset of Brazilian folklore with cultural elements of diverse origin found in Brazil, comprising folk tales, traditions, characters and beliefs regarding places, peoples, and entities.

Chaná mythology – the folk tales and beliefs of Chaná people about places, peoples and entities around them.

Chilote mythology – the cultures of Chono and Huilliche, who live on the Chiloé Archipelago, off the coast of southern Chile.

Guarani mythology – an indigenous people of the Gran Chaco, especially in Paraguay and parts of the surrounding areas of Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia and Some regions in the southern part of South America.

Inca mythology (Religion in the Inca Empire) – a South American empire based in the central Andes mountain range.

Mapuche religion – an indigenous people in Chile.

Muisca mythology – the indigenous people of the Altiplano Cundiboyacense in the modern Eastern Ranges of the Colombian Andes.

Selk'nam mythology

See also

icon Indigenous peoples of the Americas portal

Mythology portal

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Indigenous peoples of the Americas

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"[Spirits of the air](#)" redirects here. For the 1989 science fiction film, see [Spirits of the Air](#), [Gremlins of the Clouds](#).

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Jupiter, the sky father of Roman religion and mythology.

A sky deity is a deity associated with the sky, and are a common feature of polytheistic religions. The sky often has great religious significance.

The daytime sky deities are typically distinct from the nighttime ones. Stith Thompson's [Motif-Index of Folk-Literature](#) reflects this by separating the category

of "Sky-god" (A210) from that of "Star-god" (A250). In mythology, nighttime gods are usually known as night deities and gods of stars simply as star gods. Both of these categories are included here since they relate to the sky. Luminary deities are included as well since the sun and moon are located in the sky. Some religions may also have a deity or personification of the day, distinct from the god of the day lit sky, to complement the deity or personification of the night.

Daytime gods and nighttime gods are frequently deities of an "upper world" or "celestial world" opposed to the earth and a "netherworld" (gods of the underworld are sometimes called "chthonic" deities).[1] Within Greek mythology, Uranus was the primordial sky god, who was ultimately succeeded by Zeus, who ruled the celestial realm atop Mount Olympus. In contrast to the celestial Olympians was the chthonic deity Hades, who ruled the underworld, and Poseidon, who ruled the sea.[2]

Any masculine sky god is often also king of the gods, taking the position of patriarch within a pantheon. Such king gods are collectively categorized as "sky father" deities, with a polarity between sky and earth often being expressed by pairing a "sky father" god with an "earth mother" goddess (pairings of a sky mother with an earth father are less frequent). A main sky goddess is often the queen of the gods and may be an air/sky goddess in her own right, though she usually has other functions as well with "sky" not being her main. In antiquity, several sky goddesses in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Near East were called Queen of Heaven.

Gods may rule the sky as a pair (for example, ancient Semitic supreme god El and the fertility goddess Asherah whom he was most likely paired with).[3] The following is a list of sky deities in various polytheistic traditions arranged mostly by language family, which is typically a better indicator of relatedness than geography.

African

Central African

Khonvoun, Mbuti supreme creator god and sky father

Nzambi Ampungu, Bakongo creator, sky and sun god

Nzambici, Bakongo sky, moon and earth goddess

East African

Mulungu, Nyamwezi creator and sky god

Waaq creator and sky god.

North African

Amun, Ancient Egyptian god of creation and the wind

Anhur, Ancient Egyptian originally a foreign war god

Denka, Dinka god of sky, rain and fertility

Hathor, Ancient Egyptian originally a sky goddess

Horus, Ancient Egyptian god of the sun, sky, kings, and war

Khonsu, Ancient Egyptian moon god

Mehet-Weret, Ancient Egyptian goddess of the sky
Nut, Ancient Egyptian goddess of the sky
Ra, Ancient Egyptian god of the sun that ruled the sky, earth and underworld
Shu, Ancient Egyptian god of the air
Thoth, Ancient Egyptian original moon god
Southern African
Umvelinqangi, Zulu sky god
Utixo, Khoikhoi sky god
Xamaba, Heikum creator and sky god
West African
Nyame, Akan supreme deity, god of the sky
Olorun, Yoruba supreme deity, god of the sky and heaven
Shango, Yoruba sky father and thunder god
Amadioha, Igbo thunder and lightning god
Osalobua, Benin supreme creator god and sky father
Wulbari, Guang sky god
Abasi (is for ever) Ibom enyon, Ibibio People God, or the one who is forever;
compound word, Kingdom of High
Achamán, Guanche creator and sky god
Asian
Central Asian
Turkic and Mongolic
Tengri, god of the sky
Ülgen
Kayra
Hindu
Aditi, celestial mother of the gods
Chandra, god of the moon
Dyaus Pita, sky father
Indra, king of the gods, associated with weather
Ratri, goddess of night
Saranyu, goddess of clouds
Surya, god of the sun
Ushas, goddess of dawn
Varuna, a sky god
Eastern Asian
Chinese
Yu Huang Dadi-Jade Emperor (center)
Ziwei Dadi-polestar emperor (north)
Changsheng Dadi-longevity emperor (south)
Qinghua Dadi-azure-illustrious emperor (east)
Taiji Tianhuang Dadi-ultimate heaven emperor (west)
Chang'e, moon goddess who lives with the moon rabbit
Shang Di, the celestial emperor
Tian or Heaven
Xihe (deity), sun goddess

Zhinü, weaver of the clouds

Xian, Taoist spirits associated with the sky and tian

Japanese

Amaterasu, goddess of the sun and the universe, ancestor of the emperors of Japan, and the most important deity in Shintoism.

Amenominakanushi, heavenly ancestral god.

Izanagi, creator of Japan and sky father.

Izanami, creator goddess of Japan with her husband; starts off as a sky goddess, but after she dies becomes a death/underworld/chthonic goddess.

Marici, Buddhist goddess of the heavens.

Tsukuyomi, god of the moon and brother of Amaterasu.

Korean

Hwanin, sky god.

Hwanung, son of Hwanin.

Thai

Phaya Thaen (Thai: พระยาเทวน), the king of heaven, the protagonist in a Rocket Festival

Vietnamese

Ông Trời, sky god in Vietnamese indigenous religion

Ông Tử Vi, king of the stars

Mẫu Cửu Trùng Thiên, she is the daughter of Ông Trời, the sister of the Mẫu

Thượng Thiên, Mặt Trời, Mặt Trăng and also a goddess who rules the sky

Mẫu Thượng Thiên, she is the daughter of Ông Trời and also one of the rulers of the sky

Pháp Vân, cloud goddess

Thần Mặt Trời, goddess of the sun, daughter of Ông Trời

Thần Mặt Trăng, goddess of the moon, daughter of Ông Trời

Hằng Nga, the goddess who lives on the moon with uncle Cuội and Moon Rabbit

Western Asian

Further information: Ancient Semitic religion

Asherah, sky goddess and consort of El; after the rise of Yahweh, she may have become Yahweh's consort before she was demonized and the Israelite religion became monotheistic

Baalshamin, "Lord of the Heavens" (cf. Armenian Barsamin)

El (god), original sky god and sky father of the Semitic speakers (replaced by Yahweh among Israelites)

Iranian

Asmān, god of sky

Māh, god of the moon

Ohrmazd, sky father, the Great God

Tiṣtar, god of Sirius star and Rainfall.

Xwarxšēd, god of the sun

The Americas

Haitian

Badessy, Vodou loa associated with the sky.

Incan

Chaska Coyllur, goddess of beauty, flowers and young maidens. Personification of planet Venus.

Chuqui Chinchay, incarnation of various stars and meteorological phenomena.

Coyllur, goddess of all the stars.

Illapa, god of the sky, atmospheric phenomena and war.

Inti, god of the Sun.

Kon, god of the wind and rain.

Kuychi, god of rainbows.

Pachakamaq, creator and sustainer god of all the universe.

Mama Killa, goddess of the Moon.

Viracocha, heavenly father and god creator of all that exists.

Inuit

Anguta, sky father and psychopomp.

Ataksak, goddess of the sky.

Negafook, god of weather systems.

Torngarsuk, god of the sky.

Iroquoian

Atahensic, Iroquois sky goddess who fell to Earth at the time of creation.

Lakota

Anpao wichapi, the Morning Star spirit, bringer of knowledge and new beginnings

Han, the spirit of night, representative of ignorance

Wanbli Gleska, the Spotted Eagle spirit, usually regarded as Wakan Thanka

Hanwi, the moon spirit of knowledge, feminine power, sometimes considered to be the wife of Wi

Mahpiya Oyate, the Cloud People, also known as the Wichapi Oyate (Star People)

Wohpe, the spirit of meteors or falling stars (often confused with Fallen Star), also the spirit of beauty, love, wishes, dreams, and prophecy

Wakinyan, thunder spirit usually taking the form of a bird

Wi, the sun spirit responsible for bringing light and wisdom to the Lakota oyate

Wichapi oyate, the Star People, each having respective powers however they usually represent knowledge to some degree

Wichapi Hinhpayá, the Fallen Star, the son of Wichapi owánžila and Tapun Sa Win

Wichapi owánžila, the Resting Star or Polaris, the widower of Tapun Sa Win (Red Cheeked Woman)

Lencans

Itanipuca, sky father and god of celestial bodies

Icelca, god of time and seasons

Mayan

Cabaguil, god of the sky.

Hunab Ku, sky father.

Tzacol, sky god and creator deity.

Puebloans

Ápoyan Ta'chu, sky father in Zuni mythology

Taíno mythology

Yaya, supreme god in Taíno mythology

Uto-Aztecan

Citlalincue, goddess of the Milky Way
Cipactonal, god of the daytime
Oxomoco, goddess of nighttime
Centzonmimixcoa, 400 gods of the northern stars
Centzonhuitznahua, 400 gods of the southern stars
Coyolxauhqui, goddess of the Moon
Meztli, goddess of the Moon
Tonatiuh, god of the Sun
Tianquiztli, star goddesses (see the Pleiades)
Citlaltonac, god of male stars
Citlalmima, goddess of female stars
Citlaxonecuilli, goddess of Ursa Major
Eototo, Hopi head kachina and sky father
Australian
Altjira, Arrernte creator and sky god.
Baiaame, southeast Australian creator and sky god.
Bila (sun), cannibalistic sun goddess.
Binbeal, god of rainbows.
Bunjil, Kulin creator and sky god.
Daramulum, one-legged emu sky god.
Numakulla, a pair of creator and sky gods.
Rainbow Serpent, creator god in many Aboriginal cultures associated with water, rain, and rainbows, though it also has a chthonic connection.
Burmese
Akathaso, the spirits of the sky
Etruscan
Ani, primordial god of the sky identified with the Greek Uranus and Roman Caelus
Tinia, god of the sky
European
Albanian
Zojz, the sky-god
Dielli, the Sun
Hëna, the Moon
Prende, Afër-dita, the dawn, Venus
Baltic
Auštaras, the god of the northeast wind
Dievs, the god of the day-lit sky and the chief god in Latvian mythology
Vejopatis, the god of the wind who guards the divine realm of Dausos
Celtic
Latobius, sky and mountain god equated with the Greek gods Zeus and Ares
Nuada, god of the sky, wind, and war
Sulis, goddess of the hot springs at Bath; probably originally the pan-Celtic sun goddess
Ambisagrus, Cisalpine god of rain, sky and hail equated to the Roman god Jupiter

Tuireann, Irish god of thunder and the sky, Gaulish name Taranis.

English

Nuit, goddess of "Infinite Space and Infinite Stars" in Thelema

Germanic

Dagr, personification of day

Eostre, spring and fertility goddess; originally the Germanic dawn goddess

Mēnô, the moon

Nótt, personification of night

Sōwilō, the sun

Teiwaz, early Germanic sky god, also the god of law, justice, and the thing (assembly)

Thor, God of Sky, Strength and thunder, champion of the deities. Equated with Jupiter

Greek

Aether, primeval god of the upper air

Apollo, god of the sun, archery, prophecy, medicine, plagues...

Artemis, goddess of the moon, hunt, virginity, childbirth...

Astraeus, dusk god

Eos, dawn goddess

Helios, personification/titan of the sun

Hemera, primordial goddess of day

Hera, goddess of the air, marriage, women, women's fertility, childbirth, heirs, kings, and empires

Iris, goddess of the rainbow and messenger of Hera

Nephele, cloud nymph in Hera's likeness

Nyx, primordial goddess of night

Selene, personification/titan of the moon

Uranus, primeval god of the sky

Zeus, king of the gods, ruler of Mount Olympus, god of the sky, weather, law, order, and civilization

Messapian

Zis, god of the sky

Proto-Indo-European

Dyeus, the chief sky father of the Proto-Indo-European religion

Hausos, dawn goddess and daughter of Dyeus

Menot, moon deity

Sehul, sun deity

Roman

Aurora, dawn goddess

Caelus, personification of the sky, equivalent to the Greek Uranus

Juno, goddess of the sky, queen of the gods, and Jupiter's wife, equivalent to the Greek Hera

Jupiter, king of heaven and god of the sky and weather, equivalent to the Greek Zeus

Zeus

Luna, moon goddess

Nox, Roman version of Nyx, night goddess and mother of Discordia

Sol, sun god
Summanus, god of nocturnal thunder/lightning
Slavic
Dazhbog (or Svarog), god of the Sun
Khors, god of the Moon
Stribog, god of the winds, sky, and air
Perun, god of the thunderstorms, lightning and sky.
Triglav, a triple god whose three heads represent sky, earth, and underworld
Zorya, goddess of dawn
Thracian and Phrygian
Sabazios, sky father
Filipino
Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures
Ilanit: a group of Isnag sky dwellers who are helpful harvest spirits[4]
Kaptan, a sky god [5]
Bathala, the creator of the sky
Hurrian
Hepit, goddess of the sky
Teshub, god of the sky and storms
Meitei/Sanamahism
Further information: Meitei mythology and Sanamahism
Apaknga (Lunar mansions)
Chingcharoibi (G Geminorum)
Chungshennubi (Cancer)
Khongjom Nubi (Pleiades)
Konthoujam Tampha Lairembi, queen of heaven
Korouhanba, sky and sun god
Likla Saphaba (Orion)
Nongshaba, celestial dragon lion
Nongthang Leima, thunder and lightning goddess
Pakhangba, celestial dragon god
Sachung Telheiba (A Orionis)
Sajik (Arietis)
Salailen (Soraren), father sky who help humans to build a civilisation
Sidaba Mapu, the sky god and the Supreme Deity
Taoroinai, heavenly dragon god
Thaba (Musca)
Thangching, ancestral God descended from the heaven
Malagasy
Zanahary, sky deity of Madagascar
Māori
Ao, god of light and the sky
Ranginui, sky father
Tāwhaki Being of thunder and lightning
Tāwhirimātea God of weather, storms, thunder and lightning
Tane-rore, personification of shimmering air

Te Uira Personification of lightning
Whaitiri Female Personification of Thunder
Uenuku, god of rainbows
Other Pacific Islanders
Abeguwo, Melanesian sky goddess
Amai-te-rangi, sky demon of Mangaia
Atua I Kafika, supreme sky god of Polynesia
Ira, Polynesian sky goddess
Laufakana'a, Tongan creator god and sky father
Tangaloa, Tongan sky god
Sumerian
Anshar, god of the sky
Anu, king of the gods, associated with the sky, heaven, and constellations
Enlil, god of breath, air, and wind
Utu, god of the sun
Uralic
Finnic
Ilmari, godlike smith-hero and creator of the sky.
Ilmatar, virgin spirit of the air[6]
Ukko, supreme god of sky, weather, thunder, crops (harvest) and other natural things.[7]
Perkele, associated with Ukko by some researchers. A name for Devil in Finnish.[8][9]
Taara, Oeselian chief god of thunder and the sky
Mari
Main article: Mari mythology
Kugu Jumo, chief god of the sky, creator of the world, associated with a duck
Tölze, god of the moon
Piambar, daughter of the sky
Shudyr-Shamich, god of the stars
Uzhara, god of the dawn
Mordvin
Värde-Škaj, Mokshan supreme god of the sky
Niškepaz, Erzyan supreme god of the sky
Kovava, Mokshan goddess of the moon
Permic
Inmar, Udmurt god of the heavens
Jenmar, Komi sky and chief god, creator of the world, associated with the moose
Sami
Horagalles, Sami god of the sky, thunder and lightning, the rainbow, weather, oceans, lakes, human life, health and well-being.[10]
Mano, god of the moon
Samoyedic
Num, god of the sky
Ugric
Num-Toorum-Aś, Ob-Ugric supreme god and ruler of the kingdom of the sky in

the north

See also

List of light deities

List of lunar deities

List of night deities

List of solar deities

Nature worship

Sky father

Water deity

Wind deity

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El was identified with the obscure deity Yahweh in early Hebrew religion, ultimately giving rise to Hebrew monotheism by the 7th century BCE; according to the Hebrew Bible it was 7th-century Judean king Josiah who removed the statue of Asherah from the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. See also The Hebrew Goddess.

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Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Sky and weather deitiesMythological archetypesLists of deities

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List of nature deities

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A Greek dryad depicted in a painting

In religion, a nature deity is a deity in charge of forces of nature, such as water, biological processes, or weather. These deities can also govern natural features such as mountains, trees, or volcanoes. Accepted in animism, pantheism, panentheism, polytheism, deism, totemism, shamanism, Taoism, Hinduism, and paganism, the nature deity can embody a number of archetypes including mother goddess, Mother Nature, or lord of the animals.

African

Akan mythology

Asase Yaa, Mother of the Dead and the goddess of the harsh earth and truth

Asase Afua, the goddess of the lush earth, fertility, love, procreation and farming

Bia, personification of the Bia River and god of the wilderness and wild animals

Tano, personification of the Tano River and god of the river and thunder

Bantu mythology

Jengu, Sawabantu and Duala water spirits

Nyambe, Bantu Supreme deity and god of the sun

Nzambi, Bakongo Sky Father and god of the sun

Nzambici, Bakongo Sky Mother and goddess of the moon and earth

Simbi, Bakongo nature spirits of the water and forest

Egyptian mythology

Ash, god of the oasis and the vineyards of the western Nile Delta

Geb, god of earth

Nut, sky goddess and sister and wife of Geb

Igbo mythology

Ala, Igbo alusi, goddess of the earth, morality, fertility, and creativity
Amadioha, Igbo alusi, god of thunder and lightning
Anyanwu, Igbo alusi, sun goddess of good fortune, knowledge, and wisdom
Voodoo mythology
Mawu-Lisa, Dahomey goddess of creation, the sun, and the moon
Xevioso, Dahomey god of thunder
Yoruba mythology
Aja, Yoruba orisha, patron of whirlwinds, the forest, forest animals, and herbal healers
Okò, Yoruba orisha, patron of new harvest of the white African yam and of hunting
Osanyin, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest, herbs, and healing
Oshosi, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest and of hunting
Oshun, Yoruba orisha, patron of water, purity, fertility, love, and sensuality
Zulu mythology
iNyanga, Zulu moon goddess
Nomhoyi, Zulu goddess of rivers
Nomkhubulwane, Zulu goddess mother of fertility, rain, agriculture, rainbow, and beer
Unsondo, Zulu god of the sky, sun, thunder, and earthquakes
American
Aztec mythology
Xochipilli, god of art, games, beauty, dance, flowers, maize, and song
Xochiquetzal, goddess of fertility, beauty, female sexuality, protection of young mothers, pregnancy, childbirth, vegetation, flowers, and the crafts of women
Tonantzin, mother goddess
Chicomecōātl, a goddess of agriculture
Brazilian mythology/Guarani mythology
Curupira, a powerful demon or forest spirit and guardian of nature
Haitian Vodou
Baron Samedi, loa of the dead
Grand Bois, loa associated with trees, plants and herbs
L'inglêsou, loa who lives in the wild areas of Haiti and kills anyone who offends him
Loco, loa associated with healers and plants, especially trees
Inca mythology
Pachamama, fertility goddess who presides over planting, harvesting and earthquakes
Maya mythology
Yum Kaax, god of agriculture, wild plants and animals
Native American mythology
Asintmah, Athabaskan earth and nature goddess, and the first woman to walk the earth
Ngen, Mapuche spirits of nature
Asian
Chinese mythology

Dou Mu Niang Niang, Mother Goddess of the Big Dipper

Tai Sui, Star deities of sixty years cycle

Chang'e, moon goddess

Lei Gong, god of thunder

Hou Tu Niang Niang, Mother Earth and Overlord of all Tu Di Gong

Tu Di Gong, earth deity of a specific locality and nearby human communities

Gonggong, ancient god of water

Zhurong, ancient god of fire

Hebo, god of Yellow River

San Shan Guo Wang, lords of the Three Mountains in Southern China

Hinduism

Yaksha, are a broad class of nature spirits. Their female counterpart are known as Yakshini.

Prithvi or Bhumi, goddess regarded as "Mother Earth"; Sanskrit for Earth

Agni, god of fire

Varuna, god of oceans

Vayu, god of wind

Indra, god of rain, lightning and thunders

Aranyani, goddess of the forests and the animals that dwell within it

Japanese mythology

Amaterasu, goddess of the sun

Izanagi, forefather of the gods, god of creation and life and first male

Izanami, Izanagi's wife and sister, goddess of creation and death, first female

Konohanasakuya-hime, the blossom princess and symbol of delicate earthly life

Shinigami, god of death

Suijin, god of water

Fūjin, god of wind

Kagu-tsuchi, god of fire

Susanoo, god of storms, (fertility in Izumo legends), younger brother to

Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi

Tsukuyomi, god of the moon and oceans, younger brother of Amaterasu and older brother of Susanoo

Korean mythology

Dangun, god-king of Gojoseon, god of the mountain

Dokkaebi, nature spirits

Lady Saso, goddess of the mountain

Jacheongbi, goddess of the grain, agriculture, harvest, growth, and nourishment

Jeonggyun Moju, mother of Suro of Geumgwan Gaya and Ijinashi of Daegaya, goddess of the mountain

Jik, god of grains

Sa, god of the earth

Sansin, local mountain gods

Philippine mythology

See also: Anito and Deities of Philippine mythology

Amihan, Tagalog god of the monsoon

Apúng Sinukuan (Maria Sinukuan), Kapampangan mountain goddess associated

with Mount Arayat
Dumakulem, god of mountains
Dumangan, a Tagalog god of good harvest
Lakapati or Ikapati, goddess of cultivated land and agriculture[1]
Dayang Masalanta (Maria Makiling), Tagalog mountain goddess associated with Mount Makiling
Mayari goddess of the moon
Kan-Laon, Visayan god of time associated with the volcano Kanlaon
Tala, Tagalog goddess of the morning and evening star
Vietnamese mythology
Ông Trời, god of the heaven/sky and king of the gods
Mẫu Thượng Thiên, goddess of the heavens/skies
Thiên Y A Na, the goddess has the same job as the Mẫu Thượng Thiên
Mẫu Thượng Ngàn, goddess of the mountains and forests
Tản Viên Sơn Thánh, god of Ba Vì mountain range
Mẫu Thoải, the goddess who governs all things related to water
Mẫu Địa, goddess of the earth
Lạc Long Quân, one of the Long Vương's at the head of the Water Palace
Western Asian
Arab mythology
Dhat-Badan, Yemeni and Horn African goddess of the oasis
Armenian mythology
Ara the Handsome, a dying-and-rising agricultural deity
Aralez, winged dog-like creatures with the ability to resurrect the dead by licking wounds
Areg (Arev) or Ar, god of the Sun
Astlik, deity of fertility and love
Tsovinar, also known as "Nar of the Sea", goddess of waters and the ocean
Mihr, cognate with the Mithra and god of the sun and light
Spandaramet, chthonic goddess of fertility, vineyards, and the underworld
Vishap, a dragon closely associated with water
Hittite mythology
Irpitiga, lord of the earth
Sarruma, god of the mountains
Mesopotamian mythology
Abu, minor Sumerian god of plants
Damu, vegetation god
Emesh, Sumerian god of vegetation
Kishar, goddess representing the earth
Ningishzida, vegetation god
Ninhursag, Sumerian mother goddess associated with the earth and fertility
Ningikuga, Sumerian goddess of reeds and marshes
Ua-Ildak, Babylonian and Akkadian goddess responsible for pastures and poplar trees[2]
Ki, an earth goddess
Enten, god of fertility and agriculture

Persian mythology

Spenta Armaiti, goddess of earth

Ameretat, goddess of vegetation

Haurvatat, goddess associated with water

Anahita, goddess of waters

Tishtrya, god of rain and lightning

Apam Napat, god of waters

Turco-Mongol

Umay, the goddess of nature, love and fertility in Turkic mythology. Also known as Yer Ana.

İye, deities or spirits or natural assets.

Baianai, the god of the forest, animals, and hunt in Turkic mythology.

Ukulan, the god of water in Turkic mythology

European

Baltic mythology

Medeina, Lithuanian goddess of forests, trees, and animals

Zemes māte, goddess of the earth

Celtic mythology

Abnoba, Gaulish goddess associated with forests and rivers

Artio, Gaulish bear goddess of the wilderness

Arduinna, goddess of the Ardennes forest region

Cernunnos, god associated with horned male animals, produce, and fertility

Druantia, hypothetical Gallic tree goddess proposed by Robert Graves in his 1948 study The White Goddess; popular with Neopagans.

Nantosuelta, Gaulish goddess of nature, the earth, fire, and fertility

Sucellus, god of agriculture, forests, and alcoholic drinks

Viridios, god of vegetation, rebirth, and agriculture, possibly cognate with the Green Man

Karærin, Celtic goddess who protects animals and nature

Sínann, Irish goddess, embodiment of the River Shannon, the longest river on Ireland, and a goddess of wisdom

English mythology

Apple Tree Man, the spirit of the oldest apple tree in an orchard[3]

Churnmilk Peg, female guardian spirit of unripe nut thickets

Melsh Dick is the male counterpart to Churnmilk Peg[4]

Etruscan mythology

Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness, wine, health, and growth in all things

Selvans, god of the woodlands

Artumes, goddess of the hunt, woodlands, the night, and the wild

Finnish mythology

Lempo, god of wilderness and archery

Tapio, god and ruler of forests

Mielikki, goddess of forests and the hunt. Wife of Tapio.

Georgian mythology

Dali, goddess of mountain animals such as ibex and deer

Germanic mythology

Ēostre or Ostara, the goddess of spring
Fjörgyn, the female personification of the earth. She is also the mother of the goddess Frigg and, very rarely, mother of Thor
Freyja, goddess of fertility, gold, death, love, beauty, war and magic
Freyr, god of fertility, rain, sunlight, life and summer
Iðunn the goddess of spring who guards the apples that keep the gods eternally young; wife of the god Bragi[5]
Jörð, personification of the earth and the mother of Thor
Nerthus, goddess of the earth, called by the Romans Terra Mater
Njörð, god of the sea, fishing, and fertility
Rán, goddess of the sea, storms, and death
Skaði, goddess of mountains, skiing, winter, archery and hunting
Sif, goddess of earth, fertility, and the harvest
Thor, god of thunder, lightning, weather, oak trees, and fertility
Ullr, god of hunting, archery, skiing, and mountains
Germanic folklore
Nøkken, male water spirit
Elf, beautiful, fairy-like creature that lives in the forest and streams
Greek mythology
Anthousai, flower nymphs
Aphrodite, goddess of love, beauty, pleasure, and fertility
Apollo, god of the sun, light, healing, poetry and music, and archery
Aristaeus, god of shepherds, cheesemaking, beekeeping, honey, honey-mead, olive growing, oil milling, medicinal herbs, hunting, and the Etesian winds
Artemis, goddess of the hunt, the dark, the light, the moon, wild animals, nature, wilderness, childbirth, virginity, fertility, young girls, and health and plague in women and childhood
Aurae, nymphs of the breezes
Chloris, goddess of flowers
Cronus, god of the harvest
Cybele, Phrygian goddess of the fertile earth and wild animals
Demeter, goddess of the harvest, crops, the fertility of the earth, grains, and the seasons
Dionysus, god of wine, vegetation, pleasure, madness, and festivity. The Roman equivalent is Bacchus.[6]
Dryads, tree and forest nymphs
Epimeliades, nymphs of highland pastures and protectors of sheep flocks
Gaia, primal mother goddess and goddess of the earth and its personification
Hamadryades, oak tree dryads
Hegemone, goddess of plants, specifically making them bloom and bear fruit as they were supposed to
Helios, Titan-god of the sun
Horae, goddesses of the seasons and the natural portions of time
Meliae, nymphs of honey and the ash tree
Nymphs, nature spirits
Naiades, fresh water nymphs

Nereids, salt-water nymphs
Nyx, Primordial goddess and personification of night
Oceanides, fresh water nymphs
Oreades, mountain nymphs
Oxylus, god of forests & mountains
Pan, god of shepherds, flocks, mountain wilds, and rustic music
Persephone (Kore), goddess of spring growth
Physis, primeval goddess of nature
Rhea, goddess of fertility, motherhood, and the mountain wilds
Satyrs, rustic nature spirits
Selene, Titan-goddess of the moon
Greek rustic deities
Main article: List of Greek deities § Rustic deities
Mari
Mlande, god of the earth
Mlande-Ava, goddess of the earth
Nordic folklore
Rå, Skogsrå, Hulder, beautiful, female forest spirits
Roman mythology
Bacchus – god of wine, nature, pleasure and festivity; equivalent to the Greek god Dionysus
Ceres, goddess of growing plants and motherly relationships; equivalent to the Greek goddess Demeter
Diana, goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness and the moon; equivalent to the Greek goddess Artemis
Faunus, horned god of the forest, plains and fields
Feronia, goddess associated with wildlife, fertility, health and abundance
Flora, goddess of flowers and the spring; equivalent to the Greek goddess Chloris
Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness and health and growth in all things
Liber, cognate for Bacchus/Dionysus
Nemestrinus, god of the forests and woods
Ops, goddess of fertility and the earth
Pilumnus, nature god who ensured children grew properly and stayed healthy
Pomona, goddess of fruit trees, gardens and orchards
Silvanus, tutelary spirit or deity of woods and fields and protector of forests
Terra, primeval goddess personifying the earth; equivalent to the Greek goddess Gaia
Slavic mythology
Berstuk, evil Wendish god of the forest
Jarilo, god of vegetation, fertility, spring, war and harvest
Leshy, a tutelary deity of the forests.
Porewit, god of the woods, who protected lost voyagers and punished those who mistreated the forest
Veles, god of earth, waters and the underworld
Mokosh, East-Slavic goddess of nature

Oceanian

Māori mythology

Papatuanuku, the earth mother

Ranginui, the sky father

Ruaumoko, god of volcanoes and seasons

Tāne, god of forests and of birds

Micronesian mythology

Nei Tituaabine, Kiribati goddess of trees

Toraja

Indo' Ongon-Ongon, goddess of earthquakes

Pong Banggai di Rante, earth goddess

See also

List of deities by classification

List of tree deities

Ekendriya

Master of Animals

Plant soul

Potnia Theron

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aluanUgariticVainakhYoruba**

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**AgricultureArtBeautyChaosDawnCreatorDeathEarthFate and
TimeFertilityFireFortuneHealthHouseholdHuntingKing of the
godsKnowledgeLightLiminalLove and LustMoon**

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**This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of
the world, listed by region or culture.**

Africa

**Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German
(Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami
Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.[1][2]**

North Africa

Berber deities
Guanche deities
Egyptian deities

Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth
Sub-Saharan Africa

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South Asia

The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity

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Buddhist deities
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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

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A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

[A0 Creator](#)

[A100—A199. The gods in general](#)

[A101. Supreme God](#)

[A104. The Making of the Gods](#)

[A107. Gods of Darkness and Light \(darkness thought of as evil and light as](#)

good).

A109.1. Triple deity

A116. Triplet gods

A111.1. Mother of the gods

A111.2. Father of the Gods

A117.5. Gods as spirits of the deified dead

A131. Gods with animal features

A132.3. Equine god / goddess

A132.5. Bear god / goddess

A132.9. Cattle god / goddess

A161.2. King of the Gods

A177.1. Gods as Dupe or Tricksters

A192. Death or departure of the gods

A193. Gods of Dying-and-rising

A200—A299. Gods of the Upper World

A210. Gods of the Sky

A220. Gods of the Sun

A240. Gods of the Moon

A250. Gods of the Stars

A260. Gods of Light

A270. Gods of the Dawn

A280. Gods of the Weather

A281. Gods of Storms

A282. Gods of the Wind

A284. Gods of Thunder

A287. Gods of Rain

A300—A399. Gods of the Underworld

A310. God of the World of the Dead

A311. Conductor of the Dead

A400—A499. Gods of the Earth (The Human Sphere)

A400. Gods of the Earth

A401. Mother Earth

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A410. Local Gods

A411. Gods of the Hearth and Household

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A420. Gods of Water

A430. Gods of Vegetation

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Wulbari (god)

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Wulbari is a supreme deity figure worshipped in the traditional religions of the Krache and Guang people in Ghana and Togo.[1] Aside from his role as a supreme deity, Wulbari is a sky god, where he lived ever since he retreated from Earth.[2] He is also often depicted as the foil to the spider god Anansi.[3]

Legends

Retreat from earth

There are several versions of the folktale that led to Wulbari's retreat from earth to the skies, which represented heavens. Lynch and Roberts (2010) laid out several of these accounts:[1]

A woman who was pounding her pestle caused Wulbari pain, since her motions hit him. So, Wulbari kept going higher to escape the pain and eventually arrived at the skies.

Wulbari was used as a towel for human's soiled hands.

Earth became too crowded and Wulbari left for the skies to escape the masses. The smoke of the cooking fire annoyed Wulbari greatly, and he decided to move to the skies.

Wulbari was cut to pieces by a woman who used him as a seasoning, and so he left earth.

Origin of death

A hornbill bird called Animabri started killing and eating mankind. Wulbari called on his court to decide on what to do next. The court, represented by animals, was later by Wulbari to name their people and their place. The elephant controlled the far countryside – and thus the lands are under its control. The goat stated that they have dominion over the grasslands. The dog claimed the humans, and thus Wulbari put him in charge of the medicine that would revive those that have been killed by Animabri.[4]

Unfortunately, in his journey to deliver the medication to the humans, the dog became hungry and left the medicine on the roadside while he feasted on a bone. The goat snatched the medicine and poured it all over the grasses. Thus, mankind die and cannot return to life, while the grasses that die each season shall return to life in the next season.[4]

See also

Nyame

Abassi

List of African mythological figures

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List of Native American deities

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List of Native American deities, sortable by name of tribe or name of deity.

This is a dynamic list and may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by editing the page to add missing items, with references to reliable sources.

North American deities

Tribe or group	Deity or spirit or man	Notes
Abenaki	Azeban	Trickster
Gluskab	Kind protector of humanity	
Malsumis	Cruel, evil god	
Pamola	Bird spirit; causes cold weather	
Tabaldak	The creator	
Blackfoot	Apistotookii Creator[1]	
Napi	Trickster[1]	
Cahuilla	Tahquitz	Creator, death, or evil.
Haida	Ta'xet	God of violent death[2]
Tia	Goddess of peaceful death[2]	
Ho-Chunk	Red Horn	'He Who Wears (Human) Faces on His Ears'
Hopi	Aholi	A kachina
Angwusnasomtaka	Crow	Mother, a kachina

Kokopelli Fertility, flute player, a kachina
 Kokyangwuti Creation, Spider grandmother[3]
 Muyingwa Germination of seeds, a kachina
 Taiowa Sun spirit, creator
 Innu Kanipinikassikueu Provider of caribou[4]
 Matshishkapeu Spirit of the anus[4]
 Inuit Igaluk Lunar deity
 Nanook Master of bears
 Nerrivik Sea mother and food provider
 Pinga Goddess of the hunt, fertility, and medicine
 Sedna Sea goddess, ruler of the underworld
 Torngasoak Sky god
 Iroquois Adekagagwaa Summer
 Gaoh Wind god
 Gendenwitha Maiden, transformed into Morning Star by Dawn.
 Gohone Winter
 Hahgwehdaetgan God of evil. Twin of Hahgwehdiyu.
 Hahgwehdiyu Creator; god of goodness and light. Twin of Hahgwehdaetgan.
 Onatha Fertility
 Klamath Llao God of the underworld
 Skell Spirit of the sky/above-world
 Kwakiutl Kewkwaxa'we Raven spirit
 Lakota Whope Peace
 Wi Solar spirit, father of Whope
 Etu Personification of time
 Mi'kmaq Niskam The sun; architect
 Miwok Coyote Trickster
 Modoc Kumookumts Creator; god of goodness and light[5]
 Narragansett Cautantowwit Creator
 Wompanànd The Eastern God[6]
 Chekesuwànd The Western God[6]
 Wunnaméanit The Northern God[6]
 Sowwanànd The Southern God[6]
 Wetuomanit The House God[6]
 Squauanit God of Women[6]
 Muckquachuckquand God of Children[6]
 Keesuckquànd The Sun God[7]
 Nanepaûshat The Moon God[7]
 Paumpagussit The Sea[7]
 Yotáanit The Fire God[7]
 Navajo Asdzáá Nádleehé Creation deity, changing woman
 Bik'eh Hózhó Personification of speech
 Haashch'ée Ooht'ohí Deity of the hunt
 Haashch'éełti'í The Talking god, god of the dawn and the east
 Hashch'éoghan The House-god, god of evening and the west
 Niltsi Wind god

Tó Neinilii 'Water sprinkler', rain god
 Jóhonaa'éeí Sun
 Yoolgai Asdzáá 'White-shell woman', lunar deity
 Ma'ii Coyote trickster god
 Black God Creator of the stars, god of fire
 See also Diné Bahane'
 Pawnee Pah Lunar deity
 Shakuru Solar deity
 Tirawa Creator
 SalishAmotken Supreme deity
 Seneca Eagentci Sky goddess
 Hagones Trickster
 Hawenniyo A fertility god
 Kaakvha Solar deity
 Sioux Haokah Sacred clown
 Anpao Spirit with two faces that represents the dawn
 Snohomish Dohkwibuhch Creator
 Taíno Yaya (Hayah) Supreme God/Great Spirit
 Yaya'al/Yayael (YasHayah) The son of Yaya (Hayah)
 Atabey (goddess) Mother goddess of fresh water and fertility. Female counterpart of the god Yúcahu
 Yúcahu The masculine spirit of fertility in Taíno mythology along with his mother Atabey who was his feminine counterpart
 Guabancex The top Storm Goddess; the Lady of the Winds who also deals out earthquakes and other such disasters of nature.
 Juracán The zemi or deity of chaos and disorder believed to control the weather, particularly hurricanes.
 Guatauva The god of thunder and lightning who is also responsible for rallying the other storm gods.
 Coatrisquie The torrential downpour Goddess, the terrible Taíno storm servant of Guabancex and side-kick of thunder God Guatauva.
 Bayamanaco Old man fire; the Taíno spirit of Cohoba and guardian of the secrets of sweet potato bread.
 Boinayel God of the sun and of good weather; Marohu's twin brother.
 Márohu God of the moon and of rain, rainstorms, and floods; Boinayel's twin brother.
 Maketaori Guayaba The god of Coaybay or Coabey, the land of the dead.
 Opiyel Guabiron A dog-shaped god that watched over the dead; often associated with the Greek Cerberus.
 Tongva Chinigchinix Mythological figure of the Mission Indians
 Wyandot Airesekui Creation[8]
 Heng Storm god[9]
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 South American deities
 Tribe or group Deity or spirit Notes
 Inca Apu God or spirit of mountains.

All of the important mountains have their own Apu, and some of them receive sacrifices to bring out certain aspects of their being. Some rocks and caves also are credited as having their own apu.

Ataguchu God who assisted in creation myth.

Catequil God of thunder and lightning.

Cavillace Virginity goddess. Ate a fruit, which was actually the sperm of Coniraya, the moon god. And gave birth to a son.

Cavillace's son Son of Cavillace and Coniraya. When he was born, Cavillace demanded that the father step forward. No one did, so she put the baby on the ground and it crawled towards Coniraya. She was ashamed because of Coniraya's low stature among the gods, and ran to the coast of Peru, where she changed herself and her son into rocks.

Ch'aska/ Ch'aska Quyllur Goddess of dawn and twilight.

Coniraya Moon god. Fashioned his sperm into a fruit, which Cavillaca then ate, and gave birth to a child.

Pachamama Fertility Goddess. Wife of Viracocha.

Viracocha Creation God. Husband of Pachamama.

Mama Killa Moon Goddess. Daughter of Viracocha and Pachamama. Wife of Inti.

Inti Sun God. Son of Viracocha and Pachamama. Husband of Mama Killa.

Manco Cápac Son of either Viracocha or Inti. First Emperor of Cuzco of the Inca Empire.

Mama Ocllo Wife of Manco Cápac. First Empress of Cuzco of the Inca Empire.

Ayar Cachi Brother of Manco Cápac.

See also

Mythologies of the indigenous peoples of the Americas

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Indigenous peoples of the Americas

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Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Deities of the Indigenous peoples of North America**Lists of deities****Native American-related lists**

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A Greek dryad depicted in a painting

In religion, a nature deity is a deity in charge of forces of nature, such as water, biological processes, or weather. These deities can also govern natural features such as mountains, trees, or volcanoes. Accepted in animism, pantheism, panentheism, polytheism, deism, totemism, shamanism, Taoism, Hinduism, and paganism, the nature deity can embody a number of archetypes including mother goddess, Mother Nature, or lord of the animals.

African

Akan mythology

Asase Yaa, Mother of the Dead and the goddess of the harsh earth and truth

Asase Afua, the goddess of the lush earth, fertility, love, procreation and farming

Bia, personification of the Bia River and god of the wilderness and wild animals

Tano, personification of the Tano River and god of the river and thunder

Bantu mythology

Jengu, Sawabantu and Duala water spirits

Nyambe, Bantu Supreme deity and god of the sun

Nzambi, Bakongo Sky Father and god of the sun

Nzambici, Bakongo Sky Mother and goddess of the moon and earth

Simbi, Bakongo nature spirits of the water and forest

Egyptian mythology

Ash, god of the oasis and the vineyards of the western Nile Delta

Geb, god of earth

Nut, sky goddess and sister and wife of Geb

Igbo mythology

Ala, Igbo alusi, goddess of the earth, morality, fertility, and creativity

Amadioha, Igbo alusi, god of thunder and lightning

Anyanwu, Igbo alusi, sun goddess of good fortune, knowledge, and wisdom

Voodoo mythology

Mawu-Lisa, Dahomey goddess of creation, the sun, and the moon

Xevioso, Dahomey god of thunder

Yoruba mythology

Aja, Yoruba orisha, patron of whirlwinds, the forest, forest animals, and herbal healers

Oko, Yoruba orisha, patron of new harvest of the white African yam and of hunting

Osanyin, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest, herbs, and healing

Oshosi, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest and of hunting

Oshun, Yoruba orisha, patron of water, purity, fertility, love, and sensuality

Zulu mythology

iNyanga, Zulu moon goddess

Nomhoyi, Zulu goddess of rivers

Nomkhubulwane, Zulu goddess mother of fertility, rain, agriculture, rainbow, and beer

Unsondo, Zulu god of the sky, sun, thunder, and earthquakes

American

Aztec mythology

Xochipilli, god of art, games, beauty, dance, flowers, maize, and song

Xochiquetzal, goddess of fertility, beauty, female sexuality, protection of young mothers, pregnancy, childbirth, vegetation, flowers, and the crafts of women

Tonantzin, mother goddess

Chicomecōātl, a goddess of agriculture

Brazilian mythology/Guarani mythology

Curupira, a powerful demon or forest spirit and guardian of nature

Haitian Vodou

Baron Samedi, loa of the dead

Grand Bois, loa associated with trees, plants and herbs

L'inglesou, loa who lives in the wild areas of Haiti and kills anyone who offends

him

Loco, loa associated with healers and plants, especially trees

Inca mythology

Pachamama, fertility goddess who presides over planting, harvesting and earthquakes

Maya mythology

Yum Kaax, god of agriculture, wild plants and animals

Native American mythology

Asintmah, Athabaskan earth and nature goddess, and the first woman to walk the earth

Ngen, Mapuche spirits of nature

Asian

Chinese mythology

Dou Mu Niang Niang, Mother Goddess of the Big Dipper

Tai Sui, Star deities of sixty years cycle

Chang'e, moon goddess

Lei Gong, god of thunder

Hou Tu Niang Niang, Mother Earth and Overlord of all Tu Di Gong

Tu Di Gong, earth deity of a specific locality and nearby human communities

Gonggong, ancient god of water

Zhurong, ancient god of fire

Hebo, god of Yellow River

San Shan Guo Wang, lords of the Three Mountains in Southern China

Hinduism

Yaksha, are a broad class of nature spirits. Their female counterpart are known as Yakshini.

Prithvi or Bhumi, goddess regarded as "Mother Earth"; Sanskrit for Earth

Agni, god of fire

Varuna, god of oceans

Vayu, god of wind

Indra, god of rain, lightning and thunders

Aranyani, goddess of the forests and the animals that dwell within it

Japanese mythology

Amaterasu, goddess of the sun

Izanagi, forefather of the gods, god of creation and life and first male

Izanami, Izanagi's wife and sister, goddess of creation and death, first female

Konohanasakuya-hime, the blossom princess and symbol of delicate earthly life

Shinigami, god of death

Suijin, god of water

Fūjin, god of wind

Kagu-tsuchi, god of fire

Susanoo, god of storms, (fertility in Izumo legends), younger brother to

Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi

Tsukuyomi, god of the moon and oceans, younger brother of Amaterasu and older brother of Susanoo

Korean mythology

Dangun, god-king of Gojoseon, god of the mountain
Dokkaebi, nature spirits
Lady Saso, goddess of the mountain
Jacheongbi, goddess of the grain, agriculture, harvest, growth, and nourishment
Jeonggyun Moju, mother of Suro of Geumgwan Gaya and Ijinashi of Daegaya, goddess of the mountain
Jik, god of grains
Sa, god of the earth
Sansin, local mountain gods
Philippine mythology
See also: Anito and Deities of Philippine mythology
Amihan, Tagalog god of the monsoon
Apúng Sinukuan (Maria Sinukuan), Kapampangan mountain goddess associated with Mount Arayat
Dumakulem, god of mountains
Dumangan, a Tagalog god of good harvest
Lakapati or Ikapati, goddess of cultivated land and agriculture[1]
Dayang Masalanta (Maria Makiling), Tagalog mountain goddess associated with Mount Makiling
Mayari goddess of the moon
Kan-Laon, Visayan god of time associated with the volcano Kanlaon
Tala, Tagalog goddess of the morning and evening star
Vietnamese mythology
Ông Trời, god of the heaven/sky and king of the gods
Mẫu Thượng Thiên, goddess of the heavens/skies
Thiên Y A Na, the goddess has the same job as the Mẫu Thượng Thiên
Mẫu Thượng Ngàn, goddess of the mountains and forests
Tản Viên Sơn Thánh, god of Ba Vì mountain range
Mẫu Thoải, the goddess who governs all things related to water
Mẫu Địa, goddess of the earth
Lạc Long Quân, one of the Long Vươngs at the head of the Water Palace
Western Asian
Arab mythology
Dhat-Badan, Yemeni and Horn African goddess of the oasis
Armenian mythology
Ara the Handsome, a dying-and-rising agricultural deity
Aralez, winged dog-like creatures with the ability to resurrect the dead by licking wounds
Areg (Arev) or Ar, god of the Sun
Astlik, deity of fertility and love
Tsovinar, also known as "Nar of the Sea", goddess of waters and the ocean
Mihr, cognate with the Mithra and god of the sun and light
Spandaramet, chthonic goddess of fertility, vineyards, and the underworld
Vishap, a dragon closely associated with water
Hittite mythology
Irpitiga, lord of the earth

Sarruma, god of the mountains
Mesopotamian mythology
Abu, minor Sumerian god of plants
Damu, vegetation god
Emesh, Sumerian god of vegetation
Kishar, goddess representing the earth
Ningishzida, vegetation god
Ninhursag, Sumerian mother goddess associated with the earth and fertility
Ningikuga, Sumerian goddess of reeds and marshes
Ua-Ildak, Babylonian and Akkadian goddess responsible for pastures and poplar trees[2]
Ki, an earth goddess
Enten, god of fertility and agriculture
Persian mythology
Spenta Armaiti, goddess of earth
Ameretat, goddess of vegetation
Haurvatat, goddess associated with water
Anahita, goddess of waters
Tishtrya, god of rain and lightning
Apam Napat, god of waters
Turco-Mongol
Umay, the goddess of nature, love and fertility in Turkic mythology. Also known as Yer Ana.
İye, deities or spirits or natural assets.
Baianai, the god of the forest, animals, and hunt in Turkic mythology.
Ukulan, the god of water in Turkic mythology
European
Baltic mythology
Medeina, Lithuanian goddess of forests, trees, and animals
Zemes mātė, goddess of the earth
Celtic mythology
Abnoba, Gaulish goddess associated with forests and rivers
Artio, Gaulish bear goddess of the wilderness
Arduinna, goddess of the Ardennes forest region
Cernunnos, god associated with horned male animals, produce, and fertility
Druantia, hypothetical Gallic tree goddess proposed by Robert Graves in his 1948 study *The White Goddess*; popular with Neopagans.
Nantosuelta, Gaulish goddess of nature, the earth, fire, and fertility
Sucellus, god of agriculture, forests, and alcoholic drinks
Viridios, god of vegetation, rebirth, and agriculture, possibly cognate with the Green Man
Karærin, Celtic goddess who protects animals and nature
Sínann, Irish goddess, embodiment of the River Shannon, the longest river on Ireland, and a goddess of wisdom
English mythology
Apple Tree Man, the spirit of the oldest apple tree in an orchard[3]

Churnmilk Peg, female guardian spirit of unripe nut thickets

Melsh Dick is the male counterpart to Churnmilk Peg[4]

Etruscan mythology

Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness, wine, health, and growth in all things

Selvans, god of the woodlands

Artumes, goddess of the hunt, woodlands, the night, and the wild

Finnish mythology

Lempo, god of wilderness and archery

Tapio, god and ruler of forests

Mielikki, goddess of forests and the hunt. Wife of Tapio.

Georgian mythology

Dali, goddess of mountain animals such as ibex and deer

Germanic mythology

Ēostre or Ostara, the goddess of spring

Fjörgyn, the female personification of the earth. She is also the mother of the goddess Frigg and, very rarely, mother of Thor

Freyja, goddess of fertility, gold, death, love, beauty, war and magic

Freyr, god of fertility, rain, sunlight, life and summer

Iðunn the goddess of spring who guards the apples that keep the gods eternally young; wife of the god Bragi[5]

Jörð, personification of the earth and the mother of Thor

Nerthus, goddess of the earth, called by the Romans Terra Mater

Njörð, god of the sea, fishing, and fertility

Rán, goddess of the sea, storms, and death

Skaði, goddess of mountains, skiing, winter, archery and hunting

Sif, goddess of earth, fertility, and the harvest

Thor, god of thunder, lightning, weather, oak trees, and fertility

Ullr, god of hunting, archery, skiing, and mountains

Germanic folklore

Nøkken, male water spirit

Elf, beautiful, fairy-like creature that lives in the forest and streams

Greek mythology

Anthousai, flower nymphs

Aphrodite, goddess of love, beauty, pleasure, and fertility

Apollo, god of the sun, light, healing, poetry and music, and archery

Aristaeus, god of shepherds, cheesemaking, beekeeping, honey, honey-mead, olive growing, oil milling, medicinal herbs, hunting, and the Etesian winds

Artemis, goddess of the hunt, the dark, the light, the moon, wild animals, nature, wilderness, childbirth, virginity, fertility, young girls, and health and plague in women and childhood

Aurae, nymphs of the breezes

Chloris, goddess of flowers

Cronus, god of the harvest

Cybele, Phrygian goddess of the fertile earth and wild animals

Demeter, goddess of the harvest, crops, the fertility of the earth, grains, and the seasons

Dionysus, god of wine, vegetation, pleasure, madness, and festivity. The Roman equivalent is Bacchus.[6]

Dryads, tree and forest nymphs

Epimeliades, nymphs of highland pastures and protectors of sheep flocks

Gaia, primal mother goddess and goddess of the earth and its personification

Hamadryades, oak tree dryads

Hegemone, goddess of plants, specifically making them bloom and bear fruit as they were supposed to

Helios, Titan-god of the sun

Horae, goddesses of the seasons and the natural portions of time

Meliae, nymphs of honey and the ash tree

Nymphs, nature spirits

Naiades, fresh water nymphs

Nereids, salt-water nymphs

Nyx, Primordial goddess and personification of night

Oceanides, fresh water nymphs

Oreades, mountain nymphs

Oxylus, god of forests & mountains

Pan, god of shepherds, flocks, mountain wilds, and rustic music

Persephone (Kore), goddess of spring growth

Physis, primeval goddess of nature

Rhea, goddess of fertility, motherhood, and the mountain wilds

Satyrs, rustic nature spirits

Selene, Titan-goddess of the moon

Greek rustic deities

Main article: List of Greek deities § Rustic deities

Mari

Mlande, god of the earth

Mlande-Ava, goddess of the earth

Nordic folklore

Rå, Skogsrå, Hulder, beautiful, female forest spirits

Roman mythology

Bacchus – god of wine, nature, pleasure and festivity; equivalent to the Greek god Dionysus

Ceres, goddess of growing plants and motherly relationships; equivalent to the Greek goddess Demeter

Diana, goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness and the moon; equivalent to the Greek goddess Artemis

Faunus, horned god of the forest, plains and fields

Feronia, goddess associated with wildlife, fertility, health and abundance

Flora, goddess of flowers and the spring; equivalent to the Greek goddess Chloris

Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness and health and growth in all things

Liber, cognate for Bacchus/Dionysus

Nemestrinus, god of the forests and woods

Ops, goddess of fertility and the earth

Pilumnus, nature god who ensured children grew properly and stayed healthy
Pomona, goddess of fruit trees, gardens and orchards
Silvanus, tutelary spirit or deity of woods and fields and protector of forests
Terra, primeval goddess personifying the earth; equivalent to the Greek goddess Gaia

Slavic mythology

Berstuk, evil Wendish god of the forest
Jarilo, god of vegetation, fertility, spring, war and harvest
Leshy, a tutelary deity of the forests.
Porewit, god of the woods, who protected lost voyagers and punished those who mistreated the forest
Veles, god of earth, waters and the underworld
Mokosh, East-Slavic goddess of nature

Oceanian

Māori mythology

Papatuanuku, the earth mother
Ranginui, the sky father
Ruaumoko, god of volcanoes and seasons
Tāne, god of forests and of birds

Micronesian mythology

Nei Tituaabine, Kiribati goddess of trees

Toraja

Indo' Ongon-Ongon, goddess of earthquakes
Pong Banggai di Rante, earth goddess

See also

List of deities by classification

List of tree deities

Ekendriya

Master of Animals

Plant soul

Potnia Theron

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by region or culture.

Africa

Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German (Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.[1][2]
North Africa

Berber deities

Guanche deities

Egyptian deities

Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth
Sub-Saharan Africa

African deities

Alusi

Yoruba deities

Afro-American religion

Loa

Orisha

Americas

Central America

Aztec deities

Maya deities

North America

Inuit deities

Native (North and South) American deities

South America

Incan deities

Guarani deities

Mapuche deities

Muisca deities

Asia

Caucasus

Armenian deities

Georgian deities
Vainakh deities
Central Asia

Turkic deities
East Asia

Chinese deities
Taoist pure ones
Japanese deities
Korean deities
North Asia

Siberian deities
South Asia

The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity

Buddhas
Buddhist Bodhisattvas
Buddhist deities
Hindu deities
Rigvedic deities (see also Proto-Indo-Iranian religion)
Sri Lankan Tamil local deities
Tamil Nadu local deities
Tirthankara
Southeast Asia

Indonesian deities
Manipuri deities
Ancestral deities of Manipur
King of Gods in Manipuri mythology
King of Serpent deities in Manipuri mythology
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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

Motif-index

A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

A0 Creator

A100—A199. The gods in general

A101. Supreme God

A104. The Making of the Gods

A107. Gods of Darkness and Light (darkness thought of as evil and light as good).

A109.1. Triple deity

A116. Triplet gods

A111.1. Mother of the gods

A111.2. Father of the Gods

A117.5. Gods as spirits of the deified dead

A131. Gods with animal features

A132.3. Equine god / goddess

A132.5. Bear god / goddess

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A161.2. King of the Gods

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This is an index of lists of deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world.

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Religion

Disambiguation icon

This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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List of legendary creatures by type

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This list of legendary creatures from mythology, folklore and fairy tales is sorted by their classification or affiliation. Creatures from modern fantasy fiction and role-playing games are not included.

This is a dynamic list and may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by editing the page to add missing items, with references to reliable sources.

Animals, creatures associated with

Arthropods

See also: Category:Mythological arthropods

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a greenish-red fiery light reminiscent of fireflies

Karkinos (Greek) – Cancer the crab

Gold-digging ant (Greek) – Reported by Herodotus to live in either Ethiopia or the Indian subcontinent

Khepri (Ancient Egyptian) – Beetle who pushes the sun

Mothman (American cryptid) – Man with moth wings and features

Myrmecoleon (Christian) – Ant-lion

Myrmidons (Greek) – Warriors created from ants by Zeus

Pabilsag (Babylonian) – Sagittarius-like creature with scorpion tail

Scorpion man (Babylonian) – Protector of travellers

Selket (Ancient Egyptian) – Scorpion death/healing goddess

Zaratan (Arabic) – Giant crab mistaken for an island

Spiders

See also: Category:Mythological spiders

Aiapæc (Moche) – Creator god, often seen as a spider with an anthropomorphic face and jaguar fangs

Anansi (West African) – Trickster spider

Arachne (Greek) – Weaver cursed into a spider

Areop-Enap (Nauru) – Creator god, made the earth and sky from a giant clam shell

Chaffee Spider (American cryptid) – Large cave spider kept as pest control and guard dogs by early settlers in Chaffee, Colorado, before mysteriously vanishing off the face of the earth

Christmas Spider (Ukrainian) – Spider whose webs became the first tinsel on a tree

Djieien (Seneca) – Man-sized spider who survived most attacks because its heart was buried underground.

Iktomi (Lakota) – Trickster spider. Also known in parts of the Rockies

Jorōgumo (Japanese) – Ghost woman who shapeshifts into a spider

Spider_Grandmother (Native American) – Important figure across many North West Native American Cultures

Tsuchigumo (Japanese) – Shapeshifting giant spider

Birds

See also: Category:Legendary birds

Ababil (Islamic) – A miraculous bird

Adarna (Philippine) – Colorful bird with healing powers, puts people to sleep, and turns people into stone

Avalerion (English) – Eagle-like bird; only a single pair was said to live at any time

Alicanto (Chilean) – Bird with luminescent feathers which feeds on gold or silver
[1]

Anqa (Arabian) – Large, mysterious, or fabulous female bird

Anzû (Mesopotamian) – Massive bird who can breathe fire and water

Bare-fronted Hoodwink (Cryptid) – Bird with the ability to be "almost seen", created to satirize birdwatchers

Caladrius (Roman) – White bird with healing powers

Chalkydri (Jewish) – Heavenly creatures of the sun

Chamrosh (Persian mythology) – Creature with the body of a dog, and the head and wings of a bird

Cinnamon bird (Greek) – Arabian bird in Greek mythology that builds nests out of cinnamon

Devil Bird (Sri Lankan) – Shrieking bird who predicts death

Gagana (Russian) – Miraculous bird with an iron beak and copper claws

Gandabherunda (Hindu) – Two-headed magical bird

Garuda (Hindu) – Known as the primordial bird and the progenitor of all birds; vehicle of Lord Vishnu

Hakawai (Māori) – Bird that was sometimes heard but not usually seen

Hudhud (Islamic) – Messenger to prophets

Jingwei (Chinese) – A bird who is determined to fill up the sea

Luan (Chinese) – A bird which carries a shield and tramples on snakes while wearing one on its breast

Minokawa (Philippine) – Giant, dragon-like bird

Nine-headed Bird (Chinese) – A totem creature, predecessor to the Fenghuang

Oozlum bird (English) – A satirical creature that flies in ever-decreasing circles until it disappears into its own backside

Pamola (Abenaki) – A bird/moose spirit who causes cold weather

Peng (Chinese) – An enormous bird transformed from a giant fish which flies over the great oceans

Phoenix (Greek) –

Bennu (Egyptian) – self-creating bird deity

Chol (Biblical) – regenerative bird

Firebird (Slavic) – legendary bird with glowing eyes and feathers, brings misfortune if captured.

Fenghuang (Chinese) – a phoenix who reigns over all other birds

Huma bird (Persian) – a bird that flies too high to be seen and never lands

Konrul and Toghrul (Turkic)

Paskunji (Georgian/ Caucasus) phoenix like underworld dwelling bird. Kills the snakes on the path to the afterlife & aid heroes on quests.

Vermilion Bird (Chinese)

Piasa (Native American) – Based on monster depicted on Illinois rock painting near the Mississippi River

Qingniao (Chinese) – Blue or green messenger birds of the Queen Mother of the West

Ra (Ancient Egyptian) – Sun deity often depicted with falcon features

Rain Bird (Native American) – Bird who brought rain

Raróg (Slavic) – Fiery demon falcon

Roc (Arabian) – Enormous legendary bird of prey

Shangyang (Chinese) – Rainbird

Shedu (Mesopotamian) – Male counterpart to Lamassu

Simurgh (Persian) – Phoenix-like bird of enormous size and great longevity and wisdom

Stymphalian birds (Greek) – Man-eating birds

Thoth (Ancient Egyptian) – Ibis-headed god of the moon, wisdom, and art

Three-legged bird (various cultures)

Thunderbird (Native American) – Legendary bird spirit that brings storms, found primarily among the cultures of the Pacific Northwest, but also the American Southwest, Great Lakes, and Great Plains

Turul (Hungarian) – Mythological bird of prey

Veðrfölnir (Norse) – Hawk that sits atop an eagle that rests atop the world tree, Yggdrasil

Vucub Caquix (Mayan) – Bird demon

Wampus Bird (Native American) – Giant heron with shell armor instead of feathers

Zhenniao (Chinese) – Poisonous bird

Avian Humanoids

Main article: List of avian humanoids

See also: Category:Avian humanoids

Alkonost (Slavic) – Female with body of a bird

Gamayun (Slavic) – Prophetic bird with woman's head

Gumyōchō (Yōkai) – Twin-headed human-bird

Harpy (Greek) – Ugly winged bird woman, steals food

Aello – Name meaning "storm"

Ocypete – Name meaning "swift wing"

Celaeno – Name meaning "the dark one"

Podarge – Name meaning "fleet-footed"

Horus (Ancient Egyptian) – Tutelary deity and god of the sky and kingship

Inmyeonjo (Korean) – Bird with a human face

Itsumade (Japanese) – Monstrous bird with a human face

Kalavinka (Buddhist) – Fantastical immortal creature with a human head and a bird's torso and long flowing tail

Karura (Japanese) – Divine creature with human torso and bird-like head

Kinnara (Buddhist) – Half-bird musicians

Lamassu (Mesopotamian) – Goddess with a human head, the body of a bull or a lion, and bird wings

Siren (Greek) – Bird-women known for their compelling singing

Achelous – Name meaning "she who drives away pain", surname for the daughters of Achelous

Aglaonoe – Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Agalaope – Name meaning "with lambent voice", daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Leucosia – Name meaning "white", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Ligeia – Name meaning "clear-toned", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Parthenope – Name meaning "maiden-voiced", Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Pisinoe – Daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Sterope

Thelxinoë – Name meaning "mind charming"

Swan maiden (Multi-cultural) – Shapeshifts from human to swan

Tengu (Japanese) – Has human and bird characteristics, name means "dog" Chickens

See also: Category:Mythological galliforms

Alectryon (Greek) – Rooster charged with announcing the arrival of Helios

Basan (Japanese) – Fire-breathing chicken

Cockatrice – Chicken-headed dragon or serpent, visually similar to the Basilisk

Gallic rooster – Symbolic rooster used as an allegory for France

Gullinkambi – Rooster who lives in Valhalla in Norse mythology

Rooster of Barcelos – A mythological rooster from Portugal

Sarimanok (Philippine) – Legendary chicken of the Maranao people who originate from Mindanao

Víðópnir – Rooster that sits atop Yggdrasil in Norse mythology

Corvids

Main article: Cultural depictions of ravens

See also: Category:Mythological corvids

Badb (Irish) – War goddess who takes the form of a crow

Corone (Greek) – Woman turned into a crow to flee Poseidon

Huginn and Muninn (Norse) – Two ravens that serve as messengers

Kutkh (Indigenous Russian) – Raven spirit involved in the creation myth

Nachtkrapp (German) – Raven who kidnaps children out at night

Rainbow crow (Lenape (supposed)) – Crow who brought fire to earth

Raum (Demonology) – Demon crow and a great earl of Hell

Three-legged crow (East Asian) – Crow with three legs representing the sun

Yatagarasu (Shinto) – Three-legged crow

Tulugaak (Inuit) – Raven god and creator of light

Waang (Australian Aboriginal) – Trickster crow and culture hero

Eagles

See also: Category:Mythological birds of prey

Aethon (Greek) – Eagle tormentor of Prometheus

Griffin (Greek) – Guards treasure and priceless possessions

Hippogriff (Italian) – Winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle

Huracán (Mayan) – Type of thunderbird that lives beneath the Gulf of Mexico.

Etymological origin of "hurricane"

Hræsvelgr (Norse) – Jötunn who takes the form of an eagle

Poukai (Māori) – Monstrous predatory bird, likely based on an extinct species

Shahbaz (Persian) – Eagle god who helped the Iranian peoples and guided the

Faravahar to the Iranian lands

Triple-headed eagle (multi-cultural) –

Wuchowsen - (Abenaki) One of the four wind spirits in Abenaki lore. Depicted as a giant eagle who lives atop a mountain.

Ziz (Jewish) – Giant griffin

Zu (Mesopotamian) – Divine monster depicted as a lion-headed eagle

Owls

See also: Category:Owls in culture

Chickcharney (Bahamas) – Magical owl with powers over fate, sometimes encountered by travellers in pine forests.

Nyctimene (Roman) – Princess transformed into an owl by Minerva.

Owlman (English) – Owl-like humanoid compared to America's Mothman

Sirin (Slavic) – Birds with women's heads who lured men to their deaths

Strix (Greek) – Owl that ate human flesh

Fish

See also: Category: Legendary fish

Fish People

Mermaid / Merman – half-human, half-fish (worldwide)

Water spirit – (worldwide)

Undine – water elementals in the alchemical writings of Paracelsus

Abaia

Gurangatch

Hippocamp

Ika-Roa

Il Belliegha - (Malta) Eel like monster with a frog tongue and a hand on the tip of its tail that eats children who get too close to open wells.

Isonade

Namaz

Ningyo

Kun

Salmon of Wisdom

Shachihoko (Japanese) – a creature with the head of a tiger and the body of a carp

Mug-wamp - Canadian giant sturgeon monster said to inhabit Lake Temiskaming in Ontario. Name is of Native origin.

Mammals

Aquatic and marine-based

Aspidochelone (Greek) – Island sized whale mentioned in bestiaries

Bahamut (Arabic) – Whale monster whose body supports the earth. Word seems

far more ancient than Islam and may have the same origin as the word Behemoth in modern Judeo-Christian lore

Bake-kujira (Japanese) – Ghost whale

Cetus (Greek) – A monster with the head of a boar or a greyhound, the body of a whale or dolphin, and a divided, fan-like tail

Devil Whale (English) – Whale capable of swallowing ships

Dobhar-chú (Scottish) – King otter

Encantado (Brazilian) – Shapeshifting trickster dolphins

Glashtyn (Celtic) – Horse goblin from the sea

Gveleshapi (Georgian) - Snake-whale monster associated with lakes, rivers and springs. Said to be causes of floods and other water related disasters

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Makara (Hindu mythology) – Half terrestrial animal in the frontal part (stag, deer, or elephant) and half aquatic animal in the hind part (usually of a fish, a seal, or a snake, though sometimes a peacock or even a floral tail is depicted)

Sea goat (Greek) – Half goat, half fish

Selkie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting seal people

Water bull (Scottish) – Nocturnal amphibious bull

Water Horse – General name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – Water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – Upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – Water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – Legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being, known for appearing as horses

Nuckelavee (Orkadian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting sea water horse

Bats

See also: Category:Bats in religion

Balayang (Australian Aboriginal) – Bat-god and brother to Bunjil

Camazotz (Mayan) – Bat spirit and servant of the lords of the underworld

Leutogi (Polynesian) – Samoan princess rescued by bats

Minyades (Greek) – Three sisters who refused to take part in the worship of Dionysus, and turned into bats by Hermes

Tjinimin (Australian Aboriginal) – Ancestor of the Australian people

Vetala (Hindu) – Vampiric entity that takes over cadavers

Carnivorans

Bears

See also: Category:Mythological bears

Bjarndyrakongur (Icelandic) – King of bears. Stems from Polar Bear sightings in Iceland being extremely rare, but not unheard of. Has a shining horn on its head

topped with a ball and red patches on cheeks

Bugbear (Celtic) – Child-eating hobgoblin

Callisto (Greek) – A nymph who was turned into a bear by Hera

Stiff-Legged Bear (Native American) – Gigantic, hairless bear monster in tribal folklore, predominantly Iroquoians and Algonquians, possibly inspired by mammoths

Canines

See also: Category:Mythological canines

Adlet (Inuit) – Tribe of hybrid dog people birthed from a woman who married her dog. Were banished for preying on humans.

Akhlut (Inuit) – Wolf-orca hybrid monster that hunts on both land and sea.

Amarok (Inuit) – Giant solitary wolf that hunts at night

Anubis (Egyptian) – Jackal-headed god associated with mummification and the afterlife

Aralez (Armenian) – Winged dogs that descend from heaven and resurrect fallen warriors by licking their wounds

Asena (Altai/Turkish) – She-wolf impregnated by mythical founder of a tribe called the Golturks. They came to Turkey from Altai in Siberia during the empire of Ghengis Khan

Axehandle hound (North American) – Axe-shaped dog that reputedly subsists on axe-handles left unattended

Black dog (British) – Also known as Barghest, Black Shuck, or Grim; associated with the Devil, Hellhound

Beast of Gévaudan (French) – Man-eating wolf, terrorized the province of Gévaudan

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a small, luminescent dog [2]

Cerberus (Greek, Roman) – Multi-headed dog, guards the gates of the Underworld, son/brother of Orthrus

Chupacabra (Latin American) – Alleged creature reputed to attack and drink the blood of livestock, occasionally described with bat-like features. Sometimes thought to resemble, or mistaken for a hairless coyote

Cu Sith or Cusith (Irish, Scottish, Hebridean) – A hellhound, a highland harbinger of death

Crocotta – Mythical dog-wolf that can imitate human voices, supposedly found in India or Ethiopia

Cynocephaly – Humanoids with the head of a dog or jackal

Dogs of Actaeon (Greek) – Hunting dogs that turned on Actaeon after he was turned into a deer

Failinis (Irish) – Legendary hound with a number of abilities

Fenrir (Norse) – Monstrous wolf destined to kill Odin

Gelert (Welsh) – Dog killed out of error by Welsh King, thinking it had murdered his infant child

Hellhound (Worldwide) – Supernatural dogs, bringers of death

Huodou (Chinese) – a large black dog that can emit flames from its mouth

Hvcko Capko (Seminole) – Also Long Ears, Stinky Wolf. A horse sized wolf with extra large, pointed ears, a horse's tail and reeks of rot and death. Prolonged

exposure to its stench causes deadly illness

Kludde (Belgium) – demon summoned from the ashes of witches taking the form of a black wolf with bat wings, a birds beak and bear claws. Has glowing eyes, shapeshifting abilities and great speed

Orthrus (Greek) – two headed dog, father/brother of Cerberus

Papa-mel or Papamel – Dog of the Amazonian Curupira

Penghou (Chinese) – tree spirit that appears like a black dog and tastes like dog-meat

Petitcrieu – Fairy dog in Tristan romance

Psoglav (Bosnia) – Humanoid monster with dog's head, horse's legs, one eye and iron teeth.

Salawa – the "Typhonian Animal," a slender, vaguely canine-animal that is the totemic animal of Set

Sigbin (Philippine) – is a creature in Philippine mythology

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey creature found in Cambridgeshire (Britain)

Tanuki (Japanese) – Japanese raccoon dog, legends claim is a shapeshifting trickster

Vǎrkolak, or "Vukodlak" (Slavic) – Undead vampire werewolf

Werewolf – human, shapeshifts to a wolf because of an affliction, lycanthrope (Worldwide)

Foxes

See also: Category:Mythological foxes

Aguara (Chané) – Trickster fox associate with the constellation Scorpius.

Amaterasu (Japanese) – Sun goddess who sometimes takes the form of a dragon-fox.

Tulikettu (Finnish) – Fox with flaming fur, whose skin is said to be a safer alternative for lighting than fire. Catching on in a hunt will guarantee riches. Gives name to the northern lights

Huli jing (Chinese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kitsune (Japanese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kumiho (Korean) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Sky Fox (mythology) (Chinese) – Celestial nine-tailed Fox Spirit that is 1,000 years old and has golden fur

Felines

See also: Category:Mythological felines

Bael (Demonology) – First king of Hell with three heads: a man, a toad, and a cat

Ball-tailed cat (North American) – a feline similar to a mountain lion, except with a long tail with a bulbous end used for striking its prey

Cactus cat (North American) – a feline of the American Southwest with hair-like thorns that intoxicates itself by the consumption of cactus water

Canaima (Mexico) – Term for a sort of were-jaguar. May be related to skinwalkers

Cat-sìth (Celtic mythology) – Spectral cat that haunts the Scottish Highlands

Cath Palug (Welsh) – Monstrous cat said to have killed 180 warriors

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a cat with a luminescent chin [3]

Demon Cat (North American) – a ghost cat who is purported to haunt the

government buildings of Washington, D.C.

Kaibyō (Japanese) – Various forms of cat Yōkai

Bakeneko (Japanese) – Two-tailed cat yōkai

Kasha (Japanese) – Corpse stealing yōkai, sometimes originating as a cat

Nekomata (Japanese) – Cat yōkai from both mountains and domestic areas

Nue (Japanese) – Hybrid of monkey, tiger, tanuki and snake. Considered a yokai

Panther (Greek) – Wildcat with multicolored hide. Attracts prey with sweet smelling breath and is often ridden by and associated with the god, Dionysus

Pard (Greek) – Early Greek understanding of a leopard. It was also surmised that cheetahs were a hybrid of a lion and a pard, hence calling those leopards instead of what we now call leopards

Phantom cat, Alien Big Cat (Modern, Worldwide) – Wildcat that seems to appear far beyond its native range by unknown circumstance

Blue Mountains panther (Australian) – Alleged unknown wildcats sighted in Australia

Glawackus (American) – Hybrid bear-panther-lion monster that sounds like a hyena and can erase the memory of those who look into its eyes

Tyger (English) – Heraldic being that looked like a cross between a lion, horse and wolf, said to be red and speckled

Underwater panther (Native American) – Shapeshifting being known by many names among tribes in Eastern US

Vapula (European, Christian, Demonology) – A demon with insight into mechanics and science which takes a winged lion form

Vassoko (Africa, Chad) – Cat the size of a horse with long fangs and burning eyes. Always accompanied by an entourage of butterflies

Wampus cat (American) – Cat with six legs and a long tail; originally a man who was transformed into the creature by a curse

White Tiger (Chinese) – a Guardian Of The West cardinal point

Winged cat – Archaeological designation for depictions of any mythological creature that can fit that description

Lions

See also: Category:Mythological lions

Arimanius (Greek) – Minor lion-headed Greek god

Ammit (Egyptian) – Goddess with the forequarters of a lion, the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, and the head of a crocodile

Barong (Balinese) – Benevolent king of spirits

Beast of the First Kingdom (Christian) – A beast like a lion with eagle's wings seen in the Book of Revelations

Brunswick Lion (German) – Loyal companion of Henry the Lion after the two slew a dragon together

Chimera (Greek)

Chinese guardian lions (Chinese) – Statues depicted in pairs believed to be protectors

Komainu (Shinto)

Shisa (Ryukyuan)

Sin-you (Japanese)

Xiezhi (Chinese)

Dawon (Tibetan) – Mount of the goddess Durga

Egyptian lion gods – Lions were a symbol of warfare and most all of these gods were warriors

Aker – Earth and underworld god

Āmi-Pe – A lion god

Apedemak – Depicted as a figure with a male human torso and a lion head

Bast – Lioness goddess of fertility and protection against disease.

Hert-ketit-s

Huntheth – A lioness goddess

Ipy (goddess) – Head and feet of a lion, body of a hippo, arms of a human

Maaheš – Name means "he who is true beside her"

Matit – A funerary cat goddess who had a cult center at Thinis

Mehit – Depicted as a reclining lioness with three bent poles projecting from her back

Menhit

Pakhet

Repyt

Sekhmet – Warrior goddess as well as goddess of healing

Seret – A lioness goddess possibly originally from Libya

Shesmetet

Taweret – Depicted as a hippopotamus with lion paws and crocodile tail

Tefnut –

Tutu – Body of a striding, winged lion, the head of a human, other heads of hawks and crocodiles projecting from the body, and the tail of a serpent

Urit-en-kru – A lioness headed hippopotamus goddess

Griffin (Europe)

Lamassu (Mesopotamian)

Lampago (Heraldic) – Mythical beast in the form of a "man-tiger or man-lion"

Leo (Greek) –

Lion of Cithaeron (Greek)

Nemean lion (Greek)

Lion of Al-lāt (Arabian) – Lion icon of Al-Lat

Manticore (Persian)

Manussiha (Burmese) – Statue with a human head and two lion hindquarters

Merlion (Singaporean) – Fish with a lion's head

Narasimha (Hindu) – Part-lion avatar of Vishnu

Nian (Chinese) – Flat-faced lion with the body of a dog and prominent incisors, warded away by New Year's celebrations

Nongshāba (Sanamahism) – Lion god who created the sun

Pixiu (Chinese) – Powerful, winged lions who protect Feng shui practitioners

Questing Beast (Arthurian) – Beast with the head and neck of a snake, the body of a leopard, the haunches of a lion, and the feet of a hart

Sea-lion (Heraldic) – A half-lion half-fish beast found in heraldry

Serpopard (Egyptian) – Lion/leopard body with a snake head.

Sharabha (Hindu) – Part lion, part bird-beast, with eight legs.

Simhamukha (Tibetan) – A wisdom dakini of the Dzogchen tradition with the head of a snow lion

Snow Lion (Tibetan) – Celestial animal of Tibet

Sphinx (Egyptian) –

Criosphinx (Egyptian) – Ram-headed sphinx

Gopaitioshah (Persian) – Winged bull or lion with human face

Hieracosphinx (Egyptian) – Has the head of a hawk and the body of a lion

Stratford Lyon

Tigris (Jewish) – Giant lion of the forest of Bei Ilai

Vaikuntha Chaturmurti (Hindu) – a four-headed aspect of the Hindu god Vishnu: a human head, a lion head, a boar head and a fierce head

Winged lion

Yali (Hindu) – Portrayed with the head and the body of a lion, the trunk and the tusks of an elephant, and sometimes bearing equine features

Yaghūth – A god of the era of the prophet Noah

Yaldabaoth (Gnostic) – Lion-headed serpent god.

Hyenas

Werehyena

Musteloids and non-hyena herpestoids

Azeban

Gef

Ichneumon

Kamaitachi

Kushtaka (Tlingit) – shapeshifting "land otter man"

Mujina

Ramidreju

Raijū

Procyonids

Azeban – trickster raccoon spirit in Abenaki mythology

Marsupials

See also: Category:Mythological marsupials

Drop bear

Bunyip (Australian Aboriginal)

Primates

See also: Category:Mythological monkeys

Agropelter – a beast that amuses itself by hurling twigs and tree branches at passersby (United States & Canada)

Bigfoot or Sasquatch – Cryptid, animal of the Northwest (North America)

Hibagon or Hinagon – ape-like, similar to Bigfoot, or the Yeti (Japan)

Jué yuán – blue-furred man-sized rhesus monkey that abducts human women (China & Japan)

Satori – mind-reading magical ape or monkey (Japan)

Shōjō – anthropomorphic spirit, depicted as furred, somewhat confounded with orangutan (Japan)

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey (Britain)

Sun Wukong (proper name) – powerful warrior-magician in the form of a monkey

who hatched from a stone egg (China)

Vanara – humanoid apes or monkeys (India, Hindu)

Yeren – man-monkey, cryptid hominid, resides in remote mountainous (China)

Yeti – Abominable Snowman, ape-like cryptid similar to Bigfoot, that inhabits the Himalayas (Nepal, Tibet)

Yowie – hominid said to live in the Australian wilderness, a cryptid similar to the Himalayan Yeti (Australia)

Rabbits and hares

See also: Category:Mythological rabbits and hares

Al-Mi'raj – rabbit with unicorn horn (Arabia)

Jackalope – (North America)

Moon rabbit – a rabbit living on the moon (Chinese)

Skvader

Wisakedjak - (Native American) aka Whiskeyjack. One of several names for rabbit trickster spirit of the eastern woodlands and Great Plains

Wolpertinger

Rodents

See also: Category:Mythological rodents

Afanc

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Ratatoskr

Rat king; phenomenon in which a number of rats become intertwined at their tails (Germany, France)

Wolpertinger

Ungulates

Antelopes and deer

See also: Category:Mythological deer

Actaeon (Greek) – a hunter turned into a deer and torn apart by his dogs

Ceryneian Hind (Greek) – Artemis' large, sacred golden hind

Deer Woman (Native American) – female human above the waist, deer below.

Male version is Elk Man.

Eikþyrnir (Norse mythology) – stag which stands upon Valhalla

Goldhorn (Slavic) – white golden-horned antelope

Jackalope (North American) – jackrabbit with antelope horns

Keresh (Jewish) – giant deer of the forest of Bei Ilai

Peryton (Argentina) – Stag that is part bird

Qilin (Chinese) – East Asian chimerical good-luck symbol

Tarand (European) also Parandrus. Antelope or deerlike creature said to be found in Ethiopia that can change the color of its fur at will to camouflage itself

White stag (worldwide) – magic white deer

Xeglun (Tungusic mythology) – celestial elk

Bovines

See also: Category:Mythological bovines

Auðumbla

Bai Ze

Kujata (Arabic) – Cosmic bull that bears the angel who holds the earth. Kujata, in turn, stands on Bahamhut.

Bicorn and Chichevache

Bonnacon

Hodag (American) – monster born of the cremated remains of an abused bull

Minotaur – monster with the head of a bull and the body of a man (Greek)

Nandi

Sarangay – a bull with a huge muscular body and a jewel attached to its ears (Philippines)

Shedu

Tē-gû – a giant buffalo living underground which causes earthquakes (Taiwan)

Ushi-oni – (Japan)

Camelids

Allocamelus – A donkey-headed camel.

Heavenly Llama[4]

Caprids

See also: Category:Mythological caprids

Amalthea

Aries

Barometz

Capricornus

Chimera

Dahu

Faun – a Roman version of satyr. It has a human head and torso and a goat waist and legs.

Goldhorn – also known as Zlatorog

Heiðrún – goat in Norse mythology, which produces mead for the einherjar

Khnum

Satyr – a goat legged human that is associated to the deity Dionysus. Known to be drunk partiers.

Sidehill gouger

Tanngrisnir and Tanngrjóst – Thor's magical goats

Chrysomallos – a sheep with golden fleece from Greek mythology

Equines

Main articles: List of horses in mythology and folklore and List of winged horses

See also: Category:Horses in mythology

Anggitay – is a creature with the upper body of a female human and the lower body of a horse from waist down (Philippines)

Arion – Talking immortal horse (Greek)

Balius and Xanthus (Greek) – immortal offspring of harpies

Buraq – Al-Burāq, steed from the heavens that transported the prophets (Islam)

Centaur – head, arms, and torso of a human, the body and legs of a horse (Greek)

Cheval Gauvin – horse which tries to kill its rider (French/Swiss)

Cheval Mallet; horse that tempts and kidnaps weary travelers (French)

Chiron – centaur believed to be exceptional among his brethren (Greek)

Chollima – a winged horse too swift to be mounted by any mortal (Chinese)

Drapé - (France) Ghostly horse who spirits away children wandering at night to an unknown location, never to be seen again.

Gytrash (English) – shapeshifting spirit usually taking the form of a horse, mule or other animal that appears to the lost and leads them to their destination

Haizum – horse of the archangel Gabriel (Islam)

Hippogriff – winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle (French, English)

Ipotane – half-horse, half-humans, original centaurs (Greek)

Karkadann – monstrous, highly aggressive unicorn (India, Persia)

Kotobuki (Japanese) – Yokai with traits of all members of the Chinese zodiac

Longma – fabled winged horse with dragon scales (China)

Mankayia (Kiowa) – tornado spirit in the form of a horse

Onocentaur – part human, part donkey (Greek)

Pegasus – winged white stallion (Greek)

Pooka – spirits or fairies who lived near ancient stones; could be good or bad (Ireland)

Sleipnir – Odin's eight-legged horse, which he rode to Hel (Norse)

Simurgh – like the Hippogriff with the head of a human (Persian)

Sihuanaba – shapeshifting spirit that typically appears as a beautiful, long-haired woman when seen from behind, before revealing her face to be that of a horse

Tikbalang – creature with the body of a man and the head and hooves of a horse that lurks in the mountains and forests (Philippines)

Uchchaihshravas – seven-headed flying white horse (Hindu)

Unicorn – horse-like creature with a single horn, often symbolizing purity (worldwide)

Winged unicorn

Water Horse – general name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being known for appearing as a horse

Nuckelavee (Orkadian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – shapeshifting sea water horse

White horse

Pachyderms

Main article: List of elephants in mythology and religion

See also: Category:Mythological elephants

Abath

Baku

Behemoth

Quugaarpak - (Inuit) Explanation for Mammoths & other Ice Age remains washing out of riversides. Underworld monsters who dig their way up to the human world, but die upon breathing our air.

Taweret

Pigs and boars

See also: Category:Mythological pigs

Calydonian Boar

Erymanthian Boar

Zhu Bajie

Xenarthrans

Mapinguari

Molluscs

See also: Category:Mythological molluscs

Akkorokamui – octopus monster (Ainu, Japan)

Amikuk (Yup'ik) - Shapeshifting four armed 'octopus' that can swim through land as easily as water.

Carbuncle (Chilote) – one of its many descriptions is a luminescent bivalve[3][2]

Lou Carcolh – A giant, man-eating snail with fur and tentacles (France)

Kraken – squid monster (Worldwide)

Shen – A clam-dragon that creates mirages and fata morgana at sea (China)

Reptiles

Limbed

See also: Category:Legendary reptiles

Agoa (American) – turtle monster of West Virginian lore centered around the Monongahela River

Ammut – female demon, funerary deity and animal hybrid (Egypt)

Bakunawa – serpentine dragon in Philippines

Basilisk – king of serpents with the power to cause death with a single glance (Europe)

Black Tortoise – one of the four symbols of the Chinese constellations

Chalkydri

Chinese Dragon – serpentine creature with four legs

Cipactli – sea monster, part crocodile, fish and toad. Always hungry, thousands of mouths (Aztec)

Dragon – serpentine, reptilian traits (worldwide)

Dungavenhooter – a crocodilian creature with no mouth and huge nostrils who uses its tail to pound victims into a vapor, which it then inhales

Knucker – sea serpent-like dragon

Kurma

Loch Ness Monster – sea monster cryptid (Scotland)

Loveland frog – Humanoid cryptid (The United States (Ohio))

Luu – (Mongol) – serpentine water dragons capable of causing great floods if angered.

Makara

Mokele Mbembe

Mo'o (Hawaiian) class of shapeshifting lizard monsters

Morgawr (Cornish) – crocodilian sea serpent that affects fishing

Mungoon-Gali – a giant goanna (Australia)

Peluda

Reptilian humanoids

Sewer alligator

Sobek

Taniwha

Whowie – a giant frog-headed goanna with six legs (Australia)

Wyvern

Zaratan

Serpents and worms

See also: List of dragons in mythology and folklore, Category: Legendary serpents, and Serpents in the Bible

Alicante

Amphisbaena

Amphithere

Apep/Apophis

Azhi Dahaka

Basilisk

Bakonawa

Biscione

Cockatrice

Dragon

Drake

Echidna

Fáfnir

Feathered serpent

Garafena (Russian)

Gorgon

Hoop snake

Indus worm

Hydra

Jaculus/Jaculi

Jasconius

Jörmungandr — the Midgård serpent

Lamia

Lindworm

Madame White Snake

Meretseger

Mongolian Death Worm

Naga

Níðhöggr

Orm

Ouroboros

Python

Rainbow serpent

Sea serpent

Tarasque

Tolba — the world turtle that supports North America upon its back

Tsuchinoko

Typhon

Ur

Wyvern

Yamata no Orochi

Zilant

Megafauna

Main article: List of megafauna in mythology and folklore

Giants

Main article: List of giants in mythology and folklore

Artificial creatures

This listing includes creatures that are man-made, mechanical or of alchemical origins.

Automaton (worldwide) – self-operating machine; most famous example is Greek mythology's Talos

Blodeuwedd (Welsh) – wife of Lleu Llaw Gyffes

Brazen head (Medieval legends) – living head of brass purported to be able to answer any question given to it

Doll Woman- (Lenape) lifelike doll spirit. Must stay properly appeased, or will cause mischief in the home.

Frankenstein's monster

Galatea (Greek) – ivory statue carved by Pygmalion

Gingerbread man – from German folk tales

Golem (Jewish) – animated humanoid construct

Homunculus (Alchemy) – diminutive, animated construct

Nephele (Greek) – nymph formed from a cloud by Zeus to resemble the goddess Hera

Shabti (Egyptian) – clay model used as workers

Tokeloshe (Zulu mythology) – diminutive, hairy humanoid with various magical powers

Tilberi (Iceland) – creations of witches from a rib bone and wool for the purpose of stealing milk

Tsukumogami (Japanese) – objects that come to life, of their own accord, after 100 years

Tulpa (Tibetan Buddhism) – creature brought to life through meditation

Tupilaq (Inuit) – large statues brought to life to serve witches and shamans

Ushabti (Egyptian) – clay guardians/assistants

Various objects animated by gods, demons and spirits in mythology, legend and folklore

Body parts, creatures associated with

Blood

See also: Category:Mythological hematophages

Alan
Chupacabra
Dhampir
Preta
Golden Hind
Kappa
Kekkai
Lamia
Manananggal
Mandurugo
Redcap
Rokurokubi
Sigbin
Vampire
Werewolf
Yuki-onna
Bone
Bloody Bones
Gashadokuro
Grim Reaper
Skeleton
Eye
Argus Panoptes
Basilisk
Catoblepas
Cockatrice
Cyclopes
Gorgon
Hitotsume-kozou
Lamia
Lynx
Mokumokuren
One-eyed
Main article: List of one-eyed creatures in mythology and fiction
Face
Asura
Deva / Devi
Noppera-bō
Hair
Futakuchi-onna
Harionago
Mavka
Medusa
Head
Further information: Polycephaly
Amphisbaena

Cerberus
Chimera
Chonchon
Double-headed eagle
Dullahan
Hekatonkheires
Kishi
Hydra
Lernaean Hydra
Nine-headed Bird
Nukekubi
Rokurokubi
Orthrus
Shesha
Penanggalan
Wanyūdō
Xing Tian
Yacuruna
Yamata no Orochi
Limbs
Asura (Indian)
Deva / Devi (Indian)
Hekatonkheires
Hinkypunk - (English) variation on Will o the wisp. A single, incorporeal leg hopping around bogs with a lantern.
Kui
O'nya:ten (Iroquoian) aka Dry Fingers. Mummified hand. Appears and leaps out at people after certain transgressions, such as speaking ill of the dead, or butting into other people's personal business.
Sleipnir
Three-legged bird
Mouth
Futakuchi-onna
Kuchisake-onna
Skin
Selkie
Skin-walker
Swan maiden
Tail
Bakeneko
Kitsune
Yamata no Orochi
Kumiho
Hulder
Nguruvilu
Neck

Serpopard
Rokurokubi
Vampire
Torso
Manananggal
Geryon[5]
Abdomen
Pixiu
Concepts, creatures associated with
Battle, Vengeance, Violence, and War
See also: Category:War deities
Androktasiai
Erinyes
Hipag
Hysminai
Keres
Lemures
Makhai
Onryō
Phonoi
Valkyrie
Vengeful ghost
Birth and Rebirth
See also: Category:Phoenix birds
Aralez
Phoenix
Ubume
Death and Immortality
See also: List of ghosts
See also the categories Undead and Personifications of death
Abasy
Ammit
Banshee
Demon
Devil
Dullahan
Ghost
Grim Reaper
Ox-Head and Horse-Face
Phoenix
Undead
Valkyrie
Vampire
Dream, the Mind, and Sleep
See also: Category:Sleep in mythology and folklore
Alp

Baku
Carbuncle
Devil
Drude
Incubus / Succubus
Mermaid
Nightmare
Nue
Oni
Sandman
Satori
Zduhać
Evil Eye and Sight
Alp (folklore)
Basilisk
Balor of the Evil Eye – king of the Fomorians, a race of giants, and a cyclops (Irish)
Catoblepas
Cockatrice
Gorgon – woman with hair made of living, venomous snakes, and eyes that turned men to stone (Greek):
Medusa – once a human, Medusa and her sisters were cursed to be terrible monsters by Athena (Greek)
Euryale – second eldest of the three vicious Gorgon sisters (Greek)
Stheno – eldest of the Gorgon Sisters (Greek)
Fertility and Human Sexuality
Alan
Boto
Faun
Gancanagh
German
Incubus / Succubus
Maenad
Nymph
Pombero
Popobawa
Satyr
Sileni / Silenus
Unicorn
Zemyna / Zemepatis
Simurgh
Fortune, Luck, and Wealth
Carbuncle (Chilote) – said to be the "guardian of the metals"[3]
Dwarf
Egbere
Genie

Leib-Olmai
Leprechaun
Matagot
Pixiu
Sarimanok
Sigbin
Yaksha / Yakshini
Light
Angel
Chalkydri
Deity
Lampetia
Will-o'-the-wisp
Dragon
Love and Romance
See also: Category:Love and lust gods
Cupid / Eros / Cherub
Gancanagh
Selkie
Swan maiden
Madame White Snake
Melusine
Tennin
Undine
Sound
Banshee
Encantado
Fenghuang
Fossegrim
Mermaid
Nue
Siren
Yamabiko
Speech
Main article: Talking animal
Gef
Satan
Time and Technology
See also: Category:Time and fate gods
Chronos
Father Time
Gremlin
Wisdom
Baba Yaga
Bai Ze
Griffin

Salmon of Wisdom
Sphinx
Demons
See list of theological demons
Elements, creatures associated with
Aether
Chalkydri
Deity
Elemental
Spirit
Angel
Demon
Devil
Yokai
Nymph
Elf
Fairy
Air and wind
See also: List of flying mythological creatures
Ala
Elemental
Feldgeister
Zduhać
Darkness
Black dog
Bogeyman
Enenra
Ghost
Grim Reaper
Wechuge
Wendigo
Shadow People
Vampire
Werewolf
Oni
Gashadokuro
Camazotz
Wild Hunt
Hell Hound
Earth and subterranean
See also: Category:Earth spirits
Asag
Bluecap
Elemental
Dwarf
Earth Dragon

Gargoyle
Giant
Gnome
Goblin
Golem
Knocker (folklore)
Monopod
Nymph
Ogre
Oread
Ten Ten-Vilu
Troll
Fire
Further information: Fire-breathing monster
Basan
Bluecap
Cherufe
Chimera
Dragon
Elemental
Enenra
Ifrit
Hellhound
Lampad
Phoenix
Salamander
Light and rainbow
Angel
Chalkydri
Light Elf
Rainbow crow
Rainbow Serpent
Metal and gold
Alicanto[1]
Pixiu
Carbunclo[3]
Chrysomallos
Cyclopes
Griffin
Gnome
Leprechaun
Bulgasari
Thunder and lightning
Chinese dragon
Cyclopes
Feldgeist

Kitsune

Raijū

Thunderbird

Valkyrie

Water

See also the categories Mythological water creatures and Water spirits

Afanc

Amefurikozō

Aspidochelone

Bloody Bones

Buggane

Bunyip

Camenae

Capricorn

Cetus

Charybdis

Chinese Dragon

Cai Cai-Vilu

Crinaeae

Davy Jones' Locker

Draug

Each uisge

Elemental

Fish People

Fossegrim

Fur-bearing trout

Gargouille

Grindylow

Haetae

Hippocamp

Hydra

Ichthyocentaur

Jasconius

Jengu

Kappa

Kelpie

Kraken

Lake monster

Lavellan

Leviathan

Loch Ness monster

Lorelei

Lusca

Makara

Melusine

Mami Wata

Mermaid / Merman
Merrow
Morgens
Muc-sheilch
Naiad
Näkki
Nereid
Nix
Nymph
Pisces
Ponaturi
River gods
Rusalka
Samebito
Sea monster
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Taniwha
Tiamat
Triton
Ondine
Vodyanoy
Water dragon
Water leaper
Water sprite
Yacuruna
Zaratan
Habitats, creatures associated with
Cave and underground
Dwarf
European dragon
Gnome
Goblin
Golem
Grootslang
Leprechaun
Troll
Yaoguai
Celestial and heaven
Angel
Chalkydri
Deva / Devi
Feathered serpent
Heavenly Llama[4]

Pegasus
Grim Reaper
Swan Maiden
Tennin
Three-legged bird
Valkyrie
Desert
Amphisbaena
Basilisk
Cockatrice
Ghoul
Mongolian Death Worm
Sphinx
Temperate forest and woodland
See also: Category:Forest spirits
Äbädä (Turkic) – forest spirit with shoes on the wrong feet
Ajatar
Bigfoot
Dryad
Elf
Green Man
Irrwurz
Leshy
Lindworm
Mavka
Moss people
Owlman
Satyr
Unicorn
Tropical forest and jungle
Curupira
Dingonek
Mapinguari
Manticore
Saci
Temperate grassland and garden
Fairy
Gnome
Savanna
Ennedi tiger
Werehyena
Lake and river
See also: Category:Lake monsters
Ahuitzotl
Bak
Bunyip

Chinese dragon
Dobhar-chú
Encantado
Grootslang
Iara
Jiaolong
Kappa
Kelpie
Lake monster
Hydra
Loch Ness Monster
Mizuchi
Mugwump
Naiad
Nixie
Ogopogo
Ondine
Rainbow serpent
Rusalka
Ryujin
Shellycoat
Warlock
Yacuruna
Mountain and hill
See also: Category:Mining spirits
Alp
Dwarf
Fenghuang
Griffin
Hippogriff
Mountain Giant
Kamaitachi
Mavka
Oread
Patupaiarehe
Rübezahl
Satyr
Tengu
Yeti
Sea
See also: Sea monster and Greek sea goddesses
Amikuk
Aspidochelone
Bishop-fish
Charybdis
Cai Cai-Vilu

Dragon King
Fish People
Hippocamp
Leviathan
Jormungand
Kraken
Mermaid / Merman
Nereid
Sea monk
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Tritons
Umibōzu
Water Dragon
Yacuruna
Swamp and marsh
See also: Category:Swamp monsters
Błudnik
Bunyip
Grootslang
Lernaean Hydra
Honey Island Swamp monster
Mokele-mbembe
Swamp monster
Will-o'-the-wisp
Volcano and lava
Cherufe
Phoenix
Salamander
Polar, ice, and winter
Akhlut
Amarok
Hrimthurs
Ijiraq
Jotun
Qiqirn
Saumen Kar
Tizheruk
Wechuge
Wendigo
Yeti
Ymir
Yuki-onna
Frau Holle

Urban and house

Main article: Household deity

See also: Category:Household deities

Banshee

Boggart

Brownie

Domovoi – Slavic house spirit

Dvorovoi – Slavic yard spirit

Duende

Jinn

Kobold

Tomte

Vampire

Zashiki-warashi

Underworld and hell

See also: Category:Underworld deities

Cerberus

Ammit

Cerberus

Cyclopes

Demon

Devil

Earth Dragon

Garm

Hekatonkheires

Hellhound

Ifrit

Ox-Head and Horse-Face

Preta

Humanoids

See Mythic humanoids

Hybrids

See List of hybrid creatures

Astronomical objects, creatures associated with

Sun

Chalkydri beings from the Second Book of Enoch[6]

Kua Fu a giant in China

Three-legged bird in China, Korea, and Japan

Phoenix in Greek Mythology

Moon

Jade rabbit

Werewolf

Werejaguar

Alien

Constellation

Azure Dragon
Black Tortoise
Capricorn
Centaur
Heavenly Llama^[4]
Ladon
Nemean Lion
Pegasus
Phoenix
Vermilion Bird
Yellow Dragon
White Tiger
World

See also: **List of mythological places**

World Elephant

World Tree

World Turtle

Creatures associated with plants

See also: **Category:Trees in mythology**

Alraune

Clickbok Tree- (American) An oak tree planted by a slave which later comes to life to protect his wife and son from a vengeful slave overseer.

Dryad

Ghillie Dhu

Green Man

Hamadryad

Jubokko

Kodama

Leshy

Mandrake

Penghou

Snake Tree- (Lakota) Tree brought to life by a witch. Lashes out at anything that comes close with branches covered in poisonous thorns that paralyze the victim.

Spriggan

Tree of life

Vampire pumpkins and watermelons (Romani)

Vegetable Lamb of Tartary

Zapam Zucum

Zaqqum

See **Trees in mythology**

Shapeshifters

Main article: **List of shapeshifters**

Creatures associated with times

Day and diurnal

Griffin

Jackalope

Unicorn (rather resembles the moon)

Wolpertinger

Night and nocturnal

Amarok

Bigfoot

Ennedi tiger

Ghoul

Owlman

Werewolf

Vampire

Undead

See also: Undead and Category:Ghosts

Aswang

Banshee – (Scottish, Gaelic, Irish)

Chindi - (Navajo) The dark side of the soul which has the ability to remain behind in the earth after death and become a sort of dark spirit.

Drekavac (Croatia) Name used for several distinct undead monsters.

Ghost – (Worldwide)

Inipi- (California Native) shapeshifting ghosts

Jikininki

Kuchisake-onna

Lugat (Albanian)

Poltergeist – (Worldwide)

Preta

Revenant

Sluagh

Spirit – (Worldwide)

Tei Pai Wanka - (Wampanoag) Term for swamp lights in Algonquian lore.

Enslaved souls of people taken by the Little People who are used to scare people who've done wrong or lure them to their deaths.

Wanagi- (Lakota) Lakota name for Siouan shadow people. Essentially ghosts.

Wewe Gombel

Wili

Will o' the wisp – Jack o lantern (English)

Wraith

Yurei

Ghosts in Hindu Mythology: Bhoot, Baital and Pishacha

Corporeal

See also: List of vampires in folklore and mythology and Category: Corporeal undead

Draugr

Fext

Ghoul

Jiangshi

Lich

Manananggal

Mullo (Romani) variation on a vampire.
Mummy (undead) (modern interpretation)

Myling

Nukekubi

Pontianak

Skeleton

Vampire

Zombie

Miscellaneous

Anaye - (Navajo) various monsters that take the forms of animals, living objects and other things. Derived from a time where men and women bet on who would last the longest without the other sex and the women pleasuring themselves with whatever random things they thought would do the job, which caused their chosen toys to father them monstrous, man-eating children.

Daimon

Demon

Fairy

Familiar

Genie – or Jinn, Djinn

Monster

Sprite

Yōkai

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Lists of legendary creatures

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The following is a list of lists of legendary creatures, beings and entities from the folklore record. Entries consist of legendary and unique creatures, not of particularly unique individuals of a commonly known species.

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List of legendary creatures in Hindu mythology

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This article needs additional citations for verification. (January 2017)

This article may have too many section headings. (March 2023)

This article provides insufficient context for those unfamiliar with the subject.

(March 2023)

This is a list of legendary creatures from Indian folklore, including those from Vedic and Hindu mythology, sorted by their classification or affiliation.

This list is incomplete; you can help by adding missing items. (April 2015)

Creatures associated with animals

Invertebrates

Bees

Bhramari is 'the Goddess of bees' or 'the Goddess of black bees'. She is associated with bees, hornets and wasps, which cling to her body.

Scorpions

Chelamma, a Scorpion Goddess, native to southern Karnataka.

Matsya

Main article: Matsya

Matsya avatara, first incarnation of Vishnu

Matsya is the first avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu in the form of a fish.[1]

Timingila is a huge aquatic creature that can swallow whole whales in one bite.

Matsyāṅganā

Main articles: Mermaid and Merman

Suvannamaccha is a daughter of Tosakanth (Ravana) appearing in the Thai and other Southeast Asian versions of Ramayana.[2] She is a mermaid princess who tries to spoil Hanuman's plans to build a bridge to Lanka but falls in love with him instead.[3]

Macchanu is the son of Hanuman in the Cambodian, Thai and other versions of the Ramayana, and who looked like a vanara from the waist-up but had the tail of a fish.

Frog

Bheki is the name given to a frog that symbolizes the sun on the horizon in Hindu legend.

Reptiles

Kūrma

Main article: Kūrma

Further information: Makara (Hindu mythology)

The Second Incarnation of Vishnu as Kurma 'The Tortoise' The Churning of the Ocean (paint on paper)

In Hinduism, Kurma is the second Avatar of Vishnu, in the form of a turtle.[4][5]

The World Turtle in Hindu belief is known as Akupāra, or sometimes Chukwa, a chiranjeevi.[6]

Bedawang or Bedawang Nala is a giant turtle in Balinese mythology who brought the whole world on his back. In the creation mythology of the world, it represents a change from Antaboga. He along with two dragons support the human world. If he moves, there will be earthquakes and volcanic eruptions on earth.

Varuna-deva mounted on Makara.

Makara is a water monster (often depicted as a crocodile) that appears as the vahana (mount) of several water deities, among them the river goddesses Ganga and Narmada, and Varuna when shown as sea god.

Huhu is the crocodile in the legend of Gajendra Moksha.

Sarpa

See also: Serpent (symbolism)

Vritra try to eat indra

Antaboga is the world serpent of traditional Javanese mythology. It is a derivative from the Hindu Ananta Shesha combined with Javanese animism.

Gogaji also known as Jahar Veer Gogga is a folk deity, worshiped in the northern states of India. He is a warrior-hero of the region, venerated as a saint and a 'snake-god'. He is worshiped as a veer amongst Hindus.

Ketu is an Asura who has the lower parts of a snake and said to have four arms.

Nagnechiya Maa (Nagnechi Ma, Nagnechia Ma), a snake goddess, is the kuldevi of Rathore, a Suryavanshi Rajput clan of India, as well as Brahmbhatts (who are also Vaitalik Kaumudik Bramhins),

Patanjali is a snake footed rishi considered to be an incarnation of Shesha

Rahu is the severed head of an asura called Svarbhānu, that swallows the sun causing eclipses. He is depicted in art as a serpent with no body riding a chariot drawn by eight black horses.

Vritra or Ahi is a serpent or dragon, the personification of drought and adversary of Indra.

Nāgas

Main article: Nāga

See also: Snake worship § India

Vasuki in Sagar Manthan

The Naga is an entity or being, taking the form of a very great snake — specifically the king cobra. A female nāga is a nāgī or nāgiṇī. Notable nagas.

Astika is half Brahmin and half naga, son of Manasa.

Kaliya, a snake conquered by Krishna.

Karkotaka controls weather

Manasā, also Mansa Devi, is a Hindu folk goddess of snakes, sister of Vasuki and wife of sage Jagatkāru (Jaratkāru).

Paravataksha, his sword causes earthquakes and his roar caused thunder.

Surasa is a Hindu goddess, who is described as the mother of the uragas (serpents).[7]

Susna is a horned serpent-demon who aids the Asuras in their war against the Deva. The serpent also guards the essence of Amrita in its stomach. Susna is also associated with drought.

Shesha is the nagaraja or king of all nāgas. The snake on whom Vishnu is in yoga nidra (Ananta shayana).[8]

Takshaka is mentioned as a King of the Nagas.

Ulupi, a companion of Arjuna in the epic Mahabharata

Vasuki is a nagaraja, one of the King serpents, who coils over Shiva's neck.[9]

Pannaga

Further information: Naga Kingdom § Naga races

A race related to the Nagas and Uragas, born of Kadru, sister of Surasa.

Uraga

Further information: Naga Kingdom § Naga races

A race related to the Nagas and Pannagas, born of Surasa, sister of kadru.

Pakshin

Karura of Kofukuji

Byangoma (feminine Byangomi) are legendary birds of Bengali mythology, appearing most notably in the fairytales of Thakurmar Jhuli, where they are portrayed as wise, fortune-telling birds that help the deserving.

Gandabherunda (also known as the Bherunda) is a two-headed mythological bird of Hindu beliefs thought to possess magical strength.

Homa Pakshi (a Vedic bird). It lays eggs while flying in the sky and then the egg will fall. As it is falling, a bird will hatch from the egg. The hatchling then learns how to fly without touching the earth.

The death of Bakasura the crane (6124594523)

The Karura is a divine creature with human torso and birdlike head in Japanese Hindu-Buddhist faith.

Baka

Bagala - A crane-headed god in Hindu legend, Bagala controls black magic, poisons and disguised forms of death.

Krauncha - A crane mentioned in the Ramayana.

Nadijangha - The name of a crane, who was liked by Brahma very much. His story was told by Bhishma to Dharmaraja.

Garuda (Vishnu's bird mount) with Krishna and Balarama.

Gṛdha

Sampati's found by Vanaras

Vultures who were the sons of Aruna, brother of Garuda.

Sampati, the King of Vultures, was the oldest son of Aruṇa and a brother of Jatayu.

Jatayu is the youngest son of Aruna, brother of Sampati.

Haṁsa

Main article: Hamsa (bird)

The hamsa (Sanskrit: हंस, haṁsa or hansa) is an aquatic bird of passage, such as a goose or a swan. Its icon is used in Indian and Southeast Asian culture as a spiritual symbol and a decorative element. Hamsa is a part of the mythical love story of Nala and Damayanti. The hamsa is the vahana of Brahma & Saraswathi.

Arayanna, or heavenly hamsa (swans), are said to live in Manasasaras in the Himalayas.

Kāka

Chanda, a crow, is the father of Bhusunda and his twenty brothers (Bhusunda and his brothers were born from the union of Chanda and the seven swans of the Goddess Brahmi).

Bhusunda or Kakabhushundi is a very old sage, in the form of a crow. In the Story of Bhusunda, a chapter of the Yoga Vasistha, Bhusunda recalls a succession of epochs in the earth's history, as described in Hindu cosmology. He survived several destructions, living on a wish-fulfilling tree on Mount Meru.

Kukkuṭaśāva

Krichi is the rooster of Murugan, depicted on his war flag, the Seval Kodi.

Mayura

Main article: Mayura (mythology)

Saraswati with Citramekhala

Citramekhala is the mayura of Saraswathi, Goddess of learning and wisdom.

Paravani is the mayura vahana of Murugan, the God of War.

Sarngika

Jarita was a certain female bird of the species called Sarngika. She was wife of saint Mandapala.

Shuka

Suka - The parrot vahana of Kamadeva

Shuka - The parrot of Kalki

Shyena

Main article: Shyena (Hinduism)

Shyena (Sanskrit: श्येन) is the divine hawk identified with Agni, who ascends to heaven for bringing soma (nectar) to earth with the intention of rejuvenating and revitalizing of all things that exist on earth.

Suparna

Raja Ravi Varma, Lord Garuda

The Garuda is a large bird-like creature, or humanoid bird. Garuda is the mount (vahana) of the Lord Vishnu. According to the Mahabharata, Garuda had six sons from whom were descended the race of birds.

Sumukha

Suvarna

Subala

Sunaama

Sunethra

Suvarcha

Tittiri

Chakora, a kind of partridge, is a legendary bird described in Hindu faiths. It is believed to reside upon the beams of the moon, that is, the Chandra.

Kapinjala, a partridge associated with Indra, or a form of Indra.

Uluka

Pravirakarna - Is a chiranjeevi owl who lives in the Himalayas.

Uluka - The owl of Lakshmi.

Mushika

Mushika - the rat mount of Ganesha. Ganesha is very careful about his mount

Mushika and also his safety

Ganesh on his vahana, a mouse or rat

Gaja or Hastin

Main articles: Gaja and Hastin

Erawan (Thai: เอราวัณ, from Pāli Erāvana, or Sanskrit Airāvana) is the Thai version of Airavata. He is depicted as a huge elephant with either three or sometimes thirty-three heads which are often shown with more than two tusks.

Gajamina Gadjamina, Gaja minah, or Eon is an elephant headed mythical figure with the body of a fish used for patulangan sarcophagi in Bali,

The **Gajasimha** is a mythical animal with the body of a lion and the head of an elephant. At Angkor, it is portrayed as a guardian of temples and as a mount for some warriors.

Gajasura is an elephant demon killed by Shiva, in his Gajasurasamhara form.

Gajendra the elephant, was rescued by Vishnu from the clutches of Huhu, the Crocodile in the legend of Gajendra Moksha.

Ganesha also known as Ganapati and Vinayaka, the elephant headed God.

Iravati is a daughter of Kadru and Kasyapa. She is the mother of Airavata, the mount of Indra. She is also associated with a sacred river.

In a tale about Ganesha's birth, the elephant-headed demoness Malini gives birth to Ganesha after drinking the bath-water of Parvati, Ganesha's mother.

In Hindu beliefs there were three elephants by the name Supratika. The foremost among them is listed as one of the Diggajas, each representing the eight quarters. The Hindu epic Mahabharata describes two more elephants by the same name – a mythical elephant that was an incarnation of a sage, and the one that belonged to Bhagadatta, the king of Pragjyotisha.

Vinayaki is an elephant-headed Hindu goddess, a Matrika. The goddess is generally associated with the elephant-headed god of wisdom, Ganesha.

Diggajas

Main article: World-elephants

See also: Dikpala

Indradeva on Airavata

The Amarakosha, a thesaurus of Sanskrit, mentions the names of eight male elephants, and their respective consorts, that bear the world together.

Airavata is a mythological white elephant who carries the Hindu God Indra. He also represents the Eastern direction, the quarter of Indra. **Abhramu** is the consort of Airavata.

Pundarika, carries the Hindu god Yama. He represents the Southeast. **Kapila** is the consort of Pundarika.

Vamana and his mate **Pingala** guard the South with an unspecified god.

Kumunda (Southwest) and his mate Anupama, with the god Surya.
Anjana and his mate Añjanā guards the West with the god Varuna.
Pushpa-danta and his mate Subhadanti guards the Northwest with the god Vayu.
Sarva-bhauma represents the North, the quarter of Kubera. His mate is
Tāmrakarna.

Supratika represents the North-east direction, the quarter of Soma. Anjanavati is
believed to be the wife of Supratika.

Four names are given in the Ramayana 1.41:

Viru-paksha - East

Maha-padma - South

Saumanas - West

Bhadra - North

Kapi

Kapi is a form of monkey, especially used to represent Hanuman, as may be seen
in the lines of the devotional hymn Hanuman Chalisa: "jaya kapīsa tihun loka
ujāgara" ("Victory to the Lord who is supreme among the monkeys, The light of
the three worlds ..." [10]) [Emphasis added.]

Vanaras Building a Bridge to the Mythical Kingdom of Lanka

Vanara

The Vanaras are the monkey race in the Ramayana. The following are notable
vanaras.

Angada, son of vali, helped Rama find his wife Sita

Anjana, Hanuman's mother.

Hanuman is a monkey God and an ardent devotee of the God Rama.

Kesari, Hanuman's foster father.

Makardhwaja is the son of Hanuman as per the Valmiki Ramayana.

Nala, son of Vishwakarma.

Nila, son of Agni.

Rumā was the wife of Sugrīva.

Sugriva, king of Kishkindha, son of Surya.

Tara, wife of vali.

Vali, Sugriva's brother, and a son of Indra

Varāha

Main article: Varāha

Varaha Avatar of Vishnu kills Hiranyakshan.

Emūsha - In the Brāhmaṇa, a boar which raised up the earth, represented as
black and with a hundred arms (probably the germ of the Varaha avatara).

Varaha is the third avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu in the form of a boar.

Varahi is one of the Matrikas. With the head of a sow, Varahi is the consort of
Varaha.

Hariṇa

Pashupati (Sanskrit Paśupati) is an incarnation of the Hindu god Shiva as "lord of
the animals".

Rishyasringa was a boy born with the horns of a deer in Hindu-Buddhist faiths,

who became a seer.

Gō

Further information: Cattle in religion and mythology § In Indian religions

Paśu

See also: Pashupati

Ushas are associated with the reddish cows, and are released by Indra from the Vala cave at the beginning of time.

Vrishabha - A cow-headed Yogini, who is considered to be the mother of Ganesha.

Kamadhenu

Main article: Kamadhenu

Kamadhenu, the cow of plenty

Kamadhenu also known as **Surabhi**, is a bovine-goddess described in Hinduism as the mother of all cows. She is a miraculous "cow of plenty" who provides her owner whatever he desires and is often portrayed as the mother of other cattle as well as the eleven Rudras. The following are the offspring of Kamadhenu.

Kapila cows (the golden cows), are the children of Kamadhenu, who were also called the mothers of the world (according to the Anushasana Parva, the thirteenth book of the Mahabharata).

Manoratha, a calf, created by Krishna (along with its mother, Kamadhenu) from the left side of his body (according to the Devi Bhagavata Purana)

Nandini (sometimes referred to as Sabala), the cow of Vashistha, the daughter of Indra's cow Kamadhenu.

Rohini, daughter of Surabhi, who is said to be the mother of cows (according to the Ramayana)

Sushila, a daughter of Kamadhenu in the Brahmanda Purana

Yogishvari, a cow, daughter of Kamadhenu (according to the Matsya Purana)

Dikpalis

See also: Kamadhenu § Abodes

The guardian cow goddesses of the heavenly quarters (they are the 4 daughters of Kamadhenu according to the Udyoga Parva, fifth book of the Mahabharata):

Dhenu in the north

Harhsika in the south

Saurabhi in the east

Subhadra in the west

Vṛṣabha

Bir Kuar or **Birkuar**, also known as **Birnath**, is a Hindu cattle-god worshipped by the herder-class of Ahirs of western Bihar in India. He is considered to be a form of the god, Krishna.

Nandi, or **Nandikeshvara** is the name for the bull which serves as the mount of the god Shiva and as the gatekeeper of Shiva and Parvati.

Mahiṣa

Unknown (Indian) - Durga in Combat with the Bull, Mahishasuras

Mahishasura; According to Hindu beliefs, Mahishasura was a combination of both an Asura and a mahisha ("water buffalo"), with a trident.

Mahishi - The sister of Mahishasura. After the death of Mahishasura, Mahishi continued the war against Devas.

Mhasoba, is a horned buffalo deity of pastoral tribes in Western and Southern India.

Paundraka is the name of the buffalo of Yama.

Aja

See also: Markandeya

Aja - A "He-goat" sacred to Pushan. Holds a prominent position in death rites; it shows the path to the dead.

Ajaikapala - A boy, whom was begotten by the grace of Shankara. He had one foot of a man and the other of a goat. He overcame death as a child and is known as 'Mrityunjya'.

Daksha - His head was replaced by a goat's after a beheading.

Naigamesha also known as Harinegameshi, is a goat-headed or deer-headed deity (associated with the war-god Kartikeya).

Pūṣan - a Vedic guardian of flocks and herds.

Ashva

Main article: Ashva

Further information: History of the horse in South Asia

The Ashvins, in Hindu belief, are two Vedic gods, divine twin horsemen in the Rigveda, sons of Saranyu, a goddess of the clouds and wife of Surya in his form as Vivasvant. They are represented as humans with the heads of horses.

Badavā - 'A mare, the submarine fire.' In belief, it is a flame with the head of a horse, called also Haya-siras.

Dadhi-krā is the name of a divine horse or bird, personification of the morning Sun.

Devadatta - The white horse of Kalki.

Gandharvi, daughter of Kamadhenu, and is the mother of horses (according to the Ramayana).

Farasi Bahari - These are magical green Water Horses that live at the bottom of the Indian Ocean. They are depicted as a horse in its forepart, with a coiling, scaly, fish-like hindquarter.

Hayagriva, also spelt Hayagreeva, is a horse-headed avatar of the Lord Vishnu in Hinduism.

Keshi is the horse-demon, healed by Krishna.

Kinnara In Hindu faith, a kinnara is a paradigmatic lover, a celestial musician, half-human and half-horse.

Tārksya is the name of a mythical being in the Rigveda, described as a horse with the epithet *āriṣṭa-nemi* "with intact wheel-rims".

Tumburu is a horse faced Ghandarva, a celestial musician.

Uchchaihshravas is a seven-headed flying horse, that was obtained during the churning of the milk ocean. Uchchaihshravas is often described as a vahana ("vehicle") of Indra - the god-king of heaven, but is also recorded to be the horse of Bali, the king of demons.

White horse (mythology) White horses appear many times in Hindu faith.
Khadgin

Macedonians are attacked by Odontotyrannos in India

The Karkadann (from kargadan, Persian: کرگدن "Lord of the Desert") was a mythical creature said to live on the grassy plains of India and Persia. The word kargadan also means rhinoceros in Persian and Arabic.

Odontotyrannos ("tooth-tyrant") is a three horned beast said to have attacked Alexander the Great and his men at their camp in India. It had a black, horse-like head, with three horns protruding from its forehead, and exceeded the size of an elephant.

The Unicorn is a legendary creature that has been described since antiquity as a beast with a large, pointed, spiraling horn projecting from its forehead. The unicorn was depicted in ancient seals of the Indus Valley Civilization and was mentioned by the ancient Greeks in accounts of natural history by various writers, including Ctesias, Strabo, Pliny the Younger, and Aelian. The Bible also describes an animal, the re'em, which some versions translate as unicorn.

Shvan

Main article: Shvan

Rakta Bhairava

Ruru - a dog; one of the Bhairavas, a manifestation of Shiva.

In Hindu faith, Sarama is a mythological being referred to as the dog of the gods, or Deva-shuni.

Sarameya (literally, "sons of Sarama") are the children of Sarama, whose names are Shyama and Sabala.

Sharvara is an ancient Hindu mythical dog belonging to Yama.

Sisara is the husband of Sarama, father of the Sarameya.

Mahabidala

Vishnu's half-man half-lion avatar, Narasimha

Budhi Pallien is a fearsome goddess of forests and jungles, who roams northern India, particularly Assam, in the form of a tiger.

Kimpurusha were described to be lion-headed beings.

Narasimha is an avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu, and is often visualised as having a human torso and lower body, with a lion face and claws.

Dawon is a sacred tiger (sometimes drawn as a lion), it was offered by gods to serve goddess Durga or Parvati as mount for rewarding her victory.

Narasimhi (Sanskrit: नारसिंही, Nārasimhī), power of Narasimha (lion-man form of Vishnu), is a woman-lion and throws the stars into disarray by shaking her lion mane.

Manasthala is the lion vahana of Durga who was known as the asura Simhamukha in his previous life.

Pratyangira or sometimes called Prathyangira, Narasimhi or Narashimhika, is a Hindu Goddess described with a lioness's face and a human body.

Simhamukha is a lion faced demon, brother of Surapadman who later was

transformed into the vahana of Durga due to his bravery in fighting the god, Muruga.

Vyaghrapada, that is, one having the feet like a tiger, was one of the mythical rishis (sage) of ancient India.

Bidala

Mārjāra - The cat vahana of Shashthi, a Hindu folk Goddess (Shashthi is associated with the war-god Kartikeya).

Bhallūka

Jambavan

The Rikṣā are described as something like Vanaras but in later versions of Ramayana, Rikṣā are described as bears. Notable Rikṣās are as follows:

Jambavan (or Jamvanta) is a character originating in Indian epic poetry. The King of the Bears, he is an Asiatic or sloth bear in Indian epic tradition.

Jambavati is the daughter of Jambavan, King of the Bears, and the third wife of Krishna.

Yuyukkhura

The Crocotta (or corocotta, crocuta, or leucrocotta), is a mythical dog-wolf of India or Ethiopia, linked to the hyena and said to be a deadly enemy of men and dogs.

Therianthropes

See also: Shapeshifting

Ichchhadhari Nag or Naagin is a mythical shape-shifting cobra in Indian folklore. Ailuranthropes (werecats), the weretiger - In India, the weretiger is often a dangerous sorcerer, portrayed as a menace to livestock, who might at any time turn to man-eating. These tales travelled through the rest of India and into Persia through travellers who encountered the royal Bengal tigers of India and then further west.

Hemaraj - The hemaraj is a creature found in Thai and possibly South Asian(Indian) faith. It is said to be the combination of a hem (an ill-defined creature in and of itself; usually likened to a swan but sometimes depicted more like a crocodilian) and a lion.

Makara is a sea-creature in Hindu faith. Makara is the vahana (vehicle) of Ganga - the goddess of the river Ganges and the sea god Varuna.[11][12] It is also the insignia of the love god Kamadeva.

In the epic Ramayana, the Makara is responsible for the birth of Lord Hanuman's son, Makardhwaja.

Navagunjara is a creature composed of nine different animals. The beast is considered a form of the Hindu god Vishnu, or of Krishna, who is considered an Avatar (incarnation) of Vishnu.

Panchamukhi Hanuman Hanuman assumed the Panchamukhi or five-faced form to kill Ahravana. He assumes a vanara's head, a lion's head, an eagle's head, a boar's head and a horse's head.

Reachisey is a mythical animal, with the head of a lion, a short elephantine trunk,

and the scaly body of a dragon. It occurs at Angkor Wat in the epic bas reliefs of the outer gallery.

Rompo is a mythological beast with the head of a hare, the ears of a human, a mane, a slender body, the front arms of a badger, and the rear legs of a bear. It feeds only on human corpses and it is said to croon softly as it eats.

Vaikuntha Chaturmurti or Vaikuntha Vishnu is a four-headed aspect of the Hindu god Vishnu, mostly found in Kashmir (northern part of the Indian subcontinent). He has a human head, a lion head, a boar head and a fierce head

Yali also known as Vyala or Vidala in Sanskrit) is a mythical creature seen in many Hindu temples, often sculpted onto the pillars. It may be portrayed as part-lion, part-elephant and part-horse, and in similar shapes

Sharabha is a part-lion and part-bird beast in Hindu mythology, who, according to Sanskrit literature, is eight-legged and more powerful than a lion or an elephant, possessing the ability to clear a valley in one jump.

Devas, Adaityas and Spirits

Abhutarajas

A class of 10 gods of the Raivata Manvantara, the 5th. It is also called Abhutarayas.

Adyas

One of the 5 classes of gods in the 6th Manvantara, of which Caksusa was the Manu.

Angiris

Main article: Angiris

The Angiris (or Angiras) are a group of celestial beings who are descendants of the Fire God Agni and the Goddess Agnayi, and responsible for watching over humans performing Yagna (sacrifices) and protecting the sacrificial fires

Arjuna and Urvasee (Urvashi)

Apsara

Main article: Apsara

An Apsara (also spelled as Apsarasa) is a female spirit of the clouds and waters in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. They are often wives of the Gandharvas.

Notable apsarases:

Menaka

Pramlocha

Rambha

Tara

Tilottama

Urvashi

Adrika

Asura

Main article: Asura

The Asuras are mythological lord beings in Indian texts who compete for power with the more benevolent devas.

Daityas - In Hinduism, they are a clan or race of Asura as are the Danavas.

Daityas were the children of Diti and the sage Kashyapa. The following are

notable Daityas.

Hiranyaksha - eldest son of Kashyapa and Diti

Hiranyakashipu - second son of Kashyapa and Diti

Holika or Sinhika - daughter of Kashyapa and Diti

Prahlada - son of Hiranyakashipu

Virochana - son of Prahlada, father of Bali

Devamba - mother of Bali

Bali - son of Virochana

Banasura - son of Bali

Danavas - In Hinduism, they were a clan or race of Asuras descending from Danu and the sage Kashyapa

The Kalakeyas or Kalakanjas were a powerful, ferocious and cruel clan of Danavas.

Nivatakavachas

The Nivatakavachas are a supernatural race of Asura demons, living deep under the oceans.

Bhuta

Main article: Bhoot (ghost)

A benevolent Brahmadaitya saving a poor Brahmin man from a group of Bhoot' (ghosts)

Acheri is the ghost or spirit of a little girl who was either murdered or abused and left to die.

Aleya (or marsh ghost-light) is the name given to an unexplained strange light phenomena occurring over the marshes as observed in Bengal.

Chir Batti, Chhir Batti or Cheer batti is a ghost light reported in the Banni grasslands, a seasonal marshy wetlands and adjoining desert of the marshy salt flats of the Rann of Kutch.

Dakini

Main article: Dakini

See also: Daayan

The dakini appeared in medieval legends in India (such as in the Bhagavata Purana, Brahma Purana, Markandeya Purana and Kathasaritsagara) as a demoness in the train of Kali who feeds on human flesh. The masculine form is known as Daka.

Gana

Main article: Gana

The wife of one of the vasus is tempted to steal the wish-bearing cow

The Ganas or Gana-Devatas are the troops of deities, attendants of Shiva and live on Gana-parvata i.e., Kailasa. Ganesha was chosen as their leader by Shiva, hence Ganesha's title gaṇeśa or gaṇapati, "lord or leader of the ganas". The nine classes of Ganas are:

Adityas

Visve-devas

Vasus

Tushitas (also Ája)

Abhaswaras; The "Shining Ones". A class of deities, 64 in number. They inhabit an ethereal world and preside over spiritual enlightenment.

Anila

Maharajikas; a class of subordinate deities in the order of 220 or 236.

Sadhyas; a class of minor Hindu gods who guard the rites and prayers of the greater gods.

Rudras

Gandharva

Main article: Gandharva

Kabandha tells Rama and Laksmana how he came to have his hideous form

The Gandharvas are male nature spirits, husbands of the Apsaras. Some are part animal, usually a bird or horse.

Chitrasena, a character in the Indian epic Mahabharata, was a Gandharva king who taught song and dance to Arjuna.

Kabandha was a gandharva named Vishvavasu or Danu, who was cursed and made into an ugly, carnivorous demon by Indra, and was killed and liberated by Rama.

Tumburu, a well-known Gandharva.

Guhyaka

Main article: Guhyaka

Guhyaka(s) (गुह्यक, literally "hidden ones") is a class of supernatural beings in Hindu faith. Like Yakshas (nature-spirits), they are often described as attendants of Kubera.

Kimpurusha

Main article: Kimpurusha Kingdom

Kimpurusha were described to be lion-headed beings.

Kindeva

Main article: Kindeva

Kindeva are a race of human-like beings mentioned in the Hindu Puranas. They are said to have a human-like appearance, but also deva-like qualities, hence the term kindeva.

Kinnara

Main article: Kinnara

In Hindu mythology and Buddhist mythology, a kinnara is a paradigmatic lover, a celestial musician, half-human, half-horse/half-bird. The Kinnaris are the female counterpart of Kinnaras.

Kinnaras

Kumbhanda

Main article: Kumbhanda

A **Kumbhāṇḍa** (Sanskrit) or **Kumbhaṇḍa** (Pāli) is one of a group of dwarfish, misshapen spirits among the lesser deities of Buddhist mythology.

Naga

Main article: Nāga

Panis

The Panis are a class of demons in the Rigveda. The Panis appear in RV 10.108 as watchers over stolen cows.

Pishacha

Main article: Pishachas

The Pishachas are flesh-eating demons according to Hindu faith.

Preta

Main article: Preta

Preta is the Sanskrit name for a type of supernatural being described in some Indian religions as undergoing suffering greater than that of humans, particularly an extreme level of hunger and thirst.

Rakshasa

Main article: Rakshasas

Kumbhakarna yawns as he is roused from sleep;

The rakshasas are demonic beings from Hindu faith. Rakshasas are also called maneaters (Nri-chakshas, Kravyads). A female rakshasa is known as a Rakshasi.

Brahmarakshasa are fierce demon spirits in Hindu faith.

Krodhavasas are a race of rakshasas in the Mahabharata.

The following are notable rakshasas:

Akshayakumara was the youngest son of Ravana.

Atikaya was the son of Ravana and his wife Danyamalini in the Ramayana epic.

Hidimba is the brother of Hidimbi and a forest dweller.

Hidimbi is the wife of Bhima and mother of Ghatotkacha in the Mahābhārata.

Indrajit or Meghanada was a prince of Lanka and a conqueror of Indra Loka. He is the son of king Ravana.

Kumbhakarna is the third brother of Ravana.

Mandodari was the queen consort of Ravana.

Maricha is the uncle of Ravana, who aided in the abduction of Sita.

Nikumbha is the Lord of the Pisachas, son of Kumbhakarna.

Prahasta is the chief commander of Ravana's army of Lanka and son of Ravana.

Ravana, king of Lanka, brother of Kubera.

Shurpanakha is the youngest sister of Ravana, King of Lanka.

Subahu, son of Tataka.

Tataka, mother of Subahu

Vibhishana is the second brother of Ravana.

Riksha

Main article: Jambavan

Suparna

Main article: Garuda

Vanara

Main article: Vanara

Vetala

Main article: Vetala

Vetal

Chedipe is a witch-vampire in the folklore of the region around the Godavari River in India. They are associated with the devadasis, girls who were dedicated to a Hindu temple god and were often treated as temple prostitutes.

Churel is a female ghost of South Asian folklore. The word "churel" is also used colloquially for a witch. Women who die in childbirth or pregnancy due to the negligence of her in-laws or relatives are often described turning into churels, who return to seek their vendetta and suck the blood of their male relatives.

Pichal Peri (Persian: پیچہل پری) or **churail** (Urdu: چڑیل) (meaning back footed in Urdu language) is an unexplained entity that is a popular topic for ghost stories in Central and South Asia.

Vidyadhara

Main article: Vidyadhara

Vidyadhara

Vidyadhara are a group of supernatural beings in Indian religions who possess magical powers. They are considered as Upadevas, semi- gods, and essentially spirits of the air. A female Vidyadhara is known as a Vidyadhari.

Vinayakas

Main article: Vinayakas

The **Vinayakas** were a group of four troublesome demons who created obstacles and difficulties in Hindu faith, but who were easily propitiated.

Yaksha

Main article: Yaksha

Kubera, Lord of Yakshas

Yaksha is the name of a broad class of nature-spirits, usually benevolent, who are caretakers of the natural treasures hidden in the earth and tree roots. They appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts. The feminine form of the word is yakṣī.

Kubera, king of the Yakshas.

Manibhadra

Nalakuvara

Yakshini

Main article: Yakshini

Yakshini (Yakshi) is the female counterpart of the male Yaksha, and they are attendees of Kubera. Although Yakshinis are usually benevolent, there are also yakshinis with malevolent characteristics in Indian folklore.

Kaliyankattu Neeli, a powerful demoness who was finally destroyed by **Suryakaladi nambudiri**.

Kanjirottu Yakshi (Chiruthevi) is a folkloric vampire. She was born into an affluent Padamangalam Nair tharavad by name Mangalathu at Kanjiracode in Southern Travancore (now in Tamil Nadu). She was a ravishingly beautiful courtesan who had an intimate relationship with Raman Thampi, son of King Rama Varma.

Tatakā or **Taraka** (ताड़का) was a Yaksha princess-turned-demoness in the epic **Ramayana**.

Yogini

Main article: Yogini

In Sanskrit literature, the yoginis have been represented as the attendants or various manifestations of Durga engaged in fighting with the demons Shumbha and Nishumbha, and the principal yoginis are identified with the Matrikas. There are sixty-four or eighty-one Yoginis (Tantric goddesses).

Others

Nam Mahatya - Vishnu rescues Azamila

Chiranjivi are seven immortal living beings in Hinduism who are to remain alive on Earth until the end of the current Kali Yuga.

Dvarapala is a door or gate guardian often portrayed as a warrior or fearsome giant, usually armed with a weapon - the most common being the gadha mace.

Nairrata are demon soldiers of Kubera's army, described to have defeated king Mucukunda.

Vāḷakhilyas were great sages, 60,000 in number, born of the parents Kratu and Kriyādevī. They were of the size of a thumb.

Vishnuduta are the messengers of Vishnu.

Yamaduta are the messengers of Death.

Human races

Indra, The king of Devas

The Astomi are an ancient legendary race of people who had no need to eat or drink anything at all. They survived by smelling apples and flowers. Megasthenes and Pliny the Elder (quoting Megasthenes) mentioned these people in his Indica. Megasthenes located them at the mouth of the river Ganges.

The Calingae or Calingi, according to ancient accounts, were a race of extremely short-lived people in India. According to Pliny the Elder they had a lifespan of only eight years.

The Deva are a mythical people of Sri Lanka according to the Sanskrit epics.

According to the Mahavamsa and Ramayana they lived among the Naga, Yakkha and Raskha. They ousted their arch enemies the Raskha from Sri Lanka, with the help of Lord Vishnu. They were then subsequently conquered by King Ravana of the Raskha.

Eka-pāda 'One-footed' A fabulous race of men spoken of in the puranas.

The Macrocephali in Medieval bestiaries were a race of humanoids with large heads. Some sources indicate that they may have come from India.

Mandi, The Mandi, according to Pliny the Elder, are a short-lived people from India.

Monopods are mythological human creatures with a single, large foot extending from a leg centered in the middle of their bodies. They are described by Pliny the Elder in his Natural History, where he reports travelers' stories from encounters or sightings of Monopods in India. Pliny remarks that they are first mentioned by Ctesias in his book Indika (India).

Monsters

Ihamrga is the representation of fabulous creatures in Hindu faith.

Kala is a ferocious monster symbolic of time in its all-devouring aspect and associated with the destructive side of the god Shiva.

Kirtimukha is the name of a swallowing fierce monster face with huge fangs, and gaping mouth, quite common in the iconography of Indian and Southeast Asian temple architecture.

See also

List of legendary creatures by type

List of mythical creatures

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Yaksha

"Parkham Yaksha" Manibhadra, 150 BCE

"Mudgarpani Yaksha", 100 BCE[1]

Remains of the colossal statues of the Parkham Yaksha (150 BCE) and the Mudgarpani ("Mace-holder") Yaksha (100 BCE), Mathura. These colossal statues stand around two metres tall.[1] The Mudgarpani Yaksha holds a mudgar mace in the right hand, and the left hand used to support a small standing devotee or child joining hands in prayer.[2][3]

Art of Mathura, Mathura Museum

The Yakshas (Sanskrit: यक्ष, IAST: Yakṣa, Pali: Yakkha) are a broad class of nature spirits, usually benevolent, but sometimes mischievous or capricious, connected with water, fertility, trees, the forest, treasure and wilderness.[4][5] They appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts, as well as ancient and medieval era temples of South Asia and Southeast Asia as guardian deities.[5][6] The feminine form of the word is IAST: Yakṣī[7] or Yakshini (Sanskrit: यक्षिणी, IAST: Yakṣiṇī; Pali: Yakkhini).[8]

In Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts, the yakṣas have a dual personality. On the one hand, a yakṣa may be an inoffensive nature-fairy, associated with woods and mountains; but there is also a darker version of the yakṣa, which is a kind of (bhuta) that haunts the wilderness and waylays and devours travellers, similar to the rakṣasas.

A unique cultural dance form related to the Yakshas is Yakshagana. Yakshagana is a traditional stage performance, found in Dakshina Kannada, Udupi, Kasaragod district and Uttara Kannada, Shimoga and western parts of Chikmagalur districts, in the state of Karnataka.

Early yakshas

Yaksi from Bharhut

Yakshas appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist texts.[5][9] Several monumental yakshas are known from the time of the Maurya Empire period. They are variously dated from around the 3rd century BCE to the 1st century BCE. These statues are monumental (usually around 2 metres tall), and often bear inscriptions related to their identification as yakshas. They are considered as the first known monumental stone sculptures in India. Two of these monumental yakshas are known from Patna, one from Vidisha and one from Parkham, as well as one yakshini from Vidisha. The yakṣas may have originally been the tutelary deity of a city, district, lake, or well. Their worship, together with popular belief in nagas (serpent deities), feminine fertility deities, and mother goddesses, may have had its origin among the early Hindu people of India. Yaksha worship coexisted with the priest-conducted sacrifices of the Vedic period.[10] They were later viewed as the steward deities of the earth and the wealth buried beneath.[11]

Kubera

Kubera, the God of Riches, LACMA

Main article: Kubera

In Hindu, Buddhist and Jain Religion, Kubera, wealth and prosperity, is considered the king of the yakshas and protector of the world (Lokapāla). In Buddhism, he is equated with Vaiśravaṇa.

His many epithets extol him as the overlord of numerous semi-divine species and the owner of the treasures of the world. Kubera is often depicted with a plump body, adorned with jewels, carrying a money-pot and a club. His vahana (vehicle) is the mongoose. He is often seen with Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth, fortune and prosperity.

In Buddhism

Translations of

Yaksha

Sanskrit यक्ष

(IAST: yakṣa)

Pali Yakkha

Burmese ယက္ခ

(MLCTS: yakkha)

Chinese 夜叉

(Pinyin: yèchā)

Japanese 夜叉やしゃ

(Rōmaji: yasha)

Khmer យក្ស

(UNGEGN: yoks)

Korean 야차

(RR: yacha)

Sinhala යක්ෂ

(yakṣa)

Tibetan གཞིན་སྒྱུ་

(gnod sbyin)

Tamil இயக்கர்

(yākka)

Tagalog Yakksa

Thai ยักษ์

(RTGS: yak)

Vietnamese dạ xoa

Glossary of Buddhism

Painting of Āṭavaka, a yaksha who challenged the Buddha

An illustration from an 1866 Japanese book. A yaksha, who is an incarnation of Bodhisattva Kannon, gives a sermon to folks.

A yaksha as a gate guardian (dvarapala) at Plaosan temple in Indonesia
In Buddhist literature, the yakṣa are the attendants of Vaiśravaṇa, the guardian of the northern quarter, a beneficent god who protects the righteous. The term also refers to the Twelve Heavenly Generals who guard Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha. The yakshas of many Buddhist stories are ugly ogres, reborn in that form because of sins committed during their past lives as humans.[12]

One such malevolent yaksha, Silesaloma, appears in the Jataka tales of the Pali Buddhist canon. In the story "Prince Five-Weapons and the Sticky-Haired Demon", [13] Silesaloma is described as being the height of a palm tree, with sharp teeth and two yellow tusks, and a coat of thick, matted fur. A bodhisattva named Prince Panchayudha (Five-Weapons) attempted to kill Silesaloma, but all his attacks, from both his weapons and his bare hands, were thwarted by Silesaloma's sticky hair. Ultimately, Prince Panchayudha impressed Silesaloma with his bravery, and the yaksha decided to let him go. Panchayudha explained that Silesaloma's monstrous state was caused by wicked deeds from his past lives, and he taught the yaksha the five precepts, after which Silesaloma renounced violence and transformed into a friendly forest spirit.[12]

The Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī Sūtra, a text that dates back to fourth century or earlier (translated from the Sanskrit by Kumarajiva), gives a large list of yakshas that reside in the classical cities of ancient India[14] who are invoked for the protection of the Buddhist Dharma:

"The deity Krakucchanda resides in Pataliputra.

Aparajita resides in Sthuno.

The great yaksha Bhadra resides in Saila.

The great deity Manava resides in Uttara.

The great sage Vajrapani though lives in Rajagṛha

Often dwells in Mount Grdhrakuta.

The deity Garuda resides in the Vipula mountain.
Citragupta resides in Citemukha.
The yaksha Vakula resides in Rajagrha.

...

The yaksha king Mahagiri resides in Girinagara.
The yaksha Vasava resides in Vaidisa.
The yaksha Karttikeya resides in Rohitaka.
This yaksha Kumara is renowned in the great city.

...

Vaisravana who resides in the city Alakavati,
Located along the jewelled stairway of the Buddha's descent,
Is surrounded by billions of gods and goddesses.
Such yakshas command huge and powerful contingents of troops
To subjugate adversaries and enemies,
Conquering all.
They are famous throughout all directions.
Imbued with great dignity and virtue,
They come to aid
In the battles between the heavens and asuras.

These deities of virtues and great yaksha generals are located everywhere in Jambudvīpa. They uphold and protect the Buddhadharma, generating compassion."

[15]

In Jainism

Yaksha and yakshini couple Sarvānubhūti and Kuṣmāṇḍinī, with the Tirthankaras Jains mainly maintain cult images of Arihants and Tirthankaras, who have conquered the inner passions and attained moksha. Yakshas and yakshinis are found in pair around the cult images of Jinas, serving as guardian deities. The yaksha is generally on the right-hand side of the Jina image while the yakshini is on the left-hand side. They are regarded mainly as devotees of the Jina and have supernatural powers. They are also wandering through the cycles of births and deaths just like the worldly souls, but have supernatural powers.[16]

'Digambara Yaksha Sarvahna', Norton Simon Museum, c. 900 CE

The Harivamsapurana (783 CE) refers to them as Shasandevatas. Initially among the yakshas, Manibhadra and Purnabadra yakshas and Bahuputrika yakshini were popular. The yaksha Manibhadra is worshipped by the Jains affiliated with the Tapa Gachchha. During tenth and thirteenth centuries yaksha Saarvanubhuti, or Sarvahna and yakshinis Chakreshvari, Ambika, Padmavati, and Jwalamalini became so popular that independent temples devoted to them were erected.

Yakshas and yakshinis are common among the Murtipujaka Śvētāmbara and

Bispanthi Digambara Jains. The Digambara Terapanth movement opposes their worship.[17][18] Among the Murtipujaka Śvētāmbaras, the Tristutik Gaccha sect (both historical founded by Silagana and Devabhadra, and the modern sect organised by Rajendrasuri) object to the worship of shruta-devatas.[19]

Shasan devatas in Jainism

In Jainism, there are twenty-four yakshas and twenty-four yakshis that serve as śāsanadevatās for the twenty-four tirthankaras:[20] These yakshas are as follows:

Gomukha
Mahayaksha
Trimukha
Yaksheshvara or Yakshanayaka
Tumbaru
Kusuma
Varanandi or Matanga
Vijaya or Shyama
Ajita
Brahma or Brahmeshvara
Ishvara or Yakset
Kumara
Dandapani
Patala
Kinnara
Kimpurusha or Garuda
Gandharva
Kendra or Yakshendra
Kubera
Varuna
Bhrikuti
Gomedha or Sarvahna
Dharanendra or Parshvayaksha
Matanga

In poems

In Kālidāsa's poem Meghadūta, for instance, the yakṣa narrator is a romantic figure, pining with love for his missing beloved. By contrast, in the didactic Hindu dialogue of the Yakṣapraśnāḥ "Questions of the Yakṣa", it is a tutelary spirit of a lake that challenges Yudhiṣṭhira.

In Mahavamsa poem of Sri Lanka, a local population is given the term Yakkhas. Prince Vijaya encountered the royalty of the yakkhas' queen, Kuveni, in her capital of Lanka pura and conquered them.

In Nepal

Architectural Support with Squatting Dwarf, 11th century, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Architectural Support with Squatting Dwarf, 11th century, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

**Yaksha beneath the spout of Bhimsen Hiti, Bhaktapur
Yaksha beneath the spout of Bhimsen Hiti, Bhaktapur**

**Yaksha at Maru hiti, Kathmandu
Yaksha at Maru hiti, Kathmandu**

**Yakshas beneath a spout of Saraswati Hiti, Chyasal
Yakshas beneath a spout of Saraswati Hiti, Chyasal**

**Yakshas relief, 8th–9th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Yakshas relief, 8th–9th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art
In Nepal, squat stone versions of yakshas (sometimes twinned) were used as elements in construction. Their role was that of a caryatid, which supports a part of the building, for example a column.[21][22] However, they are best known for their appearance under the spouts of ancient drinking fountains, especially fountains built in the Licchavi era (c. 400–750 AD).[23] Bhagiratha sculptures are more commonly found under spouts from the Malla period (c. 1201–1779 AD).[24]**

In Thailand

**Face of the yakṣa Thotsakhirithon (ทศศีรีธร) at Wat Phra Kaew, Bangkok
Yakshas (Thai: ยักษ์, RTGS: Yak) are an important element in Thai temple art and architecture.[25] They are common as guardians of the gates in Buddhist temples throughout the country since at least the 14th century. Ceramic sculptures of guardian yakshas were produced in Thailand, during the Sukhothai and Ayutthaya periods, between the 14th and 16th centuries, at several kiln complexes in northern Thailand. They are mostly depicted with a characteristic face, having big round bulging eyes and protruding fangs, as well as a green complexion. Yakshas and their female counterparts are common in the Buddhist literature of Thailand, such as in The Twelve Sisters and Phra Aphai Mani. As ogres, giants, and ogresses, yakshas are present as well in Thai folklore.**

yo yak "ย ยักษ์" is also used as an illustration in order to name the letter ย, the 34th consonant of the Thai alphabet, according to the traditional letter symbols Thai children use to memorise the alphabet.[26]

In Sri Lanka

Yakshas are regarded as one of the ancient clans of Sri Lanka. The word "Yagasha" has been found in a cave inscription in Tamketiya in Nailgala, Kaltota written in early Brahmi script. Professor Raj Somadeva translates the word as 'belonging to Yakshas' or 'who wrote this inscription are Yakshas'.[27] In Sinhalese, Demons are also known as yakshayo (Singular: Yakshaya).

Gallery

Yaksha couple standing on lotus leaves, the male (sic) holding a lotus bud and posed in shalabhanjika

Yaksha couple standing on lotus leaves, the male (sic) holding a lotus bud and posed in shalabhanjika

Dvarapala Yaksha made of basalt. Found in Buddhist cave (Pitalkhora), 2nd century CE. Prince of Wales Museum

Dvarapala Yaksha made of basalt. Found in Buddhist cave (Pitalkhora), 2nd century CE. Prince of Wales Museum

Mudgarpani Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Bharnakalan, Mathura Museum

Mudgarpani Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Bharnakalan, Mathura Museum

Vidisha Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Vidisha Museum

Vidisha Yaksha, 2nd century BCE, Vidisha Museum

Gomedh and Ambika, 11th century, Maharaja Chhatrasal Museum

Gomedh and Ambika, 11th century, Maharaja Chhatrasal Museum

Carving of a yaksha (夜叉)

Carving of a yaksha (夜叉)

See also

Dharanendra

Dwarf (mythology)

Gnome

Goblin

Jambhala

Jinn

Kubera

List of Yakshas

Manibhadra

Nalakuvara

Ogre

Pañcika

Pygmy (Greek mythology)

Shedim

Sthunakarna

Suketu

Vaiśravaṇa

Vajrapani

Yaksha kingdom

Yakshini

Yaksha Prashna

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Concept of Yakshi (archived 21 July 2011)

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For the modern ethnic group, see Naga people. For other uses, see Naga (disambiguation).

Nāga

A nāga couple, featured as a Chennakeshava Temple relief

Devanagari नाग

Venerated in Hinduism, Buddhism

Abode Patala

Texts Mahabharata, Puranas

In various Asian religious traditions, the Nāgas (Sanskrit: नाग, romanized: Nāga)[1] are a divine, or semi-divine, race of half-human, half-serpent beings that reside in the netherworld (Patala), and can occasionally take human or part-human form, or are so depicted in art. Furthermore, nāgas are also known as dragons and water spirits. A female nāga is called a Nagini (Hindi: Nagin). According to legend, they are the children of the sage Kashyapa and Kadru. Rituals devoted to these supernatural beings have been taking place throughout South Asia for at least 2,000 years.[2] They are principally depicted in three forms: as entirely human with snakes on the heads and necks, as common serpents, or as half-human, half-snake beings in Hinduism and Buddhism.

Nagaraja is the title given to the king of the nāgas.[3] Narratives of these beings hold cultural significance in the mythological traditions of many South Asian and Southeast Asian cultures, and within Hinduism and Buddhism. Communities such as the Nagavamshi, Khmer and Sri Lankan Tamils claim descent from this race.

Etymology

Wikispecies has information related to *Naja naja*.

In Sanskrit, a nāgá (नाग) is a snake, most often depicted by the Indian cobra (*Naja naja*). A synonym for nāgá is phaṇin (फणिन्). There are several words for "snake" in general, and one of the very commonly used ones is sarpá (सर्प). Sometimes the word nāgá is also used generically to mean "snake".[4] The word is cognate with English 'snake', Germanic: *snēk-a-, Proto-IE: *(s)nēg-o- (with s-mobile).[5]

Alternatively, an Indo-European etymology as a "hairless, naked animal"—cognate to English "naked"—would explain that the Sanskrit word nāga can also mean "cloud", "mountain" or "elephant".[6]

Hinduism

Patanjali as Śeṣa.

Nāgas, as a serpent-shaped group of deities that often take form as cobras, are prominent in Hindu iconography, throughout Hindu texts (especially in the first book of the Mahābhārata) and in local folk traditions of worship.[7] In some regions of the Himalaya, nāgas are regarded as the divine rulers of the region - as in Kullu Valley, in Berinag and in the valley of the Pindar River, which is believed to be ruled by the ninefold Naiṇī Devī. Both in the Nilamata Purana of Kashmir and in the Swayambhu Purana of Kathmandu, the respective region begins its history as a lake, populated by nāgas, which is later drained.[8]

Ancient Sanskrit texts such as the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and the Puranas describe the nāgas as a powerful, splendid and proud semi-divine species that can assume their physical form either as human (often with a halo of cobra hoods behind their head), as a partially human serpent, or as a whole serpent. Their domain is in the enchanted underworld, the underground realm filled with gems, gold and other earthly treasures called Naga-loka or Patala-loka. They are also often associated with bodies of waters—including rivers, lakes, seas, and wells—and are guardians of treasure.[9] Their power and venom make them potentially dangerous to humans. However, in Hindu mythology, they often take the role of benevolent protagonists: in the Samudra Manthana, Vasuki, a nagaraja who abides on Shiva's neck, became the churning rope for churning of the Ocean of Milk.[10] Their eternal archrival is the Garuḍa, the legendary semi-divine bird-like deity.[11]

Vishnu is originally portrayed in the form sheltered by Sheshanāga or reclining on Shesha, but the iconography has been extended to other deities as well. The serpent is a common feature in Ganesha iconography, and appears in many forms: around the neck,[12] use as a sacred thread (Sanskrit: yajñopavīta)[13] wrapped around the stomach as a belt, held in a hand, coiled at the ankles, or as a throne.[14] Shiva is often shown garlanded with a snake.[15] Maehle (2006: p. 297) states that "Patanjali is thought to be a manifestation of the serpent of eternity".

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Folk traditions

In South India, termite hills are believed to be the dwelling place of female nagammas,[16][17][18] whereas Himalayan Nags and Naginis, such as Naiṇī Devī of Pindar Valley, are worshipped as underworld beings protecting water resources and the wellbeing of village and valley.[19][20]

Literature

See also: Shesha, Vasuki, and Manasa

The Mahabharata epic is the first text that introduces nāgas; it describes them in detail and narrates their stories.[21] The cosmic snake Shesha, the nagarajas (nāga kings) Vasuki, Takshaka, Airavata and Karkotaka, and the princess Ulupi, are all depicted in the Mahabharata.

The Brahma Purana describes the reign of Adishesha as the king of the serpents in Patala:[22]

During the night the light of the moon is not utilised for its coolness but only for illumination.

Since that passes away is not taken notice of by the nāgas who enjoy with gaiety the foodstuffs and the edibles they consume and the great beverages they drink. Nor are Danujas and others aware of it.

O brahmins, the forests, rivers, lakes, and lotus ponds, the cooing of the cuckoo and other sweet birds, the pleasing skies, the unguents and the continuous notes and sounds of musical instruments such as the lute, flute and Mṛdaṅga drums, O brahmins—all these and other beautiful things are enjoyed by virtue of their good luck by Dānavas, Daityas and Nāgas residing in Pātāla. The Tāmasī form of Viṣṇu, named Śeṣa is beneath the lower regions.

Daityas and Dānavas are not capable of recounting his good qualities. He is honoured by Devas and celestial sages. He is spoken of as Ananta. He has a thousand hoods and he is clearly bedecked in Svastika ornaments devoid of impurities. He illuminates all quarters by thousand jewels on his hoods.

—Brahma Purana, Chapter 19

The Kamba Ramayana describes the role of Vasuki in the Samudra Manthana:[23]

The devas and the asuras decided to get Amṛta (Ambrosia—the celestial honey of immortality) by churning the sea of milk. The Devas went to bring

Mandara-mountain, to be used as the churning rod. Their attempt was futile. The asuras made a trial with the same result. The Bhūtagaṇas (Guards) of Śiva also made a vain attempt. On the instruction of Viṣṇu, Garuḍa went and brought the mountain as easily as an eagle takes away a frog. Now Vāsuki should be brought. The Devas and Gandharvas failed in that attempt also. Garuḍa who was haughty of his strength and speed, went to the city of the nāgas (serpents) and requested Vāsuki to come to the sea of Milk. Vāsuki replied that if the matter was so urgent he had no objection for being carried to that place. He took the middle part of Vāsuki in his beak and flew up higher and higher and reached beyond the horizon. Still the lower half of Vāsuki was lying on the ground. So he took Vāsuki in his beak as folded in two. Still the result was the same. Garuḍa became aware of the impossibility of carrying Vāsuki and returned, ashamed and disappointed. Viṣṇu rebuked him for his arrogance. After this, Śiva stretched his hand to Pātāla. Vāsuki became a small bangle on that hand. Thus Vāsuki was brought to the shore of the sea of Milk.

—Kambar, Ramayana, Yuddha Kanda

The Devi Bhagavata Purana describes the legend of Manasa:[24]

Manasā is the mind-born daughter of Maharṣi Kaśyapa; hence she is named Manasā; or it may be She who plays with the mind is Manasā. Or it may be She who meditates on God with her mind and gets rapture in Her meditation of God is named Manasā. She finds pleasure in Her Own Self, the great devotee of Viṣṇu, a Siddha Yoginī. For three Yugas She worshipped Śrī Kṛṣṇa and then She became a Siddha Yoginī. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the Gopīs, seeing the body of Manasā lean and thin due to austerities, or seeing her worn out like the Muni Jarat Kāru called her by the name of Jarat Kāru. Hence Her name has come also to be Jarat Kāru. Kṛṣṇa, the Ocean of Mercy, gave her out of kindness, Her desired boon; She worshipped Him and Śrī Kṛṣṇa also worshipped Her. Devī Manasā is known in the Heavens, in the abode of the Nāgas (serpents), in earth, in Brahmāloka, in all the worlds as of very fair colour, beautiful and charming. She is named Jagad Gaurī as she is of a very fair colour in the world. Her other name is Śaivī and she is the disciple of Śiva. She is named Vaiṣṇavī as she is greatly devoted to Viṣṇu. She saved the Nāgas in the Snake Sacrifice performed by Parikṣit, she is named Nageśvarī and Nāga Bhaginī and She is capable to destroy the effects of poison. She is called Viṣahari. She got the Siddha yoga from Mahādeva; hence She is named Siddha Yoginī

—Devi Bhagavata Purana, Chapter 47

Buddhism

Mucalinda sheltering Gautama Buddha (Buddha in Naga Prok attitude) at Wat Phra That Doi Suthep in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

As in Hinduism, the Buddhist nāga generally has sometimes been portrayed as a human being with a snake or dragon extending over his head.[25] One nāga, in human form, attempted to become a monk, and when telling it that such

ordination was impossible, the Buddha told it how to ensure that it would be reborn a human, and so able to become a monk.[26]

The nāgas are believed to both live on Nagaloka, among the other minor deities and in various parts of the human-inhabited earth. Some of them are water-dwellers, living in streams or the ocean; others are earth-dwellers, living in caverns.

The nāgas are the followers of Virūpākṣa (Pāli: Virūpakkha), one of the Four Heavenly Kings who guards the western direction. They act as guards upon Mount Sumeru, protecting the dēvas of Trāyastriṃśa from attacks by the asuras.

Among the notable nāgas of Buddhist tradition is Mucalinda, nagaraja and protector of the Buddha. In the Vinaya Sutra (I, 3), shortly after his enlightenment, the Buddha is meditating in a forest when a great storm arises, but graciously, King Mucalinda gives shelter to the Buddha from the storm by covering the Buddha's head with his seven snake heads.[27] Then the king takes the form of a young Brahmin and renders the Buddha homage.[27]

In the Vajrayāna and Mahāsiddha traditions,[28] nāgas in their half-human form are depicted holding a nāgas-jewel, kumbhas of amrita, or a terma that had been elementally encoded by adepts. In Tibetan Buddhism, nāgas are known as klu or klu-mo and they are associated with water and cleanliness, as they live in oceans, rivers, lakes, and springs, and do not want their environments to be disturbed or polluted.[29]

The two chief disciples of the Buddha, Sariputta and Moggallāna are both referred to as Mahānāga or "Great nāga".[30] Some of the most important figures in Buddhist history symbolize nāgas in their names such as Dignāga, Nāgāsēna, and, although other etymons are assigned to his name, Nāgārjuna.

Literature

Nāga at the steps of a building in the Wat Phra Kaew in Bangkok.
The Nāga Saṃyutta of the Pali Canon consists of suttas specifically devoted to explaining nature of the nāgas.

In the "Devadatta" chapter of the Lotus Sutra, the daughter of the dragon king, an eight year old longnū (龍女, nāgakanyā), after listening to Mañjuśrī preach the Lotus Sutra, transforms into a male Bodhisattva and immediately reaches full enlightenment.[31][32][33] Some say this tale appears to reinforce the viewpoint prevalent in Mahayana scriptures that a male body is required for Buddhahood, even if a being is so advanced in realization that they can magically transform their body at will and demonstrate the emptiness of the physical form itself.[34] However, many schools of Buddhism and classical, seminal Chinese exegeses interpret the story to repudiate this viewpoint, stating the story demonstrates that

women can attain Buddhahood in their current form.[31]

According to tradition, the Prajñapāramita sutras had been given by the Buddha to a great nāga who guarded them in the sea, and were conferred upon Nāgārjuna later.[35][36]

In Tibetan Buddhist literature, nāgas are portrayed as guardians or owners of submerged treasure, which can be mere wealth or supernatural, "spiritual" treasures.[29]

Other traditions

In Thailand and Java, the nāga is a wealthy underworld deity. For Malay sailors, nāgas are a type of dragon with many heads. In Laos they are beaked water serpents.[citation needed] In Tibet, they are said to be found in waterways and underground locations, and are susceptible to the suffering caused by human carelessness towards the natural environment.

Sri Lanka

A granite nagaraja guardstone from Sri Lanka.

The Naga people were believed to be an ancient tribe and origins of Sri Lanka.[37][38][note 1] According to V. Kanakasabhai, the Oliyar, Parathavar, Maravar, and Eyinar, who were widespread across South India and North-East Sri Lanka, are all Naga tribes.[41] There are references to them in several ancient texts such as Mahavamsa, Manimekalai, and also in other Sanskrit and Pali literature. They are generally represented as a class of superhumans taking the form of serpents who inhabit a subterranean world. Texts such as Manimekalai represent them as persons in human form.[42][note 2]

Cambodia

Nāga statue front of Angkor Wat in Siem Reap province.
icon

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Cambodian seven-headed nāga at the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.

Stories of nāgas (Khmer: នេក, néak) have been part of Khmer society for thousands of years, dating back to the Funan era (នគរវត្ត). According to reports from two Chinese envoys, Kang Tai and Zhu Ying, the state of Funan was established in the 1st century CE when an Indian prince named Kaundinya I (កៅណ្ឌិន្យទី១) married a nāga princess named Soma (សោមាភូនព្រះចន្ទ saôma kon preah chan; "Soma, daughter of the moon god"; Chinese: 柳葉, 柳叶 Liuye; "Willow Leaf"). The couple is symbolized in the story of Preah Thong and Neang

Neak. As the legend goes, Kaundinya received instruction in a dream to take a magic bow from a temple and defeat Soma, the nāga princess and daughter of the nāga king. During the ensuing battle, they fell in love and later married, establishing the royal lineage of the Funan dynasty. Kaundinya subsequently constructed the capital city of Vyadhapura, and the kingdom became known as Kambujadeśa or Cambodia (កម្ពុជា, Kampuchea).[43][44][45] The love story between Kaundinya and Soma is the foundation for many standard practices in modern-day Khmer culture, including wedding ceremonies and other rituals.[46][47] The Khmer people regard themselves as descendants of the nāgas and many still believe the nāga exist today, destined to one day return and restore prosperity to their people.[citation needed]

Although wars, nature, and the passage of time destroyed many temples from the Funan era, nāgas can still be seen in ancient temples dating to the Chenla and Angkor eras. For instance, the temple now called "The Coiled Nāgas Temple" (ប្រាសាទនាគព័ន្ធ, Prasat Neak Poan) was previously named, "Emperor's Wealth Temple" (ប្រាសាទរាជ្យស្រី Prasat Reach Srey).[48]

In Khmer culture, nāgas symbolize rain, and represent a bridge between the mortal realm (ឋានមនុស្ស) and the realm of devas (Heaven; ឋានទេវតា/ឋានសួគ៌). They have the ability to transform into half or fully human and act as protectors against invisible forces, deities, or malicious intentions. Furthermore, Cambodian nāgas possess numerological symbolism based on the number of their heads. Odd-headed nāgas embody masculinity, infinity, timelessness, and immortality, since all odd numbers derives from the number one (១). Even-headed nāgas denote femininity, physicality, mortality, temporality, and the Earth. Odd headed nāgas are believed to represent immortality and are carved and used throughout Cambodia.[49][50]

Odd-headed nāga icon

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1-headed nāga

Mostly seen in modern days, carved on objects for protection in temples, monasteries, king's places and residences of deity (អទិទេព). They symbolize that even if everything in this world is gone, there's still this nāga left bringing victory and happiness to all.

3-headed, Kalyak

Born between the mortal and divine realms, they live at the bottom of the ocean as guardians of wealth, often depicted as evil (nothing to do with the symbolism). They symbolize the Hindu Trimurti; (left Vishnu, middle Shiva, right Brahma) and the three realms - heaven (devas' realm), earth (mortal realm), and hell (norok realm). In Buddhism, the central head represents Buddha, the right Dharma and the left the monks.

5-headed Anontak/Sesak

Born from the earthly elements, they are immortals. They symbolize the 5 directions; East, West, North, South and Middle (Ganga river, Indus river, Yamuna river, Brahmaputra river (Brahma's Son River), Sarasvati river). In Buddhism, the 5 heads represent the 5 Buddhas - Kadabak, Kunsontho, Koneakumno, Samnak Koudom Gautama Buddha, and Seare Metrey.

7-headed Muchlentak

Originated from the Himalayas, they bring peace and prosperity to humans. They control the seven oceans and seven mountains called 'Seytontaraksatakboriphorn.' Sheltered Gautama Buddha for 7 days and 7 nights (Mucalinda). Often depicted as guardian statues, carved as balustrades on causeways leading to main temples, such as those found in Angkor Wat.[50] They also represent the seven races within nāga society, which has a mythological, or symbolic, association with "the seven colors of the rainbow." They symbolize the Sun, the Moon and five other planets; ចន្ទ (Moon)[also Monday] អង្គារ (Mars)[Tuesday] ពុធ (Mercury)[Wednesday] ព្រហស្បតិ៍ (Jupiter)[Thursday] សុក្រ (Venus)[Friday] សៅរ៍ (Saturn)[Saturday] អាទិត្យ (Sun)[Sunday].

9-headed Vasukak

The king who rules the Earth (Vasuki). When carved on both sides, the front heads represent reincarnation and behind represent death. He symbolizes the power of the nine immortals of the universe - power of the lightning and thunder of the East (ទិសបូព៌ា), power of the fire of the Southeast (ទិសអាគ្នេយ៍), power of the law and order of the South (ទិសខាងត្បូង), power of the spirits and demonic creatures of the Southwest (ទិសនាគី), power of the rain of the West (ទិសខាងលិច), power of the wind of the Northwest (ទិសពាយព្យ), power of the wealth and aesthetic of the North (ទិសឧត្តរ), power of destruction of the Northeast (ទិសឥសាន្ត), power of Brahma (creation and preservation) in the middle (កណ្តាល). In Indian origin religions, there are four different nāga races:

Primitive Dragons such as the European dragon who can spit fire.

The Spiritual Dragons who are the guardians of wealth, protecting treasure in the ocean. They can take on a half human form.

The Divine Nāgas, who can travel to heaven, came from Lord Indra's realm (the divine realm). They can take on a full human form.

The Supreme and Divine Nāgas, like Vasuki the follower of Lord Shiva, who alone can fight the entire Garuḍa race.

All of them have great powers and can set off storms, rain, tempest and create lands from the sea.

Indonesia

Crowned golden nāga-woodcarving at Keraton Yogyakarta, Java.

In Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese culture, Indonesia, a nāga is depicted as a crowned, giant, magical serpent, sometimes winged. It is similarly derived from the Shiva-Hinduism tradition, merged with Javanese animism. The nāga in

Indonesia mainly derived and influenced by Indic tradition, combined with the native animism tradition of sacred serpents. In Sanskrit, the term *nāga* literally means snake, but in Java it normally refer to serpent deity, associated with water and fertility. In Borobudur, the *nāgas* are depicted in their human form, but elsewhere they are depicted in animal shape.[51]

Early depictions of circa-9th-century Central Java closely resembled Indic *nāga* which was based on imagery of cobras. During this period, *nāga*-serpents were depicted as giant cobras supporting the waterspout of yoni-lingam. The examples of *nāga*-sculpture can be found in several Javanese candis, including Prambanan, Sambisari, Ijo, and Jawi. In East Java, the Penataran temple complex contain a Candi *Nāga*, an unusual *nāga*-temple with its Hindu-Javanese caryatids holding corpulent *nāgas* aloft.[52]

Crowned *nāga* flanked the stairs entrance of Pura Jagatkarta. The later depiction since the 15th century, however, was slightly influenced by Chinese dragon imagery—although unlike its Chinese counterparts, Javanese and Balinese *nāgas* do not have legs. *Nāga* as the lesser deity of earth and water is prevalent in the Hindu period of Indonesia, before the introduction of Islam.

In Balinese tradition, *nāgas* are often depicted battling *garuḍas*. Intricately carved *nāgas* are found as stairs railings in bridges or stairs, such as those found in Balinese temples, Ubud monkey forest, and Taman Sari in Yogyakarta.

In a wayang theater story, a snake-like god (*nāga*) named Sanghyang Anantaboga or Antaboga is a guardian deity in the bowels of the earth.[53][54] *nāgas* symbolize the nether realm of earth or underworld.

Laos

Photograph, widely circulated in Laos, purporting to show American sailors in the Vietnam War, who caught a "Mekong Dragon" in Laos. In reality, the image shows a Russell's oarfish (*Regalecus russelii*) caught near San Diego, California in 1996. The *Nāga* (Lao: ພະຍານາກ) is believed to live in the Laotian stretch of the Mekong or its estuaries. Lao mythology maintains that the *nāgas* are the protectors of Vientiane, and by extension, the Lao state. The association with *nāgas* was most clearly articulated during and immediately after the reign of Anouvong. An important poem from this period San Leupphasun (Lao: ສານລື້ພສູນ) discusses relations between Laos and Thailand in a veiled manner, using the *Nāga* and the *Garuḍa* to represent the Lao and the Thai, respectively.[55] The *Nāga* is incorporated extensively into Lao iconography, and features prominently in Lao culture throughout the length of the country, not only in Vientiane.

Thailand

Phaya Nak or Phaya *Nāga* (Thai: พญานาค; RTGS: phaya nak; lit. 'lord of *Nāga*',

phaya derived from Mon which mean high nobility) or Nakkharat (Thai: นาคราช; lit. 'king of Nāga') in Thai beliefs, nāgas are considered the patrons of water. Nāgas are believed to live in either water bodies or in caves. According to a popular legend, the Mekong River in north-eastern Thailand and Laos was said to be created by two Nāga kings slithering through the area, thus creating the Mekong and the nearby Nan River. The Mekong is synonymous with the unexplained fireballs phenomenon which has long been believed to be created by the nāgas that dwell in the river.[56][57] Common explanations of their sightings have been attributed to oarfish, elongated fish with red crests; however, these are exclusively marine and usually live at great depths.[58]

In November 2022, the Thai government declared the nāga as the national symbol of Thailand, with the aim of promoting Thai culture and traditions and increasing the country's cultural capital to drive the creative economy. The nāga is a mythical creature with long-standing beliefs and connections to the Thai people, and its designation as a national symbol is a significant step towards preserving and promoting Thai culture. The National Culture Commission and the Fine Arts Department developed a prototype image of the nāga that accurately represents Thai beliefs and traditions related to the creature. The prototype image features the four families of nāgas, each with its unique color, and the largest nāga, Nak Vasuki (Thai: นาคवासกฤษี), who is related to Buddhism and the Thai monarchy. The nāga is also believed to be a symbol of water and fertility and serves as a guardian of Buddhism.[59][60][61]

Due to the strong relation with everything water, the Nāga in Thai belief also plays a role in rain control. The concept of Nak hai nam (Thai: นาคให้น้ำ; lit. Nāga granting water) is used for annual rainfall prediction. It is still practiced nowadays, most notably during the Royal Ploughing Ceremony. The oracle ranges from 1 nak hai nam (1 Nāga granted water); meaning that abundant rainfall should be observed that year, to maximum 7 nak hai nam (7 nagas granted water); meaning there might not be adequate rainfall that year.[62]

In northern Thailand, the Singhanavati Kingdom had a strong connection with nāgas. The kingdom was believed to be built with aids of nāgas, and thus, nāgas were highly revered by the royal family. The kingdom, for a period of time, was renamed Yonok Nāga Rāj (lit. Yonok the nagaraja)[63]

The nāgas are also highly revered. The Buddhist temples and palaces are often adorned with various nāgas. The term Nāga is also present in various Thai architecture terms including the nak sadung (นาคสะดุ้ง, the outer roof finial component featuring Nāga-like structure), and the nak than (นาคหัว, the corbel with Nāga-shape).[64] Moreover, nāgas are sometimes linked to medicine. The nāga Vasuki is present in the legend of the Samudra Manthana, in which Dhanvantari (god of Ayurveda) and amrita (the elixir of eternal life) were churned from the Ocean of Milk. The nāgas can also be founded substituting the snakes in either Rod of Asclepius or mistakenly Caduceus of several medical institutions'

symbols. The former seal of Faculty of Medicine, Srinakharinwirot University, and the seal of Society of Medical Student Thailand are some notable examples using the Caduceus with nagas' presence instead of snakes.[65]

Folklore

Thai folklore holds the Phaya nāgas to be demi-god creatures, which possess supernatural powers as has been described in Buddhist and Hindu cosmology.[66] The "Kamchanod Forest" (ป่าคำชะโนด; RTGS: Pa Khamchanot) Ban Dung district, Udon Thani province, which is held in high reverence and fear across Thailand, is believed to be the crossroads between the human world and the netherworld, and is frequently depicted in Thai folklore as the site of many hauntings, but more frequently is considered to be the home of the nāga.[67]

According to Shan folklore of Nánzhào Kingdom (now southern China and Southeast Asia during the 8th and 9th centuries, which was centered on present-day Yúnnán in China), the nāga inhabited the Ērhǎi lake and is the creator of the Mekong.[66] In China, the nāga (Chinese: 那伽) is generally more considered to be a dragon.

Appearance

Many people, particularly in Isan (the north-eastern region of Thailand), believe that the nāgas are responsible for unnatural wave phenomena occurring in the rivers or lakes in the vicinity. It is also frequently claimed that the serpent-like demigods are responsible for marks on common objects, such as car hoods or house walls.[57]

A police officer has also claimed to be in contact with the nāga, although the implications of this contact is not thoroughly explained.[68]

In attempts to explain these phenomena, scientists and researchers at the Faculty of Science of Chulalongkorn University have attributed these seemingly preternatural phenomena to standing waves in water, and posit that the existence of the Phaya Nāga is similar to belief in Loch Ness Monster in Scotland or Ogopogo in Canada, and further maintain that the serpent-like tracks of the Phaya Nāga are very possibly forged by humans.[69]

Head of Nāga sculpture in Songkhla Province.
Head of Nāga sculpture in Songkhla Province.

A sign featuring Nāgas by the Mekong River, Nong Khai Province, Thailand:
Nāgas and the Mekong are strongly associated in local beliefs.
A sign featuring Nāgas by the Mekong River, Nong Khai Province, Thailand:
Nāgas and the Mekong are strongly associated in local beliefs.

Illustration of Royal Barge Anantanakkharat, 1873.
Illustration of Royal Barge Anantanakkharat, 1873.

Royal Barge Anantanakkharat at National Museum of Royal Barges, Bangkok.
Royal Barge Anantanakkharat at National Museum of Royal Barges, Bangkok.

Nāga sculpture at Suvarnabhumi airport.
Nāga sculpture at Suvarnabhumi airport.

Nāga, Himmapan animal on Royal Crematorium King Rama IX.
Nāga, Himmapan animal on Royal Crematorium King Rama IX.

Garuḍa devouring Nāga, at Wat Phra Kaew.
Garuḍa devouring Nāga, at Wat Phra Kaew.
Malaysia

Further information: Lake Chini

In Malay and Orang Asli traditions, the lake Chini, located in Pahang is home to a nāga called Sri Gumum. Depending on legend versions, her predecessor Sri Pahang or her son left the lake and later fought a nāga called Sri Kemboja. Kemboja is the Malay name for Cambodia. Like the nāga-legends there, there are stories about an ancient empire in lake Chini, although the stories are not linked to the nāga-legends.[70][71]

Philippines

Main article: Bakunawa

Bakunawa hilt from a Visayan (Panay) tenegre sword.

The indigenous Bakunawa, a serpent-like moon-eating creature in Philippine mythology, was syncretized with the nāga. It is believed to be the cause of eclipses, earthquakes, rains, and wind.[72] The movements of the bakunawa served as a geomantic calendar system for ancient Filipinos and were part of the shamanistic rituals of the babaylan. It is usually depicted with a characteristically looped tail and was variously believed to inhabit either the sea, the sky, or the underworld.[73] However, the bakunawa may have also syncretized with the Hindu deities, Rahu and Ketu, the navagraha of eclipses.[74]

Examples

Shesha, on whom Vishnu is in yoga nidra (Anantashayana)[75]

Antaboga, the world serpent in Javanese and Balinese mythology of Indonesia, who created the World Turtle Bedawang, on whose back the world resides

Apalala, Nāga in Buddhist mythology

Bakunawa, a dragon in Philippine mythology that is often represented as a gigantic sea serpent. Nāgas are also present in Kapampangan polytheistic beliefs, such as Lakandanum. (See Deities of Philippine mythology.)

Kaliya, a snake conquered by Krishna

Karkotaka, a nāga king in Indian mythology who controls weather, that lived in a forest near Nishadha Kingdom and stung Nala at the request of Indra

Paravataksha, his sword causes earthquakes and his roar caused thunder.

Manasa, the Hindu goddess of nāgas and curer of snake-bite and sister of Vasuki
Mucalinda, a nāga in Buddhism who protected the Gautama Buddha from the elements after his enlightenment

Naga Seri Gumum, who lives in Tasik Chini, a freshwater lake in Pahang, Malaysia

Padmavati, the Nāgī queen & companion of Dharanendra

Shwe Nabay (Naga Medaw), a goddess or a Nat spirit in Burmese animistic mythology, who is believed to have married a nāga and died from heartbreak after he left her

Takshaka, the king of the nāgas, and ruler of Khandava forest

Ulupi, a wife of Arjuna in the epic Mahabharata

Vasuki, the king of nāgas and who coils over Shiva's neck^[76] and offered to serve as the rope to pull Mount Mandara in the Samudra Manthana (Churning of the Ocean of Milk) to release the amrita (nectar of the immortality).

Yulong, the Dragon King of the West Sea in the Chinese classical novel Journey to the West, becomes a nāga after completing his journey with Xuanzang

In popular culture

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Film and television

A 4-headed Naga symbol and characters were part of the Leviathan story arc in the 1969 season of the gothic television soap opera Dark Shadows.

Several Bollywood films have been made about female nāgas, including Nagin (1954), Nagin (1976), Nagina (1986), Nigahen (1989), Jaani Dushman: Ek Anokhi Kahani (2002), and Hisss (2010). Nāga also appear in television series such as Naagin (2007-2009), Naagin (2015) and Adhuri Kahaani Hamari (2015-2016).

In the 1998 film Jungle Boy, the Naga is depicted as a large cobra deity that grants the gift of understanding all languages to those who are pure of heart and punishes those who are not pure of heart in different ways.

In the 1999 Telugu film Devi, a Nagini played by Prema comes to Earth to protect a woman who saves her when she was in the snake form. She eventually falls in love with a human.

The Nagas are antagonists in the cartoon The Secret Saturdays. They served the ancient Sumerian cryptid Kur and attempted to push Zak Saturday into the dark side after learning that he was Kur reincarnated, but eventually served V. V.

Argost when he gained his own Kur powers.

Many lakorn (Thai television soap operas) are based on a Phaya Naga legend, such as Poot Mae Nam Khong (ภูติแม่น้ำโขง) in 2008,^[77] Manisawat (มนีสาวาท) in 2013,^[78] or Nakee (นาคี) in 2016.^[79]

A search for the Phaya Naga was featured in a Destination Truth episode on the SyFy (formerly Sci-Fi Channel) series in Series 01 (episode 02).^[80]

The dragons in the 2021 film Raya and the Last Dragon are based on the Phaya Naga.

A serpent god named Nāga is featured in the 2021 animated film Batman: Soul of the Dragon.

They are featured Pakistani movies like Naag aur Nagin (2005)

Literature

Nāga are featured in The Silent Bells, the fourth book in N. D. Wilson's Ashtown Burials series.

The Japanese anime and manga series, Slayers (1989), has a principal character named Naga the Serpent (introduced in 1990).

In J. K. Rowling's Wizarding World, Nagini is one of Voldemort's horcruxes in the Harry Potter series and a Maledictus, a carrier of blood curse, in the 2018 film Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald. Her curse allows her to change into a snake and back into a human, but her snake form eventually becomes permanent.

In the Xanth series by Piers Anthony, the Naga are a race of human-headed serpents that can transform between fully human and serpent forms, including any species and size of snake.

In The God in the Bowl, one of the original Conan the Barbarian stories by Robert E. Howard, the titular God is possibly a Nāga-like creature.

Games

“Naga” is name of a T1 battle cruiser in EVE Online . Shown as a long, thin hull, and used for long range attacks.

Nagas appear in the Dungeons & Dragons roleplaying game, depicted as massive serpents with human heads.

The Nagas appear in the multiple franchises by Blizzard Entertainment. In Warcraft, they are depicted as ancient night elves that have snake-like tails in place of legs, and have other serpentine or aquatic features such as scales and fins. The Nagas came to be when they were transformed from the ancient night elves by the Old Gods. Their queen Azshara is described as a demigoddess. The digital card game Hearthstone incorporated Naga as a minion type in its Battlegrounds game mode on May 10, 2022.[81]

Nagas also appear in The Battle for Wesnoth, and are depicted as a more snakelike counterpart to the merfolk, who are often their enemies.

Magic: The Gathering's 2014–2015 block, set on the plane of Tarkir, featured Naga as humanoid snakes versed in powerful venoms and poisons with two arms and no other appendages. They are aligned with the Sultai clan in the sets, Khans of Tarkir[82] and Fate Reforged,[83] and with the Silumgar clan in the Dragons of Tarkir[84] set.

Nagas are units in Heroes of Might and Magic III.

Gigabash features Rawa, a bipedal Phaya Naga inspired kaiju among its playable cast of creatures.

Gallery

Nāga and Nagini in Bhubaneswar, Odisha

Nāga and Nagini in Bhubaneswar, Odisha

Nāga on copper pillar in Kullu, Himachal Pradesh India

Nāga on copper pillar in Kullu, Himachal Pradesh India

Nāga king in Anjali mudra in Deogarh temple, Madhya Pradesh

Nāga king in Anjali mudra in Deogarh temple, Madhya Pradesh

Maninaga and Svastika. Kushan period, 2nd century CE, Rajgir, Bihar
Maninaga and Svastika. Kushan period, 2nd century CE, Rajgir, Bihar

Nāga (marked 15) in the Varaha panel at Udayagiri Caves
Nāga (marked 15) in the Varaha panel at Udayagiri Caves

Tirthankara Parshvanatha of Jainism standing under Nāga hood
Tirthankara Parshvanatha of Jainism standing under Nāga hood

Nāga supporting waterspout of Yoni-Lingam, Yogyakarta Java, c. 9th century
Nāga supporting waterspout of Yoni-Lingam, Yogyakarta Java, c. 9th century

Nāga temple, Penataran, East Java
Nāga temple, Penataran, East Java

Nāga bridge at Ubud monkey forest, Bali
Nāga bridge at Ubud monkey forest, Bali

Nāga guarding Anouvong's Wat Sisaket in Vientiane
Nāga guarding Anouvong's Wat Sisaket in Vientiane

Sesa Nāga at Bangkok international airport, Thailand
Sesa Nāga at Bangkok international airport, Thailand

Nāga at the funeral of King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand in 2017
Nāga at the funeral of King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand in 2017

See also

Ichchadhari naag and naagin (shape-shifting cobra)

Lamia

List of Nāgas

Mahoraga

Naga Kingdom

Naga people (Lanka)

Nagarjuna

Nagvanshi

Naga Viper pepper

Phra Lak Phra Lam

Rocket Festival

Serpent (symbolism)

Snake worship

Vritra

Explanatory notes

Kathiragesu Indrapala writes that "In the traditions preserved in the early Sri Lankan chronicles as well as in the early Tamil literary works the Nagas appear as

a distinct group".[39] He further writes that "the adoption of the Tamil language was helping the Nagas in the Tamil chieftdoms to be assimilated into the major ethnic group there".[40]

In the Mahavamsa as indeed in the ancient Sanskrit and Pali literature in general, the nāgas are never represented as human beings, but as a class of superhuman beings, who inhabited a subterranean world.

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For text of a stone inscription dated 1470 identifying Ganesha's sacred thread as the serpent Śeṣa, see: Martin-Dubost, p. 202.

For an overview of snake images in Ganesha iconography, see: Martin-Dubost, Paul (1997). *Gaṇeśa: The Enchanter of the Three Worlds*. Mumbai: Project for Indian Cultural Studies. ISBN 81-900184-3-4, p. 202.

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Nagiana (a site dedicated to Nāga ancestors)

nagas in the Pali Canon

nagas

Image of a Seven-Headed Nāga

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Depictions of Nagas in the area of Angkor Wat in Cambodia

nagas and Naginis: Serpent Figures in Hinduism and Buddhism

Mekong River Commission paper on eels

Dr. Kanoksilpa, a pediatrician at Nong Khai hospital, studied this phenomenon for four years and concludes the most likely explanation to be seasonal accumulations of methane gas

vte

Hindu deities and texts

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Worship in Hinduism

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Topics in Buddhism

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List of death deities

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"Death-worship" redirects here. For the fictional ideology, see Political geography of Nineteen Eighty-Four § Eastasia.

Yama, the Hindu god of death and justice, and Lord of Naraka (hell). He was subsequently adopted by Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese mythology as the king of hell.

Maya death god "A" way as a hunter, Classic period

The mythology or religion of most cultures incorporate a god of death or, more frequently, a divine being closely associated with death, an afterlife, or an underworld. They are often amongst the most powerful and important entities in a given tradition, reflecting the fact that death, like birth, is central to the human experience. In religions where a single god is the primary object of worship, the representation of death is usually that god's antagonist, and the struggle between the two is central to the folklore of the culture. In such dualistic models, the primary deity usually represents good, and the death god embodies evil. Similarly, death worship is used as a derogatory term to accuse certain groups of morally abhorrent practices which set no value on human life. In monotheistic religions, death is commonly personified by an angel or demon standing in opposition to the god.

Occurrence

In polytheistic religions which have a complex system of deities governing various natural phenomena and aspects of human life, it is common to have a deity who is assigned the function of presiding over death. This deity may

actually take the life of humans or, more commonly, simply rule over the afterlife in that particular belief system (a single religion may have separate deities performing both tasks). The deity in question may be good, evil, or neutral and simply doing their job, in sharp contrast to a lot of modern portrayals of death deities as all being inherently evil just because death is feared. Hades from Greek mythology is an especially common target. The inclusion of such a "departmental" deity of death in a religion's pantheon is not necessarily the same thing as the glorification of death.

A death deity has a good chance of being either male or female, unlike some functions that seem to steer towards one gender in particular, such as fertility and earth deities being female and storm deities being male. A single religion/mythology may have death gods of more than one gender existing at the same time and they may be envisioned as a married couple ruling over the afterlife together, as with the Aztecs, Greeks, and Romans.

In monotheistic religions, the one god governs both life and death (as well as everything else). However, in practice this manifests in different rituals and traditions and varies according to a number of factors including geography, politics, traditions, and the influence of other religions.

Africa and the Middle East

Section of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Hunefer, depicting the Weighing of the Heart in Duat, featuring the deities Anubis, Ammit and Thoth

Sub-Sahara Africa

Igbo

Ala (Igbo mythology)

Ogbunabali (Igbo mythology)

Yoruba

Eshu (Yoruba religion)

Iku (god) (Yoruba religion)

Akan

Owuo, Akan God of Death and Destruction, and the Personification of death.

Name means death in the Akan language.

Asase Yaa, one half of an Akan Goddess of the barren places on Earth, Truth and is Mother of the Dead

Amokye, Psychopomp in Akan religion who fishes the souls of the dead from the river leading to Asamando, the Akan underworld

Nkrabea, The deity of destiny and fate, believed to influence human fortunes and life paths, as well as their deaths.

Afroasiatic Africa

Somali

Huur, a messenger of Death who had the form of a large bird similar to Horus of ancient Egypt.

Afroasiatic Middle East

Canaanite

Mot

Egyptian

Aker (Egyptian mythology)

Andjety, an old Egyptian god

Anubis, guardian of the dead,[1] mummification, and the afterlife in ancient Egyptian religion

Aqen, a rarely mentioned deity in the Book of the Dead

Assessors of Maat, charged with judging the souls of the dead in the afterlife

Duamutef, one of the four sons of Horus

Hapi, one of the four sons of Horus

Imset, one of the four sons of Horus

Kherty Egyptian earth god

Medjed, an unusual looking god mentioned in the Book of the Dead

Nephthys (NebetHuet), Anubis' mother; sister of Osiris and Isis (Aset); also a guardian of the dead. She was believed to also escort dead souls to Osiris

Nehebkau, the primordial snake and funerary god associated with the afterlife, and one of the forty-two assessors of Maat

Osiris, lord of the Underworld[2]

Qebehsenuef, one of the four sons of Horus

Seker, a falcon god of the Memphite necropolis who was known as a patron of the living, as well as a god of the dead. He is known to be closely tied to Osiris

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the

Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria

Wepwawet, a wolf god of war, and brother of Anubis, being seen as one who opened the ways to, and through, Duat, for the spirits of the dead

Mesopotamian

Ereshkigal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),[3][4] first lady of the Underworld

Namtar (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), Ereshkigal's sukkal.

Nergal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), second lord of the Underworld

Inshushinak (Elamite mythology; also present in the Mesopotamian An-Anum god list.[5])

Nungal (Babylonian mythology), daughter of Ereshkigal

Erra (god)

Ugur (Hurrian religion;[6] also a sukkal of Nergal[7])

Ninazu

Ningishzida

Allani

Enmesharra, a primordial deity described as "lord of the underworld"

Kanisurra, a goddess whose name is derived from the term "ganzer," referring to the underworld (Mesopotamian)

Shuwala, a goddess of Hurrian origin worshipped in Ur

Lagamal, minor underworld deity
Birtum, husband of Manungal
Western Eurasia
European
Albanian
Djall, symbolizes the devil. (Djaj(plural))
Mortja, personification of death. An equivalent of Grim Reaper.(Female)(Mortjet, plural)
Vdekja, personification of death. (Female)
Balto-Finnic
Tuoni (Finnish mythology, Estonian mythology)
Balto-Slavic
Giltinė (Lithuanian mythology)
Māra (Latvian mythology)
Morana (Slavic mythology)
Peckols (Prussian mythology)
Peklenc
Veles
Chernobog (Slavic mythology)
Basque
Herio (Basque mythology)
Celtic
Ankou (Breton people)
Arawn
Cichol
Crom Cruach
Donn
Mannanan
The Morrigan
Scáthach Goddess of the dead
Germanic
See also: Death in Norse paganism

Rán uses her net to pull a seafarer into the depths in an illustration by Johannes Gehrts, 1901

Freyja, presides over Fólkvangr; chooses half of those who die in battle
Gefjon, a goddess who oversees those who die as virgins
Hel,[8][9] goddess of the dead and ruler of the land of the same name, Hel,
Odin[8][9] presides over Valhalla and gets half of those who die in battle; there they train for Ragnarök
Rán, the sea goddess who collects the drowned in her net
Etruscan
Aita, god of the underworld
Culga, a female underworld spirit
Februus, god of purification, death, the underworld, and riches
Mani, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of the dead
Mantus, god of the underworld
Orcus, god of the underworld
Tuchulcha, an underworld spirit
Vanth, winged spirit of the underworld
Greek

Hades or Serapis with his dog Cerberus
Achlys, goddess who symbolizes the mist of death. Goddess of poisons, personification of misery and sadness.
Apollo, god of diseases
Atropos, one of the moirai, who cut the thread of life.
Charon, a daimon who acted as ferryman of the dead.
Erebus, the primordial god of darkness, his mists encircled the underworld and filled the hollows of the earth
Erinyes, chthonic deities of vengeance
Hades, king of the underworld and god of the dead[10]
Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, she helped Demeter in the search for Persephone and was allowed to live in the Underworld as her magic works best at night
Hermes, the messenger god who acted as psychopompos
Hypnos, personification of sleep, twin of Thanatos, his Roman counterpart is Somnus
Keres, goddesses of violent death, sisters of Thanatos
Lampades, torch-bearing underworld nymphs
Limos was the goddess of starvation in ancient Greek religion. She was opposed by Demeter, goddess of grain and the harvest with whom Ovid wrote Limos could never meet, and Plutus, the god of wealth and the bounty of rich harvests.[1]
Persephone, queen of the underworld; wife of Hades and goddess of spring growth[11]
Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria.
Tartarus, the darkest, deepest part of the underworld, often used for imprisoning enemies of the Olympians
Thanatos, personification of death, Roman counterpart is Mors[12]
Gods of the seven rivers of the underworld:
Acheron, god of the river Acheron
Alpheus, god of the river Alpheus
Cocytus, god of the river Cocytus
Eridanos, god of the river Eridanos
Lethe, goddess of the river Lethe
Phlegethon, god of the river Phlegethon
Styx, goddess of the river Styx, a river that formed a boundary between the living and the dead
Roman
Dea Tacita, goddess of the dead

Di inferi, ancient Roman deities associated with death and the Underworld
Dis Pater, god of the underworld
Laverna, goddess of thieves, cheats, and the underworld
Lemures, the malevolent dead
Libitina, goddess of funerals and burials
Manes, spirits of the dead
Mania, goddess of death
Mors, personification of death, Greek equivalent is Thanatos
Nenia Dea, goddess of funerals
Orcus, punisher of broken oaths; usually folded in with Pluto
Pluto, ruler of the Underworld
Proserpina, queen of the underworld
Soranus, underworld Sabine god adopted by the Romans
Viduus, god who separated the soul and body after death
Western Asia
Elamite
Inshushinak
Persian-Zoroastrian
Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, the destructive spirit (Persian mythology)[13]
Asto Vidatu or Astiwihad or Asto-widhatu, death deity (Persian mythology)[14]
Ossetian

Aminon, gatekeeper of the underworld.
Barastyr, ruler of the underworld.
Ishtar-Deela, lord of the underworld in Nakh.[15]
Uralic
Azyren (Mari people)
Kalma, Finnish goddess of death and decay, her name meaning "the stench of corpses"[16]
Nga (Nenets)
Tuoni (Finnish mythology), with his wife and children.[17]
Eastern Asia
Korean
Yeom-ra, or Great King Yeom-ra' (King Yama)
Chinese
Yanluo Wang

Yanluo Wang
Emperor(s) of Youdu (Capital City of the Underworld)

Di Guan Da Di
Dong Yue Da Di
Feng Du Da Di
Yanluo Wang (King Yama)
Meng Po
Judges of the Ten Underworld Courts

Jiang Ziwen

Bao Zheng

Dong Ji

Huang Xile

The rest only have surnames including Li, Yu, Lu, Bi, Lu and Xue.

Four Kings of the Underworld

Bao Zheng

Han Qinhu

Fan Zhongyan

Kou Zhun

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions

Cai Yulei

Zhao He

Zhang Heng

Duzi Ren

Zhou Qi

Ghost Kings of the Five Regions (Ver.2)

Shen Cha

Yang Yun

Yan Di (Shenlong)

Ji Kang

Immortal Wang

Governors of Fengdu

Deng Ai

Ji Ming

Imperial Censor of Fengdu

Han Yi

Zeng Yuanshan

Jiao Zhongqing

Ma Zhong

Song Youqing

Guan Yu (note: different from the famous general of three kingdoms)

Wu Lun

Tu Cha

Four Generals of the Direct Altar of Fengdu

Ma Sheng

Ma Chuanzhong

Chen Yuanbo

Guo Zhongyou
Eight Generals of the Inner Altar of Fengdu

Wei Tin, Ghost Capturing General
Liu Chu, Ghost Restraining General
Wang Jian, Ghost Flailing General
Meng E, Ghost Interrogating General
Che Zi, Guardian of the East Gate
Xia Dali, Guardian of the West Gate
Lie Weizhi, Guardian of the South Gate
Sang Tongguai, Guardian of the North Gate
Eight Generals of the Outer Altar of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanlian
Chen Yuanqing
Li Yuande
Fan YuanZhang
Du YuanZhen
Liu Yuanfu
Chang Yuan
Jia Taoyuan
Ten Masters of the Underworld

A Bang, Bull Head
Luo Cha, Horse Face
Xie Bi'an, Wondering God of the Day
Fan Wujiu, Wondering God of the Night
Hei Wuchang (Black Impermanence)
Bai Wuchang (White Impermanence)
Huangfeng (responsible for insects)
Paowei (responsible for animals)
Yusai (responsible for fishes)
Guaiwang (responsible for Hungry Ghosts)
(Note: in some versions, Xie Bi'an and Fanjiu are the Bai Wuchang and Hei Wuchang, respectively.)

Four Strongmen of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanzhen, Taiyi Strongman
Hu Wenzhong, Tri-day Strongman
Sun Zhongwu, Demon-smiting Strongman
Tang Bocheng, Ghost-smiting Strongman
Two Agents of Fengdu

Xun Gongda, Great God of the Black Sky
Liu Guangzhong, Great God of the Black Fog

Wardens of the Nine Prison of Fengdu

Wang Yuanzhen

Zhen Yan

Yao Quan

Shi Tong

Zhou Sheng

Diao Xiao

Kong Sheng

Wu Yan

Wang Tong

Administers of the Six Paths of Rebirth of Fengdu

Cao Qing, Administer of the Path of Heaven

Tien Yan, Administer of the Path of Ghosts

Cui Cong, Administer of the Path of Earth

Ji Bie, Administer of the Path of Gods

Chen De, Administer of the Path of Hungry Ghosts

Gao Ren, Administer of the Path of Beasts

Judges of Fengdu

Cui (Chief Judge)

Wang Fu

Ban Jian

Zi He

Jia Yuan

Zhao Sheng

Zhang Qi

Yang Tong

Fu Po

Zhu Shun

Li Gong

Xue Zhong

Rong Zhen

Lu Zhongce

Chen Xun

Huang Shou

Zhou Bi

Bian Shen

Cheng De

Liu Bao

Dong Jie

Guo Yuan

Japanese

Izanami, when she died she became queen of the underworld, Yomi, and goddess of the dead.

Enma, god and ruler of the dead in Japanese Buddhism

Shinigami, god of death

Susanoo

Ōkuninushi, an alternate ruler of the underworld

North and Central Asian mythology

Erlik (Turkic mythology)

Xargi (Siberian mythology)

Oceanian mythology

Wuluwaid (Australian Aboriginal mythology)

Degei (Fijian mythology)

Hine-nui-te-pō (Maori mythology)

Whiro (Maori mythology)

South Asian mythology

See also: Shmashana Adhipati

Hindu

Yama - the god of death & divine judge of afterlife

Chitragupta - Yama's record keeper, keeps account of the good & misdeeds of souls, on the basis of which the dead are judged.

Yamaduta - Spirits under control of Yama, who are responsible for bringing the dead souls into Yama's presence. However, from the anecdote of Satyavan & Savitri, it is shown that even Yama performs this role.

Kāla - the personification of time, also associated with death

Shiva - the god who is the destroyer of the world at the time of pralaya. As Kalantaka, he is also the conqueror of death. As Bhairava, he is strongly associated with death & destruction.

Kali - Shiva's spouse, strongly associated with death & destruction.

Chamunda - A related form of Kali, invoked for seeking death of enemies during wartime.

Tibetan Buddhist

Tibetan Buddhism, like all other Buddhist denominations, affirms the rejection of the existence of souls (anatta) & existence of a creator God (see the theory of dependent origination), while at the same time affirming in the existence of heaven and hell. The beings listed here aren't 'gods of death' in the traditional sense, they are rather beings that invoke a lot of funerary aspect with them.

Citipati - guardian spirits of charnel grounds

Dakini - Female spirits strongly associated with the imagery of death.

Heruka - Beings strongly associated with the imagery of death & charnel grounds

Wrathful deities - Meditational deities invoking the imagery of death.

Southeast Asian mythology

Magwayen

Batara Kala (Balinese mythology), god of the underworld in traditional Javanese and Balinese mythology, ruling over it in a cave along with Setesuyara. Batara Kala is also named the creator of light and the earth. He is also the god of time and destruction, who devours unlucky people. He is related to Hindu concept of Kāla. In mythology, he causes eclipses by trying to eat the Sun or the Moon.

Shingon (nat) (Burmese)

Thongalel (Manipuri mythology)

Pong Lalondong (Toraja), god of death

Philippines

Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures

Tagbayan (Ifugao mythology): divinities associated with death that feast on human souls that are guarded by two headed monsters called kikilan[18]

Fulor (Ifugao mythology): a wood carved into an image of a dead person seated on a death chair; an antique which a spirit in it, who bring sickness, death, and unsuccessful crops when sacrifices are not offered[19]

Kabunyan (Kalanguya mythology): the almighty creator; also referred to as Agmattebew, the spirit who could not be seen; the mabaki ritual is held in the deity's honor during planting, harvesting, birth and death of the people, and other activities for livelihood[20]

Binangewan (Aeta mythology): spirits who bring change, sickness, and death as punishment[21]

Aring Sinukûan (Kapampangan mythology): sun god of war and death, taught the early inhabitants the industry of metallurgy, wood cutting, rice culture and even waging war[22]

Lakandánup (Kapampangan mythology): serpent goddess who comes during total eclipses; followed by famine; eats a person's shadow, which will result in withering and death; daughter of Áring Sínukuan and Dápu[23]

Sidapa (Bisaya mythology): the goddess of death; co-ruler of the middleworld called Kamaritaan, together with Makaptan[18]

Sidapa (Hiligaynon mythology): god who lives in the sacred Mount Madia-as; determines the day of a person's death by marking every newborn's lifespan on a very tall tree on Madya-as[24]

Hangin (Hiligaynon mythology): the spirits of the death wind; takes the life of the elderly[24]

Patag'aes (Suludnon mythology): awaits until midnight then enters the house to have a conversation with the living infant; if he discovers someone is eavesdropping, he will choke the child to death; their conversation creates the fate of the child, on how long the child wants to live and how the child will eventually die, where the child will always get to choose the answers; once done,

Patag'aes takes out his measuring stick, computes the child's life span, and then departs, sealing the child's fate[25]

Pamulak Manobo (Bagobo mythology): supreme deity who controls good harvest, rain, wind, life, and death; in some myths, the chief deity is simply referred as the male deity, Diwata[18]

Malakal Maut (Maranao mythology): the angel of death; takes the souls of someone after three to seven days from the falling of the person's leaf from the sacred Sadiarathul Montaha tree in the realm called Sorga; appears either a handsome prince or a grotesque monsters, depending if the soul he is getting comes from a sinner or a virtuous person; punishes the souls of sinners until final judgment, while lifting up the souls of the good onto heaven[26]

Kumakatok - hooded and cloaked harbingers of death that would knock on doors of the dying in Tagalog mythology

Magwayen - the goddess of afterlife and the first ocean deity, according to Visayan mythology. Known for being the goddess who collects souls and takes them to Sulad with her boat. The souls are initially transferred to her via Pandaki, who gets the soul from Sidapa.

Sitan - god and caretaker of the underworld realm for evil souls known as Kasamaan in Tagalog mythology. Maca, the realm of the good dead, is jointly ruled by Sitan and Bathala.

Manduyapit - bring souls across a red river in Manobo mythology[27]

Mama Guayen - ferries souls to the end of the world in Ilonggo mythology[27]

Badadum - deity in Waray mythology that gathers family members at the mouth of a river to make a farewell to the deceased[27]

Vietnam

Diêm Vương (King Yama)

Mạnh Bà

Hắc Bạch Vô Thường, two spirits capture souls.

Đầu Trâu

Mặt Ngựa

American mythology

Mictlāntēcutli

Mictēcacihuātl as depicted in the Codex Borgia

Aztec

Cihuāteteo (Aztec mythology), Divine women. Spirits of women who died during labor.

Coatlicue (Aztec mythology), minor goddess of death, as well as the goddess of life and rebirth

Itztlacolihqui (Aztec mythology), personification of winter-as-death

Mictēcacihuātl (Aztec mythology),[28] the chief death goddess; Queen of Mictlan (underworld) or Lady of the Dead

Mictlantecuhtli (Aztec mythology), the chief death god; lord of the Underworld[29]

Tlaloc (Aztec mythology), water god and minor death god; ruler of Tlalocan, a separate underworld for those who died from drowning

Xipe Totec (Aztec mythology), hero god, death god; inventor of warfare and master of plagues

Xolotl (Aztec mythology), god of sunset, fire, lightning, and death

Cahuilla

Muut

Guarani

Luisson, Guarani mythology

Haida

Ta'xet, Haida mythology

Tia (goddess)

Inca

Supay (Inca mythology)

Vichama (Inca mythology)

Inuit

Aipaloovik

Pana

Latin American Folk Catholicism

Santa Muerte, folk saint and goddess of death in Mexico

San La Muerte, folk saint and god of death in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil

San Pascualito, folk saint and god of death in Guatemala and Mexico

Maya

Camazotz, bat god who resides in the underworld

Cizin

Ixtab

Xtabay

Maya death gods known under various names (Hunhau, Uacmitun Ahau, Ah

Puch, Kisin, Yum Kimil)

Narragansett

Chepi

Taíno

Maquetauire Guayaba

Opiel Guabiron

Umbanda and Candomblé

Exu caveira

Exu Tranca-rua das almas

Haitian Vodou

Gede Iwa

Baron Samedi, Baron La Croix, Baron Cimetiere, Baron Kriminel

Ghede Nibo

Maman Brigitte

See also

Afterlife

Death (personification)

Liminal deity

List of deities

List of night deities
List of fictional demons
List of theological demons
List of ghosts
Psychopomp
Time and fate deities
Sailor Saturn
Veneration of the dead
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Death

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Fairy

1888 illustration by Luis Ricardo Falero of common modern depiction of a fairy with butterfly wings

Creature information

Grouping **Legendary creature**

Pixie

Sprite

Tuatha Dé Danann

Origin

Region **Europe**

A fairy (also called fay, fae, fae folk, fey, fair folk, or faerie) is a type of mythical being or legendary creature, generally described as anthropomorphic, found in the folklore of multiple European cultures (including Celtic, Slavic, Germanic, and French folklore), a form of spirit, often with magical, metaphysical, supernatural, or preternatural qualities.

Myths and stories about fairies do not have a single origin but are rather a collection of folk beliefs from disparate sources. Various folk theories about the origins of fairies include casting them as either demoted angels or demons in a Christian tradition, as deities in pagan belief systems, as spirits of the dead, as prehistoric precursors to humans, or as spirits of nature.

The label of fairy has at times applied only to specific magical creatures with human appearance, magical powers, and a penchant for trickery. At other times, it has been used to describe any magical creature, such as goblins and gnomes. Fairy has at times been used as an adjective, with a meaning equivalent to "enchanted" or "magical". It was also used as a name for the place these beings come from: Fairyland.

A recurring motif of legends about fairies is the need to ward off fairies using

protective charms. Common examples of such charms include church bells, wearing clothing inside out, four-leaf clover, and food. Fairies were also sometimes thought to haunt specific locations and to lead travelers astray using will-o'-the-wisps. Before the advent of modern medicine, fairies were often blamed for sickness, particularly tuberculosis and birth deformities.

In addition to their folkloric origins, fairies were a common feature of Renaissance literature and Romantic art and were especially popular in the United Kingdom during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The Celtic Revival also saw fairies established as a canonical part of Celtic cultural heritage.

Etymology

The English fairy derives from the Early Modern English faerie, meaning 'realm of the fays'. Faerie, in turn, derives from the Old French form faerie, a derivation from faie (from Vulgar Latin fata, 'the fates'), with the abstract noun suffix -erie.

In Old French romance, a faie or fee was a woman skilled in magic, and who knew the power and virtue of words, of stones, and of herbs.[1]

Fairy was used to represent: an illusion or enchantment; the land of the Faes; collectively the inhabitants thereof; an individual such as a fairy knight.[1] Faie became Modern English fay, while faerie became fairy, but this spelling almost exclusively refers to one individual (the same meaning as fay). In the sense of 'land where fairies dwell', archaic spellings faery and faerie are still in use.

Latinate fae, from which fairy derives, is distinct from English fey (from Old English fæge), which means 'fated to die'. [2] However, this unrelated Germanic word fey may have been influenced by Old French fae (fay or fairy) as the meaning had shifted slightly to 'fated' from the earlier 'doomed' or 'accursed'. [3]

Various folklore traditions refer to fairies euphemistically as wee folk, good folk, people of peace, fair folk (Welsh: Tylwyth Teg), etc.[4]

Historical development

The term fairy is sometimes used to describe any magical creature, including goblins and gnomes, while at other times, the term describes only a specific type of ethereal creature or sprite.[5]

Explanations for the origins of fairies range from Persian mythology[6] to the folklore of the Brythonic (Bretons, Welsh, Cornish), Gaelic (Irish, Scots, Manx), and Germanic peoples, and from the pages of Middle French medieval romances.

According to some historians, such as Barthélemy d'Herbelot, fairies were adopted from and influenced by the peris of Persian mythology.[7] Peris were angelic beings that were mentioned in antiquity in pre-Islamic Persia as early as the Achaemenid Empire. Peris were later described in various Persian works in

great detail such as the Shahnameh by Ferdowsi. A peri was illustrated to be fair, beautiful, and extravagant nature spirits that were supported by wings. This may have influenced migratory Germanic and Eurasian settlers into Europe, or been transmitted during early exchanges.[8] The similarities could also be attributed to a shared Proto-Indo-European mythology.[6]

In the Middle Ages, fairie was used adjectivally, meaning "enchanted" (as in fairie knight, fairie queene), but also became a generic term for various "enchanted" creatures during the Late Middle English period. Literature of the Elizabethan era conflated elves with the fairies of Romance culture, rendering these terms somewhat interchangeable. The modern concept of "fairy" in the narrower sense is unique to English folklore, later made diminutive in accordance with prevailing tastes of the Victorian era, as in "fairy tales" for children.

The Victorian era and Edwardian era saw a heightened increase of interest in fairies. The Celtic Revival cast fairies as part of Ireland's cultural heritage. Carole Silver and others suggested this fascination of English antiquarians arose from a reaction to greater industrialization and loss of older folk ways.[9]

Descriptions

Fairies are generally described as human in appearance and having magical powers. Diminutive fairies of various kinds have been reported through centuries, ranging from quite tiny to the size of a human.[10] These small sizes could be magically assumed, rather than constant.[11] Some smaller fairies could expand their figures to imitate humans.[12] On Orkney, fairies were described as short in stature, dressed in dark grey, and sometimes seen in armour.[13] In some folklore, fairies have green eyes. Some depictions of fairies show them with footwear, others as barefoot. Wings, while common in Victorian and later artworks, are rare in folklore; fairies flew by means of magic, sometimes perched on ragwort stems or the backs of birds.[14] Modern illustrations often include dragonfly or butterfly wings.[15]

Origins

Early modern fairies does not derive from a single origin; the term is a conflation of disparate elements from folk belief sources, influenced by literature and speculation. In the folklore of Ireland, the mythic aes sídhe, or 'people of the fairy hills', have come to a modern meaning somewhat inclusive of fairies. The Scandinavian elves also served as an influence. Folklorists and mythologists have variously depicted fairies as the unworthy dead, the children of Eve, a kind of demon, a species independent of humans, an older race of humans, and fallen angels.[16] The folkloristic or mythological elements combine Celtic, Germanic and Greco-Roman elements. Folklorists have suggested that 'fairies' arose from various earlier beliefs, which lost currency with the advent of Christianity.[17] These disparate explanations are not necessarily incompatible, as 'fairies' may be traced to multiple sources.

Demoted angels

A Christian tenet held that fairies were a class of "demoted" angels.[18] One story described a group of angels revolting, and God ordered the gates of heaven shut; those still in heaven remained angels, those in hell became demons, and those caught in between became fairies.[19] Others wrote that some angels, not being godly enough, yet not evil enough for hell, were thrown out of heaven.[20] This concept may explain the tradition of paying a "teind" or tithe to hell; as fallen angels, although not quite devils, they could be viewed as subjects of Satan.[21]

Title page of a 1603 reprinting of Daemonologie

King James I, in his dissertation *Daemonologie*, stated the term "faries" referred to illusory spirits (demonic entities) that prophesied to, consorted with, and transported the individuals they served; in medieval times, a witch or sorcerer who had a pact with a familiar spirit might receive these services.[22]

In England's Theosophist circles of the 19th century, a belief in the "angelic" nature of fairies was reported.[23] Entities referred to as Devas were said to guide many processes of nature, such as evolution of organisms, growth of plants, etc., many of which resided inside the Sun (Solar Angels). The more Earthbound Devas included nature spirits, elementals, and fairies,[24] which were described as appearing in the form of colored flames, roughly the size of a human.[25]

Arthur Conan Doyle, in his 1922 book *The Coming of the Fairies; The Theosophic View of Fairies*, reported that eminent theosophist E. L. Gardner had likened fairies to butterflies, whose function was to provide an essential link between the energy of the sun and the plants of Earth, describing them as having no clean-cut shape ... small, hazy, and somewhat luminous clouds of colour with a brighter sparkish nucleus. describing them as having no clean-cut shape ... small, hazy, and somewhat luminous clouds of colour with a brighter sparkish nucleus.[need quotation to verify] "That growth of a plant which we regard as the customary and inevitable result of associating the three factors of sun, seed, and soil would never take place if the fairy builders were absent." [26]

For a similar concept in Persian mythology, see Peri.

Demoted pagan deities

At one time it was thought that fairies were initially worshiped as deities, such as nymphs and tree spirits,[27] and with the burgeoning predominance of the Christian Church, reverence for these deities carried on, but in a dwindling state of perceived power. Many deprecated deities of older folklore and myth were repurposed as fairies in Victorian fiction (See the works of W. B. Yeats for examples).

Fairies as demons

A recorded Christian belief of the 17th century cast all fairies as demons.[28] This

perspective grew more popular with the rise of Puritanism among the Reformed Church of England (See: Anglicanism).[29] The hobgoblin, once a friendly household spirit, became classed as a wicked goblin.[30] Dealing with fairies was considered a form of witchcraft and punished as such.[31] In William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon, king of the faeries, states that neither he nor his court fears the church bells, which the author and Christian apologist C. S. Lewis cast as a politic disassociation from faeries[32] although Lewis makes it clear that he himself does not consider fairies to be demons in his chapter on the topic ("The Longaevi" or "long-livers") from *The Discarded Image*. In an era of intellectual and religious upheaval, some Victorian reappraisals of mythology cast deities in general as metaphors for natural events,[33] which was later refuted by other authors (See: *The Triumph of the Moon*, by Ronald Hutton). This contentious thought environment contributed to the modern meaning of 'fairies'.

Spirits of the dead

One belief held that fairies were spirits of the dead.[34] This derived from many factors common in various folklore and myths: same or similar tales of both ghosts and fairies; the Irish *sídh*, origin of their term for fairies, were ancient burial mounds; deemed dangerous to eat food in Fairyland and Hades; the dead and fairies depicted as living underground.[35] Diane Purkiss observed an equating of fairies with the untimely dead who left "unfinished lives".[36] One tale recounted a man caught by the fairies, who found that whenever he looked steadily at a fairy, it appeared as a dead neighbor of his.[37] This theory was among the more common traditions related, although many informants also expressed doubts.[38]

Hidden people

Illustration of a fairy by C. E. Brock

There is an outdated theory that fairy folklore evolved from folk memories of a prehistoric race: newcomers superseded a body of earlier human or humanoid peoples, and the memories of this defeated race developed into modern conceptions of fairies. Proponents find support in the tradition of cold iron as a charm against fairies, viewed as a cultural memory of invaders with iron weapons displacing peoples who had just stone, bone, wood, etc., at their disposal, and were easily defeated. 19th-century archaeologists uncovered underground rooms in the Orkney islands that resembled the *Elfland* described in *Childe Rowland*,[39] which lent additional support. In folklore, flint arrowheads from the Stone Age were attributed to the fairies as "elfshot",[40] while their green clothing and underground homes spoke to a need for camouflage and covert shelter from hostile humans, their magic a necessary skill for combating those with superior weaponry. In a Victorian tenet of evolution, mythic cannibalism among ogres was attributed to memories of more savage races practicing alongside "superior" races of more refined sensibilities.[41] The most important modern proponent of the 'hidden people' theory was the Scottish folklorist and antiquarian David

MacRitchie.[42]

Elementals

A theory that fairies were an intelligent species, distinct from humans and angels.[43] An alchemist, Paracelsus, classed gnomes and sylphs as elementals, meaning magical entities who personify a particular force of nature and exert powers over these forces.[44] Folklore accounts have described fairies as "spirits of the air".[45]

Characteristics

Much folklore of fairies involves methods of protecting oneself from their malice, by means such as cold iron, charms (see amulet, talisman) of rowan trees or various herbs, or simply shunning locations "known" to be theirs, ergo avoiding offending any fairies.[46] Less harmful pranks ascribed to fairies include: tangling the hair of sleepers into fairy-locks (aka elf-locks), stealing small items, and leading a traveler astray. More dangerous behaviors were also attributed to fairies; any form of sudden death might have stemmed from a fairy kidnapping, the evident corpse a magical replica of wood.[47] Consumption (tuberculosis) was sometimes blamed on fairies who forced young men and women to dance at revels every night, causing them to waste away from lack of rest.[48] Rowan trees were considered sacred to fairies,[49] and a charm tree to protect one's home.[50]

Classifications

Main article: Classifications of fairies

Various folklorists have proposed classification systems for fairies. Using terms popularized by W. B. Yeats, trooping fairies are those who appear in groups and might form settlements, as opposed to solitary fairies, who do not live or associate with others of their kind. In this context, the term fairy is usually held in a wider sense, including various similar beings, such as dwarves and elves of Germanic folklore.[31]

In Scottish folklore, fairies are divided into the Seelie Court (more beneficently inclined, but still dangerous), and the Unseelie Court (more malicious). While fairies of the Seelie Court enjoyed playing generally harmless pranks on humans, those of the Unseelie Court often brought harm to humans for entertainment.[40] Both could be dangerous to humans if offended.

Some scholars have cautioned against the overuse of dividing fairies into types.[51] British folklore historian Simon Young noted that classification varies widely from researcher to researcher, and pointed out that it does not necessarily reflect old beliefs, since "those people living hundreds of years ago did not structure their experience as we do." [52]

Changelings

Main article: Changeling

A considerable amount of lore about fairies revolves around changelings, fairies

left in the place of stolen humans.[9] In particular, folklore describes how to prevent the fairies from stealing babies and substituting changelings, and abducting older people as well.[53] The theme of the swapped child is common in medieval literature and reflects concern over infants thought to be afflicted with unexplained diseases, disorders, or developmental disabilities. In pre-industrial Europe, a peasant family's subsistence frequently depended upon the productive labor of each member, and a person who was a permanent drain on the family's scarce resources could pose a threat to the survival of the entire family.[54]

Protective charms

In terms of protective charms, wearing clothing inside out,[55] church bells, St. John's wort, and four-leaf clovers are regarded as effective. In Newfoundland folklore, the most popular type of fairy protection is bread, varying from stale bread to hard tack or a slice of fresh homemade bread. Bread is associated with the home and the hearth, as well as with industry and the taming of nature, and as such, seems to be disliked by some types of fairies. On the other hand, in much of the Celtic folklore, baked goods are a traditional offering to the folk, as are cream and butter.[23] "The prototype of food, and therefore a symbol of life, bread was one of the commonest protections against fairies. Before going out into a fairy-haunted place, it was customary to put a piece of dry bread in one's pocket." [56] In County Wexford, Ireland, in 1882, it was reported that: "if an infant is carried out after dark a piece of bread is wrapped in its bib or dress, and this protects it from any witchcraft or evil." [57]

Bells also have an ambiguous role; while they protect against fairies, the fairies riding on horseback — such as the fairy queen — often have bells on their harness. This may be a distinguishing trait between the Seelie Court from the Unseelie Court, such that fairies use them to protect themselves from more wicked members of their race.[58] Another ambiguous piece of folklore revolves about poultry: a cock's crow drove away fairies, but other tales recount fairies keeping poultry.[59]

While many fairies will confuse travelers on the path, the will-o'-the-wisp can be avoided by not following it. Certain locations, known to be haunts of fairies, are to be avoided; C. S. Lewis reported hearing of a cottage more feared for its reported fairies than its reported ghost.[60] In particular, digging in fairy hills was unwise. Paths that the fairies travel are also wise to avoid. Home-owners have knocked corners from houses because the corner blocked the fairy path,[61] and cottages have been built with the front and back doors in line, so that the owners could, in need, leave them both open and let the fairies troop through all night.[62] Locations such as fairy forts were left undisturbed; even cutting brush on fairy forts was reputed to be the death of those who performed the act.[63] Fairy trees, such as thorn trees, were dangerous to chop down; one such tree was left alone in Scotland, though it prevented a road from being widened for seventy years.[64]

A resin statue of a fairy

Other actions were believed to offend fairies. Brownies were known to be driven off by being given clothing, though some folktales recounted that they were offended by the inferior quality of the garments given, and others merely stated it, some even recounting that the brownie was delighted with the gift and left with it.[65] Other brownies left households or farms because they heard a complaint, or a compliment.[66] People who saw the fairies were advised not to look closely, because they resented infringements on their privacy.[67] The need to not offend them could lead to problems: one farmer found that fairies threshed his corn, but the threshing continued after all his corn was gone, and he concluded that they were stealing from his neighbors, leaving him the choice between offending them, dangerous in itself, and profiting by the theft.[68]

Millers were thought by the Scots to be "no canny", owing to their ability to control the forces of nature, such as fire in the kiln, water in the burn, and for being able to set machinery a-whirring. Superstitious communities sometimes believed that the miller must be in league with the fairies. In Scotland, fairies were often mischievous and to be feared. No one dared to set foot in the mill or kiln at night, as it was known that the fairies brought their corn to be milled after dark. So long as the locals believed this, the miller could sleep secure in the knowledge that his stores were not being robbed. John Fraser, the miller of Whitehill, claimed to have hidden and watched the fairies trying unsuccessfully to work the mill. He said he decided to come out of hiding and help them, upon which one of the fairy women gave him a gowpen (double handful of meal) and told him to put it in his empty giral (store), saying that the store would remain full for a long time, no matter how much he took out.[69]

It is also believed that to know the name of a particular fairy, a person could summon it and force it to do their bidding. The name could be used as an insult towards the fairy in question, but it could also rather contradictorily be used to grant powers and gifts to the user.[citation needed]

Before the advent of modern medicine, many physiological conditions were untreatable and when children were born with abnormalities, it was common to blame the fairies.[70]

Legends

Sometimes fairies are described as assuming the guise of an animal.[71] In Scotland, it was peculiar to the fairy women to assume the shape of deer; while witches became mice, hares, cats, gulls, or black sheep. In "The Legend of Knockshigowna", in order to frighten a farmer who pastured his herd on fairy ground, a fairy queen took on the appearance of a great horse, with the wings of an eagle, and a tail like a dragon, hissing loud and spitting fire. Then she would change into a little man lame of a leg, with a bull's head, and a lambent flame playing round it.[72]

In the 19th-century Child ballad "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight", the elf-knight is a Bluebeard figure, and Isabel must trick and kill him to preserve her life.[73] The child ballad "Tam Lin" reveals that the title character, though living among the fairies and having fairy powers, was, in fact, an "earthly knight" and though his life was pleasant now, he feared that the fairies would pay him as their teind (tithe) to hell.[73]

"Sir Orfeo" tells how Sir Orfeo's wife was kidnapped by the King of Faerie and only by trickery and an excellent harping ability was he able to win her back. "Sir Degare" narrates the tale of a woman overcome by her fairy lover, who in later versions of the story is unmasked as a mortal. "Thomas the Rhymer" shows Thomas escaping with less difficulty, but he spends seven years in Elfland.[74] Oisín is harmed not by his stay in Faerie but by his return; when he dismounts, the three centuries that have passed catch up with him, reducing him to an aged man.[75] King Herla (O.E. "Herla cyning"), originally a guise of Woden but later Christianised as a king in a tale by Walter Map, was said, by Map, to have visited a dwarf's underground mansion and returned three centuries later; although only some of his men crumbled to dust on dismounting, Herla and his men who did not dismount were trapped on horseback, this being one account of the origin of the Wild Hunt of European folklore.[76][77]

A common feature of the fairies is the use of magic to disguise their appearance. Fairy gold is notoriously unreliable, appearing as gold when paid but soon thereafter revealing itself to be leaves, gorse blossoms, gingerbread cakes, or a variety of other comparatively worthless things.[78]

These illusions are also implicit in the tales of fairy ointment. Many tales from Northern Europe[79][80] tell of a mortal woman summoned to attend a fairy birth — sometimes attending a mortal, kidnapped woman's childbed. Invariably, the woman is given something for the child's eyes, usually an ointment; through mischance, or sometimes curiosity, she uses it on one or both of her own eyes. At that point, she sees where she is; one midwife realizes that she was not attending a great lady in a fine house but her own runaway maid-servant in a wretched cave. She escapes without making her ability known but sooner or later betrays that she can see the fairies. She is invariably blinded in that eye or in both if she used the ointment on both.[81]

There have been claims by people in the past, like William Blake, to have seen fairy funerals.[82] Allan Cunningham in his *Lives of Eminent British Painters* records that William Blake claimed to have seen a fairy funeral:

'Did you ever see a fairy's funeral, madam?' said Blake to a lady who happened to sit next to him. 'Never, sir!' said the lady. 'I have,' said Blake, 'but not before last night.' And he went on to tell how, in his garden, he had seen 'a procession of creatures of the size and colour of green and grey grasshoppers, bearing a body laid out on a rose-leaf, which they buried with songs, and then disappeared.' They

are believed to be an omen of death.

Tuatha Dé Danann

Main article: Tuatha Dé Danann

The Tuatha Dé Danann are a race of supernaturally-gifted people in Irish mythology. They are thought to represent the main deities of pre-Christian Ireland. Many of the Irish modern tales of the Tuatha Dé Danann refer to these beings as fairies, though in more ancient times they were regarded as goddesses and gods. The Tuatha Dé Danann were spoken of as having come from islands in the north of the world or, in other sources, from the sky. After being victorious in a series of battles with other otherworldly beings, and then being defeated by the ancestors of the current Irish people, they were said to have withdrawn to the sídhe (fairy mounds), where they lived on in popular imagination as "fairies".[citation needed]

They are associated with several Otherworld realms including Mag Mell ('the Pleasant Plain'), Emain Ablach ('the place of apples'), and Tir na nÓg ('the Land of Youth').

Aos Sí

Main article: Aos Sí

The aos sí is the Irish term for a supernatural race in Irish, comparable to the fairies or elves. They are variously said to be ancestors, the spirits of nature, or goddesses and gods.[83] A common theme found among the Celtic nations describes a race of people who had been driven out by invading humans. In old Celtic fairy lore the Aos Sí ('people of the fairy mounds') are immortals living in the ancient barrows and cairns. The Irish banshee (Irish Gaelic bean sí, previously bean sídhe, 'woman of the fairy mound') is sometimes described as a ghost.[84]

Scottish Sithe

Main article: Aos Sí

In the 1691 *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies*, Reverend Robert Kirk, minister of the Parish of Aberfoyle, Stirling, Scotland, wrote:

These Siths or Fairies they call Sleagh Maith or the Good People...are said to be of middle nature between Man and Angel, as were Daemons thought to be of old; of intelligent fluidous Spirits, and light changeable bodies (lyke those called Astral) somewhat of the nature of a condensed cloud, and best seen in twilight. These bodies be so pliable through the subtlety of Spirits that agitate them, that they can make them appear or disappear at pleasure[85]

In literature

Prince Arthur and the Faerie Queene by Johann Heinrich Füssli (c. 1788); scene from *The Faerie Queene*

The word fairy was used to describe an individual inhabitant of Faerie before the time of Chaucer.[1]

Fairies appeared in medieval romances as one of the beings that a knight errant might encounter. A fairy lady appeared to Sir Launfal and demanded his love; like the fairy bride of ordinary folklore, she imposed a prohibition on him that in time he violated. Sir Orfeo's wife was carried off by the King of Faerie. Huon of Bordeaux is aided by King Oberon.[86] These fairy characters dwindled in number as the medieval era progressed; the figures became wizards and enchantresses.[87]

The oldest fairies on record in England were first described by the historian Gervase of Tilbury in the 13th century.[88]

In the 1485 book *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Morgan le Fay, whose connection to the realm of Faerie is implied in her name, is a woman whose magic powers stem from study.[89] While somewhat diminished with time, fairies never completely vanished from the tradition. Edmund Spenser featured fairies in his 1590 book *The Faerie Queene*. [90] In many works of fiction, fairies are freely mixed with the nymphs and satyrs of classical tradition,[91] while in others (e.g., *Lamia*), they were seen as displacing the Classical beings. 15th-century poet and monk John Lydgate wrote that King Arthur was crowned in "the land of the fairy" and taken in his death by four fairy queens, to Avalon, where he lies under a "fairy hill" until he is needed again.[92]

The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania by Joseph Noel Paton (1849): fairies in Shakespeare

Fairies appear as significant characters in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is set simultaneously in the woodland and in the realm of Fairyland, under the light of the Moon[93] and in which a disturbance of nature caused by a fairy dispute creates tension underlying the plot and informing the actions of the characters. According to Maurice Hunt, Chair of the English Department at Baylor University, the blurring of the identities of fantasy and reality makes possible "that pleasing, narcotic dreaminess associated with the fairies of the play".[94]

Shakespeare's contemporary Michael Drayton features fairies in his *Nymphidia*, and from these stem Alexander Pope's sylphs of the 1712 poem *The Rape of the Lock*. In the mid-17th century the French literary style *précieuses* took up the oral tradition of such tales to write fairy tales, and Madame d'Aulnoy invented the term *contes de fée* ('fairy tale').[95] While the tales told by the *précieuses* included many fairies, they were less common in other countries' tales; indeed, the Brothers Grimm included fairies in their first edition but decided this was not authentically German and altered the language in later editions, changing each *Fee* ("fairy") to an enchantress or wise woman.[96] J. R. R. Tolkien described

these tales as taking place in the land of Faerie.[97] Additionally, not all folktales that feature fairies are generally categorized as fairy tales.

The modern depiction of fairies was shaped in the literature of Romanticism during the Victorian era. Writers such as Walter Scott and James Hogg were inspired by folklore which featured fairies, such as the Border ballads. This era saw an increase in the popularity of collecting fairy folklore and an increase in the creation of original works with fairy characters.[98] In Rudyard Kipling's 1906 book of short stories and poems, *Puck of Pook's Hill*, Puck holds to scorn the moralizing fairies of other Victorian works.[99] The period also saw a revival of older themes in fantasy literature, such as C.S. Lewis's *Narnia* books, which, while featuring many such classical beings as fauns and dryads, mingles them freely with hags, giants, and other creatures of the folkloric fairy tradition.[100] Victorian flower fairies were popularized in part by Queen Mary's keen interest in fairy art and by British illustrator and poet Cicely Mary Barker's series of eight books published in 1923 through 1948. Imagery of fairies in literature became prettier and smaller as time progressed.[101] Andrew Lang, complaining of "the fairies of polyanthes and gardenias and apple blossoms" in the introduction to *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), observed that: "These fairies try to be funny, and fail; or they try to preach, and succeed." [102]

A story of the origin of fairies appears in a chapter about Peter Pan in J. M. Barrie's 1902 novel *The Little White Bird*, and was incorporated into his later works about the character. Barrie wrote: "When the first baby laughed for the first time, his laugh broke into a million pieces, and they all went skipping about. That was the beginning of fairies." [103] Fairies are seen in *Neverland*, in *Peter and Wendy*, the 1911 novel version of J. M. Barrie's famous *Peter Pan* stories, and its character Tinker Bell has become a pop culture icon. When Peter Pan is guarding Wendy from pirates, the story says: "After a time he fell asleep, and some unsteady fairies had to climb over him on their way home from an orgy. Any of the other boys obstructing the fairy path at night they would have mischieved, but they just tweaked Peter's nose and passed on." [104]

In visual art

See also: Fairy painting

One of the five Cottingley Fairies photographs

Images of fairies have appeared as illustrations, often in books of fairy tales, as well as in photographic media and sculpture. Some artists known for their depictions of fairies include Cicely Mary Barker, Amy Brown, David Delamare, Meredith Dillman, Gustave Doré, Brian Froud, Warwick Goble, Jasmine Becket-Griffith, Rebecca Guay, Florence Harrison, Alan Lee, Ida Rentoul Outhwaite, Myrea Pettit, Arthur Rackham, Suza Scalora, and Nene Thomas.[105]

The Fairy Doors of Ann Arbor, MI are small doors installed into local buildings. Local children believe these are the front doors of fairy houses, and in some

cases, small furniture, dishes, and various other things can be seen beyond the doors.

The Victorian era was particularly noted for fairy paintings. The Victorian painter Richard Dadd created paintings of fairy-folk with a sinister and malign tone. Other Victorian artists who depicted fairies include John Anster Fitzgerald, John Atkinson Grimshaw, Daniel Maclise, and Joseph Noel Paton.[106] Interest in fairy-themed art enjoyed a brief renaissance following the publication of the Cottingley Fairies photographs in 1920, and a number of artists turned to painting fairy themes.[citation needed]

Christian belief in fairies

Most Christians have been negative or skeptical regarding creatures such as fairies or nature spirits, but a minority of Christian thinkers have advocated for the reality of fairies in positive terms. One early example is Origen of Alexandria in *Contra Celsum* (8.31) from about the year 248:

We indeed also maintain with regard not only to the fruits of the earth, but to every flowing stream and every breath of air that the ground brings forth those things which are said to grow up naturally — that the water springs in fountains, and refreshes the earth with running streams — that the air is kept pure, and supports the life of those who breathe it, only in consequence of the agency and control of certain beings whom we may call invisible husbandmen and guardians; but we deny that those invisible agents are demons.

About a century later (c. 335), Athanasius of Alexandria gives an exclusively negative assessment of these same creatures (*On the Incarnation* 8.47) as simply "demons ...taking up their abode in springs or rivers or trees or stones and imposing upon simple people by their frauds." While such negative or skeptical ideas remained the majority positions for Christians, some exceptions can be found such as the Scottish minister Robert Kirk who wrote *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* in the later seventeenth century (1691).

In the modern era, C. S. Lewis writes about the possibility of fairies being real in "The Longaevi" (the "Long-livers" or "Long Lived Ones") in his book *The Discarded Image*. Lewis also shared this account of comments by J. R. R. Tolkien within a letter to Arthur Greeves (22 June 1930):

Tolkien once remarked to me that the feeling about home must have been quite different in the days when a family had fed on the produce of the same few miles of country for six generations, and that perhaps this was why they saw nymphs in the fountains and dryads in the woods – they were not mistaken for there was in a sense a real (not metaphorical) connection between them and the countryside. What had been earth and air and later corn, and later still bread, really was in them. We of course who live on a standardised international diet (you may have

had Canadian flour, English meat, Scotch oatmeal, African oranges, & Australian wine to day) are really artificial beings and have no connection (save in sentiment) with any place on earth. We are synthetic men, uprooted. The strength of the hills is not ours.

Tolkien shares more about the possible reality of fairies in a manuscript published posthumously:

If Fairies really exist—independently of Men—then very few of our 'Fairy-stories' have any relation to them... They are a quite separate creation living in another mode. They appear to us in human form (with hands, faces, voices and language similar to our own): this may be their real form and their difference reside in something other than form, or it may be (probably is) only the way in which their presence affects us. Rabbits and eagles may be aware of them quite otherwise. For lack of a better word they may be called spirits, daemons: inherent powers of the created world, deriving more directly and 'earlier' (in terrestrial history) from the creating will of God, but nonetheless created.[107]

American theologian David Bentley Hart

Christian theologians John Milbank and David Bentley Hart have spoken and written about the real existence of fairies[108][109][110][111][112][113][114] as has the Christian philosopher Stephen R. L. Clark.[115][116] Hart was a 2015 Templeton Fellow at the University of Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study and has published the most on this topic including references in multiple interviews and books, especially *Roland in Moonlight*. For example, Hart has written:

Of course mermaids exist. Or, to be more precise, of course water spirits and magical marine beings of every kind are real and numerous and, in certain circumstances, somewhat dangerous. ...The modern reports of real encounters with mermaids or other water-spirits, such as two from Zimbabwe, one from South Africa, three from northeastern India, and so on ...are so ingenuous, well-attested, and credible that only a brute would refuse to believe them [and] there is a real moral imperative in not dismissing such tales as lies or delusions.[117]

Fairies in Non-European culture

Diwata in Philippine mythology are nature spirits or minor deities, often seen as fairies in modern times. The term comes from the Sanskrit "devata" (deity), and they are sometimes linked with fairies called *lambana*. In modern Tagalog, "diwata" means fairy or nymph.[118][119][120][121][122][123] The word is thought to originate from the Sanskrit word *devata*. [124][125] It refers particularly to nature spirits of extraordinary beauty, like Maria Makiling.[126]

In chess

Fairy chess pieces are a generic term for pieces not found in standard chess, yet which do exist in one or more similar games known as chess variants.

See also

General

Apsaras

Dökkálfar and Ljósálfar

Diwata

Fairy godmother

Fairy Investigation Society

Fairy ring § Cultural references

Gnome

Goblin

Houri

Jinn

Kami

Leprechaun

Mimi

Nereid

Nûñnë'hî

Nymph

Peri

Paristan

Rå

Shedim

Sylph

Tooth fairy

Xian

Vila

Will-o'-the-wisp

Yakshini

Popular culture

Donas de fuera – Sicilian fairy-like folklore and witch trials

List of fairy and sprite characters

Artemis Fowl, book series

Carnival Row, TV series

The Chronicles of Prydain, book series

Disney Fairies, multimedia franchise

The Dresden Files, book series

Dungeons & Dragons, tabletop role-playing game

The Fairly OddParents, animated TV series

Lost Girl, TV series

Pathfinder, tabletop role-playing game

Rainbow Magic, book series

Smile PreCure!, anime
The Spiderwick Chronicles, book series
Supernatural, TV series
True Blood, TV series
Winx Club, animated TV series

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 External links

Wikimedia Commons has media related to Fairies.

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Look up *fairy* in Wiktionary, the free dictionary.

Fairies on In Our Time at the BBC

Audio recording of a Scandinavian folktale explaining fairy origins (streaming and downloadable formats)

Audio recording of a traditional fairy story from Newfoundland, Canada (streaming and downloadable formats)

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Fairies in folklore

Classifications of fairies

Related articles

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Abodes and structures

Fairy fortFairylandFairy pathFairy ring

Attested fairies

A–E

AdheneAibellAlp LuachraAnjanaAos Sí (Aes Sídhe)Arkan SonneyAsraiBaobhan sithBansheeBarghestBean nigheBilly BlindBirógBloody BonesBluecapBlue men of the MinchBodachBoggartBogleBoobrieBragBrownieBrown Man of the MuirsBuccaBugganeBugbearBugul NozCaoineagCat sithCù SithCeffyl DŵrClíodhnaClurichaunCoblynauColt pixieCyhyraethDrudeDuendeDuergarDullahanDunnieEach-uisgeElf AlpDökkálfar and LjósálfarElegastErlkingHalf-elfHuldufólkQueen of ElphameSvartálfar

F–L

FachanFairy QueenFear deargFear gortaFenodyreeFinfolkFinvarraFuathGancanaghGhillie DhuGlaistigGlashtynGroac'hGrindylowGwragedd AnnwnGwyllionGwyn ap NuddHabetrotHagHaltijaThe Hedley KowHeinzelmännchenHinzelmännHobHobbididanceHobgoblinHödekinlannic-ann-ôdJack-o'-lanternJack o' the bowlJenny GreenteethJoan the WadJoint-eaterKelpieKilmoulisKnockerKnuckerKoboldKlabautermannKorriganLady of the LakeLazy LaurenceLeanan sídheLeprechaunLubber fiendLutinLy Erg M–Z

MareMargot the fairyMeg MullachMelusineMorrowMooijer veggeyMorgenMorvarc'hMoss peopleNain RougeNelly LongarmsNicnevin/Gyre-CarlingNisseNixieNuckelaveeNuggleOberonPeg PowlerPillywigginsPixiePúca/PwcaPuckRå BergsråHulderRadandeSjöråSkogsråRedcapSchratSebileSelkieSeonaidhShellyco atSleib beggeySluaghSprigganSprite/Water spriteSylphTitaniaTomteTooth fairyTrowTylwyth TegUndineWater bullWater horseWicked fairyWightWill-o'-the-wispWirry-cowXanaYallery BrownYan-gant-y-tan Fairy-like beings worldwide

Worldwide

BogeymanCroneDemon Fallen angelHumanoidJinn IfritLittle peopleMerfolk MermaidMermanUFOVampire

Africa

AbatwaAsanbosamAzizaBultunginElokoJenguKishiMami WataObayifoRompoSimbiTikolosheYumboes

Americas

AluxAnchimayenCaiporaCanotilaChanequeChristmas elfChullachaquiCurupiraEncantadoFastacheeFearsome crittersGrey alienHopkinsville GoblinIshigaqJogahLittle green menMukiNimerigarNordic alienNûñnë'hiPomberoPukwudgieSaciTraucoYunwi Tsunsdi

Asia

ApsaraArchuraDiwataDokkaebiFox spirit Hò ly tinhHuli jingHuxianInari
ŌkamiKitsuneKumihoHyangIrshiKijimunaKorpokkurMazzikinMogwaiMrenh
kongvealOrang bunianPeriPreta Hungry ghostTenninYaksha/YakshiniYōkaiYōsei

Oceania

BunyipManaiaMenehuneMimisMuldjewangkNawaoPatupaiarehePonaturiTaniwha
TipuaWandjinaYara-ma-yha-who

Europe

Eastern

BannikCăpcăunDomovoyleleKarzełekKikimoraLeshyLidércLikhoOvinnikPolevikR
übezahIRusalkaSamodivaSânzianăSirenSpiridușUrsitoryVadleanyVâlvăVântoase
VodyanoyZână

Northern

AitvarasAjatarBadbBlack dogEntGabijaGremlinHalflingHaltijaHeadless
HorsemanHiisiJack FrostJimmy SquarefootLaumaMenninkäinenMorgan Le
FayPictish BeastTrollTuatha Dé Danann

Southern

BasajaunCentaurCercopesCirceDionysusDoñas de
fueraFarfadetFaunHecateHippocampusKallikantzarosKobalosLaminaMairuMouro
Enchanted MouraNymph ListPanSatyrSilenusSirenSquascThiasusTrentiVila

Western

Dames blanchesDusiosDwarflmpLoreleiPerchtaVenus in German
legendVittraWitte Wieven/Weiße Frauen

Cross-regional

Christmas gift-bringer Santa ClausCompanions
ofElementalFatesGoblinGnomeOgreSalamanderSandmanWild man

See also

List of hybrid creatures in folkloreList of beings referred to as fairies

Category

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Categories: FairiesEuropean legendary creaturesFairy tale stock characters

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by region or culture.

Africa

Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German (Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.[1][2]

North Africa

Berber deities

Guanche deities

Egyptian deities

Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth

Sub-Saharan Africa

African deities

Alusi

Yoruba deities

Afro-American religion

Loa

Orisha

Americas

Central America

Aztec deities

Maya deities

North America

Inuit deities

Native (North and South) American deities

South America

Incan deities
Guarani deities
Mapuche deities
Muisca deities
Asia
Caucasus

Armenian deities
Georgian deities
Vainakh deities
Central Asia

Turkic deities
East Asia

Chinese deities
Taoist pure ones
Japanese deities
Korean deities
North Asia

Siberian deities
South Asia

The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity

Buddhas
Buddhist Bodhisattvas
Buddhist deities
Hindu deities
Rigvedic deities (see also Proto-Indo-Iranian religion)
Sri Lankan Tamil local deities
Tamil Nadu local deities
Tirthankara
Southeast Asia

Indonesian deities
Manipuri deities
Ancestral deities of Manipur
King of Gods in Manipuri mythology
King of Serpent deities in Manipuri mythology
Philippine deities
West Asia

Anatolia

Hittite deities
Hurrian deities
Lydian deities
Middle East
Mesopotamian deities
Assyro-Babylonian pantheon (see also Family tree of the Babylonian gods)
Kassite deities
Sumerian deities
Ugaritic deities
Semitic deities
Canaanite deities
Elohim in Abrahamic religions
Pre-Islamic Arabian deities
Jinn
Nabataean deities
Persia
Yazata, see also Proto-Indo-Iranian religion
Elam
Europe
Baltic deities
Latvian deities
Lithuanian deities
Basque deities
Celtic deities
Irish deities
Etruscan deities
Finnic deities
Germanic deities
Anglo-Saxon deities
List of Norse gods and goddesses
Greek deities (see also Greek mythological figures, Twelve Olympians, Ancient Greek religion, Mycenaean deities)
Neoplatonic triad
Hungarian deities
Lusitani deities
Paleo-Balkan deities (Dacian/Illyrian/Thracian)
List of Roman deities
Sami deities
Slavic deities
Thelemic deities
Oceania
Australian Aboriginal deities
Polynesian deities
Hawaiian deities
Māori deities of New Zealand
Rapa Nui deities of Easter Island

References

Jell-Bahlsen 1997, p. 105

Chesi 1997, p. 255)

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Lists of mythological figures

By geography

AfricanAlbanianArabianArmenianAustralian

AboriginalAztecBalkanBasqueBatakCanaaniteCatalanCeltic

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DeitiesMortalsMycenaean

deitiesGuancheHaudenosauneeHawaiianHebrideanIndian-origin religions Hindu

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ListSylhetHittiteHungarianHurrianIndonesianInuitIrishJapaneseKassiteKomiKoreanLakotaLithuanianMāoriMā'ohiMayaMesopotamianMicronesiaMuskogeanMyanm

arNative American

ZapotecOssetianPersianPhilippinePurépechaRomanSamiSamoanSlavicTurkicTuv

aluanUgariticVainakhYoruba

By association

AgricultureArtBeautyChaosDawnCreatorDeathEarthFate and

TimeFertilityFireFortuneHealthHouseholdHuntingKing of the

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

Motif-index

A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

A0 Creator

A100—A199. The gods in general

A101. Supreme God

A104. The Making of the Gods

A107. Gods of Darkness and Light (darkness thought of as evil and light as good).

A109.1. Triple deity

A116. Triplet gods

A111.1. Mother of the gods

A111.2. Father of the Gods

A117.5. Gods as spirits of the deified dead

A131. Gods with animal features

A132.3. Equine god / goddess

A132.5. Bear god / goddess

A132.9. Cattle god / goddess

A161.2. King of the Gods

A177.1. Gods as Dupe or Tricksters

A192. Death or departure of the gods

A193. Gods of Dying-and-rising

A200—A299. Gods of the Upper World

A210. Gods of the Sky

A220. Gods of the Sun

A240. Gods of the Moon

A250. Gods of the Stars

A260. Gods of Light

A270. Gods of the Dawn

A280. Gods of the Weather

A281. Gods of Storms

A282. Gods of the Wind

A284. Gods of Thunder

A287. Gods of Rain
A300—A399. Gods of the Underworld
A310. God of the World of the Dead
A311. Conductor of the Dead
A400—A499. Gods of the Earth (The Human Sphere)
A400. Gods of the Earth
A401. Mother Earth
A405. Gods of Nature
A410. Local Gods
A411. Gods of the Hearth and Household
A415. Gods of Clans or Nations
A420. Gods of Water
A430. Gods of Vegetation
A431. Gods of Fertility
A435. Gods of Trees and Forests
A440. Gods of Animals
A450. Gods of Trades and Professions
A451. Artisan Gods
A452. Gods of Hunting
A454. Gods of Healing
A460. Gods of Abstractions (also Z110. Abstractions personified)
A461. Gods of Wisdom
A463. Gods of Fate
A463.1. the Fates (goddesses who preside over the fates of men)
A464. Gods of Justice
A465. Gods of the Arts
A472. Gods of Sleep
A473. Gods of Wealth
A475. Gods of Love and Lust
A484. Gods of Oaths
A485. Gods of War
A486. the Furies (goddesses of vengeance)
A487. Gods of Death
A490. Miscellaneous Gods of the Earth
A491. God of Travellers
A493. Gods of Fire
A500—A599. Demigods and Culture Heroes
A502. Heroes or demigods as fourth race of men.
A510. Origin of the culture hero (demigod).
A515.1.1. Twin culture heroes.
A521. Culture hero as dupe or trickster.
A531. Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.
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Gods of Doorways and Thresholds
Gods of the Night

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Gods of Smithing
Gods of wine and beer / Goddess
Gods of poppy
Other classifications
Apotheosis
Avatar
Death
Deified heroes
Divine Council
God / Goddess
Horned deity
Imperial Cult
Incarnation
Master of Animals / Potnia Theron
Mother Nature
Reincarnation / Rebirth
Sacred king
Son of God
Theophany
Tutelary deity
Related concepts
Legendary creature
Hybrid
Human hybrid
Liminal being
Pantheon
Spirit
Angel
Demon / Devil
Demonology / Archdemon
Fairy
Geist
Ghost
Holy Spirit
Soul
Water spirit
Lists
Demigods
Ghosts
Goddesses
Legendary creatures
Names of God
Pantheons
Theological demons
Ars Goetia

Sigils

Spirits in grimoires

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Religious cosmology

References

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Category: Lists of deities

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This is an index of lists of deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world.

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Lists of deities by cultural sphere

List of fictional deities

List of goddesses

List of people who have been considered deities; see also apotheosis, Imperial cult and Sacred king

Names of God, names of deities of monotheistic religions

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Religion

Disambiguation icon

This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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This is a list of mythological places which appear in mythological tales, folklore, and varying religious texts.

Egyptian mythology

Name Description

Aaru The heavenly paradise often referred to as the Field Of Reeds, is an underworld realm where Osiris rules in ancient Egyptian mythology.

Akhet An Egyptian hieroglyph that represents the sun rising over a mountain. It is translated as "horizon" or "the place in the sky where the sun rises".[1]

Benben The mound that arose from the primordial waters Nu upon which the creator deity Atum settled in the creation myth of the Heliopolitan form of ancient Egyptian religion.

Duat The Underworld and abode of the dead in Ancient Egyptian religion.

The Indestructibles Two bright stars which, at that time, could always be seen circling the North Pole by ancient Egyptian astronomers.[2]

Land of Manu Western abode of the sun god Ra.[3]

Nun The primordial waters from which the Benben arose at the beginning of the universe, also considered to be a god Nu.

Greek mythology

Name Description

Arcadia A vision of pastoralism and harmony with nature, derived from the Greek province Arkadia which dates to antiquity.

Asphodel Meadows The section of the underworld where ordinary souls were sent to live after death.

Atlantis The legendary (and almost archetypal) lost continent that was supposed to have sunk into the Atlantic Ocean.

Cloud cuckoo landA perfect city between the clouds in the play The Birds by

Aristophanes.

Chryse and Argyre A pair of legendary islands, located in the Indian Ocean and said to be made of gold (chrysos) and silver (argyros).

Elysium (Elysian Fields) In Greek mythology, the final resting place of the souls of the heroic and the virtuous.

Fortunate Isles (Islands of the Blessed) Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, variously treated as a simple geographical location and as a winterless earthly paradise inhabited by the heroes of Greek mythology.

Garden of the Hesperides The sacred garden of Hera from where the gods got their immortality.

Hyperborea Home of the Hyperboreans in the far north of Greece or southern Europe.

Laistrygon Home to a tribe of giant cannibals that Odysseus encountered on his way back home from the Trojan War.

Meropis A gigantic island created purely as a parody of Plato's Atlantis.

Mount Olympus "Olympos" was the name of the home of the Twelve Olympian gods of the ancient Greek world.[4]

Nysa A beautiful valley full of nymphs.

Okeanos The cosmic river encircling the Earth in Ancient Greek cosmology, also sometimes depicted as one of the Titan gods.

Panchaia (Pangaia) A group of islands South of the Arabian peninsula inhabited by several tribes and rich with scented oils. Assumed by some to be the birthplace of the Olympian gods.

Tartaros A pit in the underworld for condemned souls.

Themiskyra The capital city of the Amazons in Greek mythology.

The Underworld Comprising the realms of The Elysium Fields, The Asphodel Meadows and Tartarus.

Norse mythology

Name Description

Alfheim The Land of elves in Norse mythology.

Asgard The high placed city of the gods, built by Odin, chief god of the Norse pantheon.

Biarmaland A geographical area around the White Sea in the northern part of (European) Russia, referred to in Norse sagas.

Fositesland The kingdom of Forseti, the god of Justice.

Gjöll A river that separates the living from the dead in Norse mythology.

Hel (heimr) The underworld in Norse mythology.

Hvergelmir A major spring in Norse mythology.

Jotunheim Land of the giants in Norse mythology.[5]

Kvenland A geographical area referred to in several medieval texts as well as in Norse sagas. The exact location of Kvenland is unknown, though, with several competing theories placing it in either the northern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula or the southwestern part of what is now Finland.

Mímisbrunnr A well associated with the being Mímir, located beneath the world tree Yggdrasil.

Muspelheim Land of fire in Norse mythology.

Niflheim World of cold in Norse mythology.

Niflhel Cold underworld in Norse mythology.

Norumbega A legendary settlement in northeastern North America, connected with attempts to demonstrate Viking incursions in New England.

Svartálfaheimr The land of the Dark Elves in Norse mythology.

Urðarbrunnr A well in Norse mythology.

Valhalla (from Old Norse Valhöll "hall of the slain") is a majestic, enormous hall located in Asgard, ruled over by the god Odin.

Vanaheimr The Land of the Vanir, another tribe of gods, according to Norse legends.

Yggdrasil An immense and central sacred tree in Norse cosmology.

Polynesian and Māori mythology

Name Description

Rarohenga A Māori spirit world for those who favor Papatūānuku The Earth Mother.

Toi O Nga Rangi The Māori spirit world for those who favor Ranginui The Sky Father. Sometimes known as the Sky World or the Summit Of The Heavens

Ao The Polynesian realm of light.

Te Po Polynesian realm of darkness and ancestors.

Hawaiki A mostly universal belief among Oceanian cultures of a realm where all Polynesians descend, particularly the Māori. Not to be confused with the Islands of Hawaii.

Cape Reinga/Te Rerenga Wairua Believed by Māori to be the place where spirits are required to journey through to reach the afterlife.

Indian mythology

Name Description

Amaravati Capital of Svarga, the abode of the devas, ruled by Indra.[6]

Ayotha Amirtha Gangai An important river in Ayyavazhi mythology.

Brahmaloka The abode of Brahma, the Hindu god of creation.

Himavanta A legendary forest that locates at the hill of the Himalayas.

Jambudvīpa Name for the terrestrial universe in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain traditions.

Kailasha The celestial abode of Shiva.

Ketumati A pure land belonging to Maitreya within Buddhism.[7]

Kshira Sagara A divine ocean of milk in Hindu mythology.

Manidvipa The abode of the supreme goddess in Hinduism.

Mayasabha A legendary palace located in Indraprastha, as described in Mahabharata

Mount Mandara A sacred mountain mentioned in the Puranas.

Mount Meru The sacred five-peaked mountain of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology. It is considered to be the center of all the physical, metaphysical, and spiritual universes.

Naraka A realm resembling Hell in Indian religions where souls are temporarily punished before reincarnation.

Nirvana The ultimate state of soteriological release (liberation from repeated rebirth) commonly associated with Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism.

Patala The netherworld of Indian religions.

Pialral A heaven for great achievers of the Mizo Tribes of Northeast India.

Samavasarana Meeting place of the tirthankaras in Jainism.

Sanzu River A mythological river in Japanese Buddhism.

Shakadvipa A land mass west of the Ural Mountains in Hindu mythology.

Shambhala In Tibetan Buddhist tradition, a kingdom hidden somewhere in the Himalayas; Theosophists regard it as the home on the etheric plane of the governing deity of the earth, Sanat Kumara.

Siddhashila The place where souls who have escaped the cycle of reincarnation and attained moksha go according to the cosmology of Jainism.

Svarga The abode of the devas in Hinduism.

Tripura three cities or fortresses, is described in Hindu mythology as being constructed by the great Asura architect Mayasura

Thuvaraiyam Pathi In Ayyavazhi mythology, it was a sunken island some 240 km (150 miles) off the south coast of India.

Trāyastriṃśa An important world of the devas in the Buddhist cosmology.

Urdhvaloka Seven upper worlds mentioned in the Puranas.

Uttarakuru Name of a continent (dvipa) in Indian religions.

Vaikuntha The celestial abode of Vishnu.[8]

Vaitarani River situated in hell mentioned in the Garuda Purana and various other Hindu religious texts.

Chinese folk mythology

Name Description

Diyu The realm of the dead or Hell in Chinese mythology.

Eight Pillars A concept from Chinese mythology located in the eight cardinal directions, they are a group of eight mountains or pillars which have been thought to hold up the sky.

Feather Mountain One of many important mythological mountains in Chinese mythology, particularly associated with the Great Flood.

Fusang A mysterious land to the east in Chinese legends.

Jade Mountain A mythological mountain in Chinese mythology and the residence of The Queen Mother of the West.[9]

Kunlun Mountain A place where immortals lived according to Chinese mythology.

Longmen A legendary waterfall in Chinese mythology.

Mount Buzhou An ancient Chinese mythological mountain which, according to old texts, lay to the northwest of the Kunlun Mountains, in a location today referred to as the Pamir Mountains.

Mount Penglai A legendary mountain in Chinese mythology, said to be situated on an island in the Bohai sea, home to Taoist immortals.

Moving Sands One of the obstacles the fictional version of the monk Xuanzang and companions must cross over on their mission to fetch the Buddhist scriptures from India and return them to Tang China.

Red River One of the mythological rivers said to flow from Kunlun, a mythological land, with mountainous features.

Shangri-La A mystical, harmonious valley enclosed in the western end of the

Kunlun Mountains, described in the 1933 novel *Lost Horizon* by English author James Hilton.

Weak River One of the mythological rivers flowing near Kunlun, home of a Western Paradise.

Shangdu (Xanadu) The summer capital of Kublai Khan's Yuan empire became a mythological place and a metaphor for splendor and opulence, popularised by the 1816 poem *Kubla Khan* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Abrahamic mythology

Name Description

Antillia An island from an old Iberian legend set during the Muslim conquest of Hispania. The legend says that during this time seven Christian Visigothic bishops, who were fleeing Muslim Conquerors, embarked with their flocks on ships and set sail westwards into the Atlantic Ocean, leading them to an island (Antillia or Isle Of Seven Cities) where they founded seven settlements.

As-Sirāt The bridge which every human must pass on the Yawm al-Qiyamah ("Day of Resurrection") to enter Paradise according to Islam.

Barzakh A place separating the living from the hereafter or a phase/"stage" between an individual's death and their resurrection in "the Hereafter".[10][11][12][13][14]

Bethulia A city whose deliverance by Judith, when besieged by Holofernes, forms the subject of the Book of Judith.

Brig of Dread A bridge to Purgatory that a dead soul had to cross.

Garden of Eden A paradise where humans were first created according to Abrahamic religions and resided until cast out for disobeying God.

Gog and Magog Are mentioned in the Bible and the Quran both as tribes and as their land.

Heaven In Abrahamic religions, the paradise where good people who have died continue to exist.

Hell In some Abrahamic religions, a realm in the afterlife in which evil souls are punished after death.

Hitfun A great dividing river separating the World of Darkness from the World of Light in Mandaean cosmology.[15]

Iram of the Pillars The lost city mentioned in the Quran.

Jabulqa and Jabulsa Two cities mentioned in Shi'i hadith.

Kingdom of Prester John Legendary powerful Christian nation just beyond the Muslim world in medieval romantic literature, first located in South Asia, then Central Asia, then East Africa.

Kolob An astronomical body (star or planet) said to be near the throne of God in Mormon cosmology.

Malakut A proposed invisible realm, featuring in Islamic cosmology.

Matarta A "station" or "toll house" that is located between the World of Light (alma ǧ-nhūra) from Tibil (Earth) in Mandaean cosmology.

Mount of the Temptation The legendary location of Jesus Christ's Temptation, traditionally placed at Jebel Quruntul or 'Ushsh el-Ghurab near Jericho in the West Bank

Nbu The Mandaic name for the planet Mercury.

Pandæmonium The capital of Hell in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Piriawis The sacred life-giving river (yardna) of the World of Light in Mandaean cosmology.

Pleroma Abode of the holy aeons in Gnosticism.

Scholomance A legendary school of black magic run by the Devil himself, located in Hermannstadt (now: Sibiu, Romania). Located in the mountains, south of the city Sibiu, near an unnamed lake.

Siniawis A region in the World of Darkness or underworld.[16]

Yardna A body of flowing fresh water that is suitable for ritual use as baptismal water in Mandaism.[17]

Zarahemla A civilization which was constructed in the ancient Americas, according to Mormon belief.

Zerzura Saharan city known as the "oasis of little birds" rumored to be full of treasure.

Celtic mythologies

Name	Description
Annwn	The "otherworld" of Welsh mythology.
Avalon	Legendary Island of Apples, believed by some to be the final resting place of King Arthur.
Camelot	The city in which King Arthur reigned.
Cantre'r Gwaelod	A legendary ancient sunken kingdom said to have occupied a tract of fertile land lying between Ramsey Island and Bardsey Island.
Celliwig	The earliest named location for the court of King Arthur.
Brasil or Hy-Brasil	A mythical island to the west of Ireland.
Dinas Affaraon/Ffaraon	Legendary site of King Lludd Llaw Eraint's defeat and binding of two dragons. In Lludd and Llefelys it is claimed to be the original placename of Dinas Emrys.
Emain Ablach	A mythical island paradise in Irish mythology.
Fintan's Grave	A mythological cave on the Irish mountain (now hill) <i>Tuinde</i> [18]
Four Treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann	(Gorias, Finias, Murias, and Falias) In Irish Mythology the Tuatha Dé Danann get their four magical treasures from four legendary cities: Gorias in the east; Finias, in the south; Murias in the west; and Falias in the north.
Lyonesse	A country in Arthurian legend, which is said to border Cornwall in England.
Mag Mell	A mythical underworld plain in Irish mythology, achievable only through death or glory. Meaning 'plains of joy', Mag Mell was a hedonistic and pleasurable paradise, usually associated with the sea.
Rocabarraigh	A phantom island in Scottish Gaelic mythology.
Tech Duinn	A mythological island to the west of Ireland where souls go after death.
Tír fo Thuinn	A Celtic Otherworld in Irish mythology, a kingdom under the sea.
Tír na nÓg	The Celtic Otherworld in Irish mythology.
Ys	A city located in Brittany, France that was supposedly built below sea level,

and demolished when the Devil destroyed the dam protecting it.

Others

Name Description

Abya Yala "saved land", is the name used by the Guna people.

Adiri Afterlife in Kiwai mythology.[19]

Adlivun, Adliparmiut, and Qudlivun Afterlives in Central Inuit mythology.

Adlivun and Adliparmiut are described as lands of misery, whereas Qudlivun is a land of happiness.[20]

Akilineq Legendary location in Inuit mythology, believed to either be entirely mythical, or possibly Labrador Peninsula, Baffin Island, or even Iceland.

Alatyr A sacred stone, the "father to all stones", the navel of the earth, containing sacred letters and endowed with healing properties in East Slavic legends.

Alomkik A place accessible to the Abenaki peoples' mythological protector Pamola, where he holds those who trespass on Maine's Mount Katahdin.

Altjira A legendary era accessible during dreamtime in many Australian Aboriginal beliefs.

al-Wakwak Island of tree growing little children.

Axis mundi The center of the world or the connection between Heaven and Earth in various religions and mythologies.

Aztlán Legendary original homeland of the Mexica people in Mexica/Aztec mythology.

Bald Mountain A location in Slavic folk mythology related to witchcraft.

Baltia An island of amber somewhere in northern Europe.

Biringan city A mythical city that is said to invisibly lie between Gandara, Tarangnan, and Pagsanghan in Samar province of the Philippines. Biringan means "the black city" or the city of the Unknown in Waray.

Brittia A mythical island off the coast of Austrasia.

Buyan A mysterious island with the ability to appear and disappear using tides in Russian mythology.

Chinvat Bridge The sifting bridge,[21] which separates the world of the living from the world of the dead in Zoroastrianism.

City of the Caesars A city between a mountain of gold and another of diamonds supposed to be situated in Patagonia.

Cockaigne In medieval mythology,[which?] it is a land of plenty where want does not exist.

Domdaniel Cavernous hall at the bottom of the ocean where evil magicians, spirits, and gnomes meet.

El Dorado Rumored city of gold in South America.[22]

Empire of Kitara Legendary ancient empire in Western Region, Uganda

Fountain of Youth A place, detailed in many legends around the world, where one may drink of or bathe in its waters to restore their youth.

Fiddler's Green In 19th-century English maritime folklore, it was a kind of after-life for sailors who had served at least fifty years at sea.

Hara Berezaiti A legendary mountain around which the stars and planets revolve from the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures of the Avesta.

Hubur A Sumerian term meaning "river", "watercourse" or "netherworld".

Irkalla The underworld from which there is no return in Babylonian mythology.
Kalunga line A watery boundary between the world of the living and the dead in religious traditions of the Congo region.

Karshvar Legendary continents according to Avesta.

Kingdom of Opona A mythical kingdom in Russian folklore.

Kingdom of Reynes A country mentioned in the Middle English romance *King Horn*.

Kingdom of Saguenay According to the French, an Iroquoian story of a kingdom of blonde men rich in gold and fur that existed in northern Canada prior to French colonization.

Kitezh A legendary city beneath the waters of Lake Svetloyar.

Kyöpelinvuori (Finnish for ghosts' mountain), in Finnish mythology, is the place which dead women haunt.

La Canela Also known as the Valley of Cinnamon, is a legendary location in South America.

La Ciudad Blanca "The White city", a legendary city of Honduras.

Lake Parime An enormous lake in northeastern South America, supposedly the site of El Dorado.

Land of Darkness A mythical land supposedly enshrouded in perpetual darkness.

Lemuria A hypothetical "lost land" variously located in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Lintukoto In Finnish mythology, a paradise-like place where birds migrate every winter; because it was located near the edge of the sky dome, the sky was very close to the ground and therefore its inhabitants were dwarves.

Lost City of Z An indigenous city that Col. Percy Harrison Fawcett believed had existed in the jungle of the Mato Grosso state of Brazil.

Lukomorye An ancient region in Russian lands.

Mahoroba A far-off land full of bliss and peace, similar to Arcadia.

Mictlan The afterworld of the Mexica.

Mu A hypothetical continent that allegedly disappeared at the dawn of human history.

Nibiru A mythological planet described by the Babylonians.

Onigashima A mythical island of oni visited by the character Momotarō in Japanese folklore.

Paititi A legendary Inca lost city or utopian rich land said to lie east of the Andes.

Pohjola The realm of Louhi in Finnish mythology, literally translated its name means "North".

Quivira and Cíbola Two of the legendary Seven Cities of Gold supposed by Spanish conquistadors to have existed in the Americas.

Ryūgū-jō The undersea palace of Ryūjin, the dragon kami of the sea.

Section 37 Paul Bunyan's legendary camp. So large that it took half a day to walk around, with the kitchen itself being two-mile (3.2 km) long with nine cooks and seventy-five flunkies in its early days.[23]

Sierra de la Plata (Spanish: Silver Mountains), was a legendary treasury of silver that was believed to be located in South America.

Silat Bridge The Silat Bridge is a bridge in Lalish, Iraq that leads to the most holy Yazidi shrine in Yazidism.

Suddene A country found in the Middle English romance King Horn.

Summerland The name given by Theosophists, Wiccans and some earth-based contemporary pagan religions to their conceptualization of an (mostly pastoral) afterlife.

Takama-ga-hara The dwelling place of the Shinto kami.

Thule An island somewhere in the belt of Scandinavia, northern Great Britain, Iceland, and Greenland.

Vineta A mythical city at the southern coast of the Baltic Sea.

Vyraj A mythical place in Slavic mythology, where "birds fly for the winter and souls go after death".

Westernesse A country found in the Middle English romance King Horn.

Xibalba The underworld in Mayan mythology.

Yomi The land of the dead according to Shinto mythology, as related in the Kojiki.

Yomotsu Hirasaka A slope or boundary between this world, where the living live, and the other world, where the dead live (Yomi).

Zabag Former kingdom in Southeast Asia.

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Continents of Earth

Africa

Antarctica

Asia

Australia

Europe

North America

South America

Afro-Eurasia

Americas

Eurasia

Oceania

Prehistoric supercontinents

ColumbiaGondwanaKenorlandLaurasiaNenaPangaeaPannotiaRodiniaUrVaalbara

Other prehistoric continents

AmazoniaArcticaAsiamericaAtlanticaAvaloniaBalticaChileniaCimmeriaCongo

CratonCuyaniaEast

AntarcticaEuramericaKalahariaKazakhstaniaLaramidiaLaurentiaNorth

ChinaPampiaSahulSiberiaSouth China

Submerged continent/lands and microcontinents

BeringiaCathaysialcelandDavis StraitDoggerlandGreat Australian BightJan

MayenKerguelen PlateauMadagascarMauritiaRockall

BasinSahulSeychellesSundaZealandia

Possible future supercontinents

AmasiaAuricaNovopangaeaPangaea Proxima

Mythical, lost, and hypothesised continents

AtlantisHyperboreaKumari KandamLemuriaMeropisMuTerra Australis

Subcontinents

AlaskaArabiaCentral AmericaEastern AfricaEastern SiberiaGreenland

(Territory)Indian Subcontinent

See also: World portalRegions of the worldContinental fragment

CategoryChronology of continents

Categories: Lists of fictional locationsMythology-related listsMythological places

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List of nature deities

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A Greek dryad depicted in a painting

In religion, a nature deity is a deity in charge of forces of nature, such as water, biological processes, or weather. These deities can also govern natural features such as mountains, trees, or volcanoes. Accepted in animism, pantheism, panentheism, polytheism, deism, totemism, shamanism, Taoism, Hinduism, and paganism, the nature deity can embody a number of archetypes including mother goddess, Mother Nature, or lord of the animals.

African

Akan mythology

Asase Yaa, Mother of the Dead and the goddess of the harsh earth and truth

Asase Afua, the goddess of the lush earth, fertility, love, procreation and farming

Bia, personification of the Bia River and god of the wilderness and wild animals

Tano, personification of the Tano River and god of the river and thunder

Bantu mythology

Jengu, Sawabantu and Duala water spirits

Nyambe, Bantu Supreme deity and god of the sun

Nzambi, Bakongo Sky Father and god of the sun

Nzambici, Bakongo Sky Mother and goddess of the moon and earth

Simbi, Bakongo nature spirits of the water and forest

Egyptian mythology

Ash, god of the oasis and the vineyards of the western Nile Delta

Geb, god of earth

Nut, sky goddess and sister and wife of Geb

Igbo mythology

Ala, Igbo alusi, goddess of the earth, morality, fertility, and creativity

Amadioha, Igbo alusi, god of thunder and lightning

Anyanwu, Igbo alusi, sun goddess of good fortune, knowledge, and wisdom

Voodoo mythology

Mawu-Lisa, Dahomey goddess of creation, the sun, and the moon
Xevioso, Dahomey god of thunder
Yoruba mythology
Aja, Yoruba orisha, patron of whirlwinds, the forest, forest animals, and herbal healers
Okò, Yoruba orisha, patron of new harvest of the white African yam and of hunting
Osanyin, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest, herbs, and healing
Oshosi, Yoruba orisha, patron of the forest and of hunting
Oshun, Yoruba orisha, patron of water, purity, fertility, love, and sensuality
Zulu mythology
iNyanga, Zulu moon goddess
Nomhoyi, Zulu goddess of rivers
Nomkhubulwane, Zulu goddess mother of fertility, rain, agriculture, rainbow, and beer
Unsondo, Zulu god of the sky, sun, thunder, and earthquakes
American
Aztec mythology
Xochipilli, god of art, games, beauty, dance, flowers, maize, and song
Xochiquetzal, goddess of fertility, beauty, female sexuality, protection of young mothers, pregnancy, childbirth, vegetation, flowers, and the crafts of women
Tonantzin, mother goddess
Chicomecōātl, a goddess of agriculture
Brazilian mythology/Guarani mythology
Curupira, a powerful demon or forest spirit and guardian of nature
Haitian Vodou
Baron Samedi, loa of the dead
Grand Bois, loa associated with trees, plants and herbs
L'inglêsou, loa who lives in the wild areas of Haiti and kills anyone who offends him
Loco, loa associated with healers and plants, especially trees
Inca mythology
Pachamama, fertility goddess who presides over planting, harvesting and earthquakes
Maya mythology
Yum Kaax, god of agriculture, wild plants and animals
Native American mythology
Asintmah, Athabaskan earth and nature goddess, and the first woman to walk the earth
Ngen, Mapuche spirits of nature
Asian
Chinese mythology
Dou Mu Niang Niang, Mother Goddess of the Big Dipper
Tai Sui, Star deities of sixty years cycle
Chang'e, moon goddess
Lei Gong, god of thunder

Hou Tu Niang Niang, Mother Earth and Overlord of all Tu Di Gong
Tu Di Gong, earth deity of a specific locality and nearby human communities
Gonggong, ancient god of water
Zhurong, ancient god of fire
Hebo, god of Yellow River
San Shan Guo Wang, lords of the Three Mountains in Southern China

Hinduism

Yaksha, are a broad class of nature spirits. Their female counterpart are known as Yakshini.

Prithvi or Bhumi, goddess regarded as "Mother Earth"; Sanskrit for Earth

Agni, god of fire

Varuna, god of oceans

Vayu, god of wind

Indra, god of rain, lightning and thunders

Aranyani, goddess of the forests and the animals that dwell within it

Japanese mythology

Amaterasu, goddess of the sun

Izanagi, forefather of the gods, god of creation and life and first male

Izanami, Izanagi's wife and sister, goddess of creation and death, first female

Konohanasakuya-hime, the blossom princess and symbol of delicate earthly life

Shinigami, god of death

Suijin, god of water

Fūjin, god of wind

Kagu-tsuchi, god of fire

Susanoo, god of storms, (fertility in Izumo legends), younger brother to

Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi

Tsukuyomi, god of the moon and oceans, younger brother of Amaterasu and older brother of Susanoo

Korean mythology

Dangun, god-king of Gojoseon, god of the mountain

Dokkaebi, nature spirits

Lady Saso, goddess of the mountain

Jacheongbi, goddess of the grain, agriculture, harvest, growth, and nourishment

Jeonggyun Moju, mother of Suro of Geumgwan Gaya and Ijinashi of Daegaya, goddess of the mountain

Jik, god of grains

Sa, god of the earth

Sansin, local mountain gods

Philippine mythology

See also: Anito and Deities of Philippine mythology

Amihan, Tagalog god of the monsoon

Apúng Sinukuan (Maria Sinukuan), Kapampangan mountain goddess associated with Mount Arayat

Dumakulem, god of mountains

Dumangan, a Tagalog god of good harvest

Lakapati or Ikapati, goddess of cultivated land and agriculture[1]

Dayang Masalanta (Maria Makiling), Tagalog mountain goddess associated with Mount Makiling

Mayari goddess of the moon

Kan-Laon, Visayan god of time associated with the volcano Kanlaon

Tala, Tagalog goddess of the morning and evening star

Vietnamese mythology

Ông Trời, god of the heaven/sky and king of the gods

Mẫu Thượng Thiên, goddess of the heavens/skies

Thiên Y A Na, the goddess has the same job as the Mẫu Thượng Thiên

Mẫu Thượng Ngàn, goddess of the mountains and forests

Tản Viên Sơn Thánh, god of Ba Vì mountain range

Mẫu Thoải, the goddess who governs all things related to water

Mẫu Địa, goddess of the earth

Lạc Long Quân, one of the Long Vươngs at the head of the Water Palace

Western Asian

Arab mythology

Dhat-Badan, Yemeni and Horn African goddess of the oasis

Armenian mythology

Ara the Handsome, a dying-and-rising agricultural deity

Aralez, winged dog-like creatures with the ability to resurrect the dead by licking wounds

Areg (Arev) or Ar, god of the Sun

Astlik, deity of fertility and love

Tsovinar, also known as "Nar of the Sea", goddess of waters and the ocean

Mihr, cognate with the Mithra and god of the sun and light

Spandaramet, chthonic goddess of fertility, vineyards, and the underworld

Vishap, a dragon closely associated with water

Hittite mythology

Irpitiga, lord of the earth

Sarruma, god of the mountains

Mesopotamian mythology

Abu, minor Sumerian god of plants

Damu, vegetation god

Emesh, Sumerian god of vegetation

Kishar, goddess representing the earth

Ningishzida, vegetation god

Ninhursag, Sumerian mother goddess associated with the earth and fertility

Ningikuga, Sumerian goddess of reeds and marshes

Ua-Ildak, Babylonian and Akkadian goddess responsible for pastures and poplar trees[2]

Ki, an earth goddess

Enten, god of fertility and agriculture

Persian mythology

Spenta Armaiti, goddess of earth

Ameretat, goddess of vegetation

Haurvatat, goddess associated with water

Anahita, goddess of waters
Tishtrya, god of rain and lightning
Apam Napat, god of waters
Turco-Mongol
Umay, the goddess of nature, love and fertility in Turkic mythology. Also known as Yer Ana.
İye, deities or spirits or natural assets.
Baianai, the god of the forest, animals, and hunt in Turkic mythology.
Ukulan, the god of water in Turkic mythology
European
Baltic mythology
Medeina, Lithuanian goddess of forests, trees, and animals
Zemes mātē, goddess of the earth
Celtic mythology
Abnoba, Gaulish goddess associated with forests and rivers
Artio, Gaulish bear goddess of the wilderness
Arduinna, goddess of the Ardennes forest region
Cernunnos, god associated with horned male animals, produce, and fertility
Druantia, hypothetical Gallic tree goddess proposed by Robert Graves in his 1948 study *The White Goddess*; popular with Neopagans.
Nantosuelta, Gaulish goddess of nature, the earth, fire, and fertility
Sucellus, god of agriculture, forests, and alcoholic drinks
Viridios, god of vegetation, rebirth, and agriculture, possibly cognate with the Green Man
Karærin, Celtic goddess who protects animals and nature
Sínann, Irish goddess, embodiment of the River Shannon, the longest river on Ireland, and a goddess of wisdom
English mythology
Apple Tree Man, the spirit of the oldest apple tree in an orchard[3]
Churnmilk Peg, female guardian spirit of unripe nut thickets
Melsh Dick is the male counterpart to Churnmilk Peg[4]
Etruscan mythology
Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness, wine, health, and growth in all things
Selvans, god of the woodlands
Artumes, goddess of the hunt, woodlands, the night, and the wild
Finnish mythology
Lempo, god of wilderness and archery
Tapio, god and ruler of forests
Mielikki, goddess of forests and the hunt. Wife of Tapio.
Georgian mythology
Dali, goddess of mountain animals such as ibex and deer
Germanic mythology
Ēostre or Ostara, the goddess of spring
Fjörgyn, the female personification of the earth. She is also the mother of the goddess Frigg and, very rarely, mother of Thor
Freyja, goddess of fertility, gold, death, love, beauty, war and magic

Freyr, god of fertility, rain, sunlight, life and summer
Iðunn the goddess of spring who guards the apples that keep the gods eternally young; wife of the god Bragi[5]
Jörð, personification of the earth and the mother of Thor
Nerthus, goddess of the earth, called by the Romans Terra Mater
Njörð, god of the sea, fishing, and fertility
Rán, goddess of the sea, storms, and death
Skaði, goddess of mountains, skiing, winter, archery and hunting
Sif, goddess of earth, fertility, and the harvest
Thor, god of thunder, lightning, weather, oak trees, and fertility
Ullr, god of hunting, archery, skiing, and mountains
Germanic folklore
Nøkken, male water spirit
Elf, beautiful, fairy-like creature that lives in the forest and streams
Greek mythology
Anthousai, flower nymphs
Aphrodite, goddess of love, beauty, pleasure, and fertility
Apollo, god of the sun, light, healing, poetry and music, and archery
Aristaeus, god of shepherds, cheesemaking, beekeeping, honey, honey-mead, olive growing, oil milling, medicinal herbs, hunting, and the Etesian winds
Artemis, goddess of the hunt, the dark, the light, the moon, wild animals, nature, wilderness, childbirth, virginity, fertility, young girls, and health and plague in women and childhood
Auræ, nymphs of the breezes
Chloris, goddess of flowers
Cronus, god of the harvest
Cybele, Phrygian goddess of the fertile earth and wild animals
Demeter, goddess of the harvest, crops, the fertility of the earth, grains, and the seasons
Dionysus, god of wine, vegetation, pleasure, madness, and festivity. The Roman equivalent is Bacchus.[6]
Dryads, tree and forest nymphs
Epimeliades, nymphs of highland pastures and protectors of sheep flocks
Gaia, primal mother goddess and goddess of the earth and its personification
Hamadryades, oak tree dryads
Hegemone, goddess of plants, specifically making them bloom and bear fruit as they were supposed to
Helios, Titan-god of the sun
Horæ, goddesses of the seasons and the natural portions of time
Meliæ, nymphs of honey and the ash tree
Nymphs, nature spirits
Naiades, fresh water nymphs
Nereids, salt-water nymphs
Nyx, Primordial goddess and personification of night
Oceanides, fresh water nymphs
Oreades, mountain nymphs

Oxylus, god of forests & mountains
Pan, god of shepherds, flocks, mountain wilds, and rustic music
Persephone (Kore), goddess of spring growth
Physis, primeval goddess of nature
Rhea, goddess of fertility, motherhood, and the mountain wilds
Satyrs, rustic nature spirits
Selene, Titan-goddess of the moon
Greek rustic deities
Main article: List of Greek deities § Rustic deities
Mari
Mlande, god of the earth
Mlande-Ava, goddess of the earth
Nordic folklore
Rå, Skogsrå, Hulder, beautiful, female forest spirits
Roman mythology
Bacchus – god of wine, nature, pleasure and festivity; equivalent to the Greek god Dionysus
Ceres, goddess of growing plants and motherly relationships; equivalent to the Greek goddess Demeter
Diana, goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness and the moon; equivalent to the Greek goddess Artemis
Faunus, horned god of the forest, plains and fields
Feronia, goddess associated with wildlife, fertility, health and abundance
Flora, goddess of flowers and the spring; equivalent to the Greek goddess Chloris
Fufluns, god of plant life, happiness and health and growth in all things
Liber, cognate for Bacchus/Dionysus
Nemestrinus, god of the forests and woods
Ops, goddess of fertility and the earth
Pilumnus, nature god who ensured children grew properly and stayed healthy
Pomona, goddess of fruit trees, gardens and orchards
Silvanus, tutelary spirit or deity of woods and fields and protector of forests
Terra, primeval goddess personifying the earth; equivalent to the Greek goddess Gaia
Slavic mythology
Berstuk, evil Wendish god of the forest
Jarilo, god of vegetation, fertility, spring, war and harvest
Leshy, a tutelary deity of the forests.
Porewit, god of the woods, who protected lost voyagers and punished those who mistreated the forest
Veles, god of earth, waters and the underworld
Mokosh, East-Slavic goddess of nature
Oceanian
Māori mythology
Papatuanuku, the earth mother
Ranginui, the sky father

Ruaumoko, god of volcanoes and seasons
Tāne, god of forests and of birds
Micronesian mythology
Nei Tituaabine, Kiribati goddess of trees
Toraja
Indo' Ongon-Ongon, goddess of earthquakes
Pong Banggai di Rante, earth goddess
See also
List of deities by classification
List of tree deities
Ekendriya
Master of Animals
Plant soul
Potnia Theron
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Lists of mythological figures

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"[Death-worship](#)" redirects here. For the fictional ideology, see [Political geography of Nineteen Eighty-Four](#) § [Eastasia](#).

Yama, the Hindu god of death and justice, and Lord of Naraka (hell). He was subsequently adopted by Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese mythology as the king of hell.

Maya death god "A" way as a hunter, Classic period

The mythology or religion of most cultures incorporate a god of death or, more frequently, a divine being closely associated with death, an afterlife, or an underworld. They are often amongst the most powerful and important entities in a given tradition, reflecting the fact that death, like birth, is central to the human experience. In religions where a single god is the primary object of worship, the

representation of death is usually that god's antagonist, and the struggle between the two is central to the folklore of the culture. In such dualistic models, the primary deity usually represents good, and the death god embodies evil. Similarly, death worship is used as a derogatory term to accuse certain groups of morally abhorrent practices which set no value on human life. In monotheistic religions, death is commonly personified by an angel or demon standing in opposition to the god.

Occurrence

In polytheistic religions which have a complex system of deities governing various natural phenomena and aspects of human life, it is common to have a deity who is assigned the function of presiding over death. This deity may actually take the life of humans or, more commonly, simply rule over the afterlife in that particular belief system (a single religion may have separate deities performing both tasks). The deity in question may be good, evil, or neutral and simply doing their job, in sharp contrast to a lot of modern portrayals of death deities as all being inherently evil just because death is feared. Hades from Greek mythology is an especially common target. The inclusion of such a "departmental" deity of death in a religion's pantheon is not necessarily the same thing as the glorification of death.

A death deity has a good chance of being either male or female, unlike some functions that seem to steer towards one gender in particular, such as fertility and earth deities being female and storm deities being male. A single religion/mythology may have death gods of more than one gender existing at the same time and they may be envisioned as a married couple ruling over the afterlife together, as with the Aztecs, Greeks, and Romans.

In monotheistic religions, the one god governs both life and death (as well as everything else). However, in practice this manifests in different rituals and traditions and varies according to a number of factors including geography, politics, traditions, and the influence of other religions.

Africa and the Middle East

Section of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Hunefer, depicting the Weighing of the Heart in Duat, featuring the deities Anubis, Ammit and Thoth

Sub-Sahara Africa

Igbo

Ala (Igbo mythology)

Ogbunabali (Igbo mythology)

Yoruba

Eshu (Yoruba religion)

Iku (god) (Yoruba religion)

Akan

Owuo, Akan God of Death and Destruction, and the Personification of death.

Name means death in the Akan language.

Asase Yaa, one half of an Akan Goddess of the barren places on Earth, Truth and is Mother of the Dead

Amokye, Psychopomp in Akan religion who fishes the souls of the dead from the river leading to Asamando, the Akan underworld

Nkrabea, The deity of destiny and fate, believed to influence human fortunes and life paths, as well as their deaths.

Afroasiatic Africa

Somali

Huur, a messenger of Death who had the form of a large bird similar to Horus of ancient Egypt.

Afroasiatic Middle East

Canaanite

Mot

Egyptian

Aker (Egyptian mythology)

Andjety, an old Egyptian god

Anubis, guardian of the dead,[1] mummification, and the afterlife in ancient Egyptian religion

Aqen, a rarely mentioned deity in the Book of the Dead

Assessors of Maat, charged with judging the souls of the dead in the afterlife

Duamutef, one of the four sons of Horus

Hapi, one of the four sons of Horus

Imset, one of the four sons of Horus

Kherty Egyptian earth god

Medjed, an unusual looking god mentioned in the Book of the Dead

Nephthys (NebetHuet), Anubis' mother; sister of Osiris and Isis (Aset); also a guardian of the dead. She was believed to also escort dead souls to Osiris

Nehebkau, the primordial snake and funerary god associated with the afterlife, and one of the forty-two assessors of Maat

Osiris, lord of the Underworld[2]

Qebehsenuef, one of the four sons of Horus

Seker, a falcon god of the Memphite necropolis who was known as a patron of the living, as well as a god of the dead. He is known to be closely tied to Osiris

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria

Wepwawet, a wolf god of war, and brother of Anubis, being seen as one who opened the ways to, and through, Duat, for the spirits of the dead

Mesopotamian

Ereshkigal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),[3][4] first lady of the Underworld

Namtar (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), Ereshkigal's sukkal.

Nergal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology), second lord of the Underworld

Inshushinak (Elamite mythology; also present in the Mesopotamian An-Anum god list.[5])

Nungal (Babylonian mythology), daughter of Ereshkigal

Erra (god)

Ugur (Hurrian religion;[6] also a sukkal of Nergal[7])

Ninazu

Ningishzida

Allani

Enmesharra, a primordial deity described as "lord of the underworld"

Kanisurra, a goddess whose name is derived from the term "ganzer," referring to the underworld (Mesopotamian)

Shuwala, a goddess of Hurrian origin worshipped in Ur

Lagamal, minor underworld deity

Birtum, husband of Manungal

Western Eurasia

European

Albanian

Djall, symbolizes the devil. (Djaj(plural))

Mortja, personification of death. An equivalent of Grim Reaper.(Female)(Mortjet, plural)

Vdekja, personification of death. (Female)

Balto-Finnic

Tuoni (Finnish mythology, Estonian mythology)

Balto-Slavic

Giltinė (Lithuanian mythology)

Māra (Latvian mythology)

Morana (Slavic mythology)

Peckols (Prussian mythology)

Peklenc

Veles

Chernobog (Slavic mythology)

Basque

Herio (Basque mythology)

Celtic

Ankou (Breton people)

Arawn

Cíchol

Crom Cruach

Donn

Mannanan

The Morrigan

Scáthach Goddess of the dead

Germanic

See also: Death in Norse paganism

Rán uses her net to pull a seafarer into the depths in an illustration by Johannes

Gehrts, 1901

Freyja, presides over Fólkvangr; chooses half of those who die in battle

Gefjon, a goddess who oversees those who die as virgins

Hel,[8][9] goddess of the dead and ruler of the land of the same name, Hel,

Odin[8][9] presides over Valhalla and gets half of those who die in battle; there they train for Ragnarök

Rán, the sea goddess who collects the drowned in her net

Etruscan

Aita, god of the underworld

Culga, a female underworld spirit

Februus, god of purification, death, the underworld, and riches

Mani, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of the dead

Mantus, god of the underworld

Orcus, god of the underworld

Tuchulcha, an underworld spirit

Vanth, winged spirit of the underworld

Greek

Hades or Serapis with his dog Cerberus

Achlys, goddess who symbolizes the mist of death. Goddess of poisons, personification of misery and sadness.

Apollo, god of diseases

Atropos, one of the moirai, who cut the thread of life.

Charon, a daimon who acted as ferryman of the dead.

Erebus, the primordial god of darkness, his mists encircled the underworld and filled the hollows of the earth

Erinyes, chthonic deities of vengeance

Hades, king of the underworld and god of the dead[10]

Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, she helped Demeter in the search for Persephone and was allowed to live in the Underworld as her magic works best at night

Hermes, the messenger god who acted as psychopompos

Hypnos, personification of sleep, twin of Thanatos, his Roman counterpart is Somnus

Keres, goddesses of violent death, sisters of Thanatos

Lampades, torch-bearing underworld nymphs

Limos was the goddess of starvation in ancient Greek religion. She was opposed by Demeter, goddess of grain and the harvest with whom Ovid wrote Limos could never meet, and Plutus, the god of wealth and the bounty of rich harvests.[1]

Persephone, queen of the underworld; wife of Hades and goddess of spring growth[11]

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria.

Tartarus, the darkest, deepest part of the underworld, often used for imprisoning enemies of the Olympians

Thanatos, personification of death, Roman counterpart is Mors[12]

Gods of the seven rivers of the underworld:

Acheron, god of the river Acheron

Alpheus, god of the river Alpheus

Cocytus, god of the river Cocytus

Eridanos, god of the river Eridanos

Lethe, goddess of the river Lethe

Phlegethon, god of the river Phlegethon

Styx, goddess of the river Styx, a river that formed a boundary between the living and the dead

Roman

Dea Tacita, goddess of the dead

Di inferi, ancient Roman deities associated with death and the Underworld

Dis Pater, god of the underworld

Laverna, goddess of thieves, cheats, and the underworld

Lemures, the malevolent dead

Libitina, goddess of funerals and burials

Manes, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of death

Mors, personification of death, Greek equivalent is Thanatos

Nenia Dea, goddess of funerals

Orcus, punisher of broken oaths; usually folded in with Pluto

Pluto, ruler of the Underworld

Proserpina, queen of the underworld

Soranus, underworld Sabine god adopted by the Romans

Viduus, god who separated the soul and body after death

Western Asia

Elamite

Inshushinak

Persian-Zoroastrian

Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, the destructive spirit (Persian mythology)[13]

Asto Vidatu or Astiwi had or Asto-widhatu, death deity (Persian mythology)[14]

Ossetian

Aminon, gatekeeper of the underworld.

Barastyr, ruler of the underworld.

Ishtar-Deela, lord of the underworld in Nakh.[15]

Uralic

Azyren (Mari people)

Kalma, Finnish goddess of death and decay, her name meaning "the stench of corpses"[16]

Nga (Nenets)

Tuoni (Finnish mythology), with his wife and children.[17]

Eastern Asia

Korean

Yeom-ra, or Great King Yeom-ra' (King Yama)

Chinese
Yanluo Wang

Yanluo Wang
Emperor(s) of Youdu (Capital City of the Underworld)

Di Guan Da Di
Dong Yue Da Di
Feng Du Da Di
Yanluo Wang (King Yama)
Meng Po
Judges of the Ten Underworld Courts

Jiang Ziwen
Bao Zheng
Dong Ji
Huang Xile
The rest only have surnames including Li, Yu, Lu, Bi, Lu and Xue.

Four Kings of the Underworld

Bao Zheng
Han Qinhu
Fan Zhongyan
Kou Zhun
Ghost Kings of the Five Regions

Cai Yulei
Zhao He
Zhang Heng
Duzi Ren
Zhou Qi
Ghost Kings of the Five Regions (Ver.2)

Shen Cha
Yang Yun
Yan Di (Shenlong)
Ji Kang
Immortal Wang
Governors of Fengdu

Deng Ai
Ji Ming
Imperial Censor of Fengdu

Han Yi

Zeng Yuanshan
Jiao Zhongqing
Ma Zhong
Song Youqing
Guan Yu (note: different from the famous general of three kingdoms)
Wu Lun
Tu Cha
Four Generals of the Direct Altar of Fengdu

Ma Sheng
Ma Chuanzhong
Chen Yuanbo
Guo Zhongyou
Eight Generals of the Inner Altar of Fengdu

Wei Tin, Ghost Capturing General
Liu Chu, Ghost Restraining General
Wang Jian, Ghost Flailing General
Meng E, Ghost Interrogating General
Che Zi, Guardian of the East Gate
Xia Dali, Guardian of the West Gate
Lie Weizhi, Guardian of the South Gate
Sang Tongguai, Guardian of the North Gate
Eight Generals of the Outer Altar of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanlian
Chen Yuanqing
Li Yuande
Fan YuanZhang
Du YuanZhen
Liu Yuanfu
Chang Yuan
Jia Taoyuan
Ten Masters of the Underworld

A Bang, Bull Head
Luo Cha, Horse Face
Xie Bi'an, Wondering God of the Day
Fan Wujiu, Wondering God of the Night
Hei Wuchang (Black Impermanence)
Bai Wuchang (White Impermanence)
Huangfeng (responsible for insects)
Paowei (responsible for animals)
Yusai (responsible for fishes)
Guaiwang (responsible for Hungry Ghosts)
(Note: in some versions, Xie Bi'an and Fanjiu are the Bai Wuchang and Hei

Wuchang, respectively.)

Four Strongmen of Fengdu

**Zhang Yuanzhen, Taiyi Strongman
Hu Wenzhong, Tri-day Strongman
Sun Zhongwu, Demon-smiting Strongman
Tang Bocheng, Ghost-smiting Strongman
Two Agents of Fengdu**

**Xun Gongda, Great God of the Black Sky
Liu Guangzhong, Great God of the Black Fog
Wardens of the Nine Prison of Fengdu**

**Wang Yuanzhen
Zhen Yan
Yao Quan
Shi Tong
Zhou Sheng
Diao Xiao
Kong Sheng
Wu Yan
Wang Tong
Administers of the Six Paths of Rebirth of Fengdu**

**Cao Qing, Administer of the Path of Heaven
Tien Yan, Administer of the Path of Ghosts
Cui Cong, Administer of the Path of Earth
Ji Bie, Administer of the Path of Gods
Chen De, Administer of the Path of Hungry Ghosts
Gao Ren, Administer of the Path of Beasts
Judges of Fengdu**

**Cui (Chief Judge)
Wang Fu
Ban Jian
Zi He
Jia Yuan
Zhao Sheng
Zhang Qi
Yang Tong
Fu Po
Zhu Shun
Li Gong
Xue Zhong
Rong Zhen**

Lu Zhongce

Chen Xun

Huang Shou

Zhou Bi

Bian Shen

Cheng De

Liu Bao

Dong Jie

Guo Yuan

Japanese

Izanami, when she died she became queen of the underworld, Yomi, and goddess of the dead.

Enma, god and ruler of the dead in Japanese Buddhism

Shinigami, god of death

Susanoo

Ōkuninushi, an alternate ruler of the underworld

North and Central Asian mythology

Erlik (Turkic mythology)

Xargi (Siberian mythology)

Oceanian mythology

Wuluwaid (Australian Aboriginal mythology)

Degei (Fijian mythology)

Hine-nui-te-pō (Maori mythology)

Whiro (Maori mythology)

South Asian mythology

See also: Shmashana Adhipati

Hindu

Yama - the god of death & divine judge of afterlife

Chitragupta - Yama's record keeper, keeps account of the good & misdeeds of souls, on the basis of which the dead are judged.

Yamaduta - Spirits under control of Yama, who are responsible for bringing the dead souls into Yama's presence. However, from the anecdote of Satyavan & Savitri, it is shown that even Yama performs this role.

Kāla - the personification of time, also associated with death

Shiva - the god who is the destroyer of the world at the time of pralaya. As Kalantaka, he is also the conqueror of death. As Bhairava, he is strongly associated with death & destruction.

Kali - Shiva's spouse, strongly associated with death & destruction.

Chamunda - A related form of Kali, invoked for seeking death of enemies during wartime.

Tibetan Buddhist

Tibetan Buddhism, like all other Buddhist denominations, affirms the rejection of the existence of souls (anatta) & existence of a creator God (see the theory of dependent origination), while at the same time affirming in the existence of heaven and hell. The beings listed here aren't 'gods of death' in the traditional sense, they are rather beings that invoke a lot of funerary aspect with them.

Citipati - guardian spirits of charnel grounds

Dakini - Female spirits strongly associated with the imagery of death.

Heruka - Beings strongly associated with the imagery of death & charnel grounds

Wrathful deities - Meditational deities invoking the imagery of death.

Southeast Asian mythology

Magwayen

Batara Kala (Balinese mythology), god of the underworld in traditional Javanese and Balinese mythology, ruling over it in a cave along with Setesuyara. Batara Kala is also named the creator of light and the earth. He is also the god of time and destruction, who devours unlucky people. He is related to Hindu concept of Kāla. In mythology, he causes eclipses by trying to eat the Sun or the Moon.

Shingon (nat) (Burmese)

Thongalel (Manipuri mythology)

Pong Lalondong (Toraja), god of death

Philippines

Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures

Tagbayan (Ifugao mythology): divinities associated with death that feast on human souls that are guarded by two headed monsters called kikilan[18]

Fulor (Ifugao mythology): a wood carved into an image of a dead person seated on a death chair; an antique which a spirit in it, who bring sickness, death, and unsuccessful crops when sacrifices are not offered[19]

Kabunyan (Kalanguya mythology): the almighty creator; also referred to as Agmattebew, the spirit who could not be seen; the mabaki ritual is held in the deity's honor during planting, harvesting, birth and death of the people, and other activities for livelihood[20]

Binangewan (Aeta mythology): spirits who bring change, sickness, and death as punishment[21]

Aring Sinukûan (Kapampangan mythology): sun god of war and death, taught the early inhabitants the industry of metallurgy, wood cutting, rice culture and even waging war[22]

Lakandánup (Kapampangan mythology): serpent goddess who comes during total eclipses; followed by famine; eats a person's shadow, which will result in withering and death; daughter of Áring Sínukuan and Dápu[23]

Sidapa (Bisaya mythology): the goddess of death; co-ruler of the middleworld called Kamaritaan, together with Makaptan[18]

Sidapa (Hiligaynon mythology): god who lives in the sacred Mount Madia-as; determines the day of a person's death by marking every newborn's lifespan on a very tall tree on Madya-as[24]

Hangin (Hiligaynon mythology): the spirits of the death wind; takes the life of the elderly[24]

Patag'aes (Suludnon mythology): awaits until midnight then enters the house to have a conversation with the living infant; if he discovers someone is eavesdropping, he will choke the child to death; their conversation creates the fate of the child, on how long the child wants to live and how the child will eventually die, where the child will always get to choose the answers; once done, Patag'aes takes out his measuring stick, computes the child's life span, and then departs, sealing the child's fate[25]

Pamulak Manobo (Bagobo mythology): supreme deity who controls good harvest, rain, wind, life, and death; in some myths, the chief deity is simply referred as the male deity, Diwata[18]

Malakal Maut (Maranao mythology): the angel of death; takes the souls of someone after three to seven days from the falling of the person's leaf from the sacred Sadiarathul Montaha tree in the realm called Sorga; appears either a handsome prince or a grotesque monsters, depending if the soul he is getting comes from a sinner or a virtuous person; punishes the souls of sinners until final judgment, while lifting up the souls of the good onto heaven[26]

Kumakatok - hooded and cloaked harbingers of death that would knock on doors of the dying in Tagalog mythology

Magwayen - the goddess of afterlife and the first ocean deity, according to Visayan mythology. Known for being the goddess who collects souls and takes them to Sulad with her boat. The souls are initially transferred to her via Pandaki, who gets the soul from Sidapa.

Sitan - god and caretaker of the underworld realm for evil souls known as Kasamaan in Tagalog mythology. Maca, the realm of the good dead, is jointly ruled by Sitan and Bathala.

Manduyapit - bring souls across a red river in Manobo mythology[27]

Mama Guayen - ferries souls to the end of the world in Ilonggo mythology[27]

Badadum - deity in Waray mythology that gathers family members at the mouth of a river to make a farewell to the deceased[27]

Vietnam

Diêm Vương (King Yama)

Mạnh Bà

Hắc Bạch Vô Thường, two spirits capture souls.

Đầu Trâu

Mặt Ngựa

American mythology

Mictlāntēcutli

Mictēcacihuātl as depicted in the Codex Borgia

Aztec

Cihuateteo (Aztec mythology), Divine women. Spirits of women who died during labor.

Coatlicue (Aztec mythology), minor goddess of death, as well as the goddess of life and rebirth

Itztlacoliuhqui (Aztec mythology), personification of winter-as-death

Mictēcacihuatl (Aztec mythology),[28] the chief death goddess; Queen of Mictlan (underworld) or Lady of the Dead

Mictlantecuhtli (Aztec mythology), the chief death god; lord of the Underworld[29]

Tlaloc (Aztec mythology), water god and minor death god; ruler of Tlalocan, a separate underworld for those who died from drowning

Xipe Totec (Aztec mythology), hero god, death god; inventor of warfare and master of plagues

Xolotl (Aztec mythology), god of sunset, fire, lightning, and death

Cahuilla

Muut

Guarani

Luison, Guarani mythology

Haida

Ta'xet, Haida mythology

Tia (goddess)

Inca

Supay (Inca mythology)

Vichama (Inca mythology)

Inuit

Aipaloovik

Pana

Latin American Folk Catholicism

Santa Muerte, folk saint and goddess of death in Mexico

San La Muerte, folk saint and god of death in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil

San Pascualito, folk saint and god of death in Guatemala and Mexico

Maya

Camazotz, bat god who resides in the underworld

Cizin

Ixtab

Xtabay

Maya death gods known under various names (Hunhau, Uacmitun Ahau, Ah

Puch, Kisin, Yum Kimil)

Narragansett

Chepi

Taíno

Maquetauire Guayaba

Opiel Guabiron

Umbanda and Candomblé

Exu caveira

Exu Tranca-rua das almas
Haitian Vodou
Gede Iwa

Baron Samedi, Baron La Croix, Baron Cimetiere, Baron Kriminel
Ghede Nibo
Maman Brigitte
See also
Afterlife
Death (personification)
Liminal deity
List of deities
List of night deities
List of fictional demons
List of theological demons
List of ghosts
Psychopomp
Time and fate deities
Sailor Saturn
Veneration of the dead
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The dwelling one went to after death varied depending on where one died, at the battlefield or not. If not at the battlefield, one would go to Hel (not to be confused with the Christian Hell). Of the slain at the battlefield, some went to Fólkvangr, the dwelling of Freyja and some went to Valhalla, the dwelling of Odin (see Grímnismál). The ninth hall is Fólkvangr, where bright Freyja. Decides where the

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vte

Death

vte

Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Death deitiesComparative mythologyLists of deities

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List of Greek deities

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Four large, seated figures, with faces missing

From left to right are seated Hermes, Dionysus (probably), Demeter, and Ares.

Block IV from the east frieze of the Parthenon, c. 438–432 BC.[1]

In ancient Greece, deities were regarded as immortal, anthropomorphic, and powerful.[2] They were conceived of as individual persons, rather than abstract concepts or notions,[3] and were described as being similar to humans in appearance, albeit larger and more beautiful.[4] The emotions and actions of deities were largely the same as those of humans;[5] they frequently engaged in sexual activity,[6] and were jealous and amoral.[7] Deities were considered far more knowledgeable than humans,[8] and it was believed that they conversed in a language of their own.[9] Their immortality, the defining marker of their godhood,[2] meant that they ceased aging after growing to a certain point.[10] In place of blood, their veins flowed with ichor, a substance which was a product of their diet,[11] and conferred upon them their immortality.[10] Divine power allowed the gods to intervene in mortal affairs in various ways: they could cause natural events such as rain, wind, the growing of crops, or epidemics, and were able to dictate the outcomes of complex human events, such as battles or political situations.[12]

As ancient Greek religion was polytheistic,[13] a multiplicity of gods were venerated by the same groups and individuals.[14] The identity of a deity was

demarcated primarily by their name, which could be accompanied by an epithet (a title or surname);[15] religious epithets could refer to specific functions of a god, to connections with other deities, or to a divinity's local forms.[16] The Greeks honoured the gods by means of worship, as they believed deities were capable of bringing to their lives positive outcomes outside their own control.[17] Greek cult, or religious practice, consisted of activities such as sacrifices, prayers, libations, festivals, and the building of temples.[18] By the 8th century BC, most deities were honoured in sanctuaries (*temenē*), sacred areas which often included a temple and dining room,[19] and were typically dedicated to a single deity.[20] Aspects of a god's cult such as the kinds of sacrifices made to them and the placement of their sanctuaries contributed to the distinct conception worshippers had of them.[21]

In addition to a god's name and cult, their character was determined by their mythology (the collection of stories told about them), and their iconography (how they were depicted in ancient Greek art).[22] A deity's mythology told of their deeds (which played a role in establishing their functions) and genealogically linked them to gods with similar functions.[15] The most important works of mythology were the Homeric epics, including the *Iliad* (c. 750–700 BC), an account of a period of the Trojan War, and Hesiod's *Theogony* (c. 700 BC), which presents a genealogy of the pantheon.[23] Myths known throughout Greece had different regional versions, which sometimes presented a distinct view of a god according to local concerns.[24] Some myths attempted to explain the origins of certain cult practices,[25] and some may have arisen from rituals.[26] Artistic representations allow us to understand how deities were depicted over time, and works such as vase paintings can sometimes substantially predate literary sources.[27] Art contributed to how the Greeks conceived of the gods, and depictions would often assign them certain symbols, such as the thunderbolt of Zeus or the trident of Poseidon.[15]

The principal figures of the pantheon were the twelve Olympians,[28] thought to live on Mount Olympus, and to be connected as part of a family.[29] Zeus was considered the chief god of the pantheon, though Athena and Apollo were honoured in a greater number of sanctuaries in major cities, and Dionysus is the deity who has received the most attention in modern scholarship.[30] Beyond the central divinities of the pantheon, the Greek gods were numerous.[31] Some parts of the natural world, such as the earth, sea, or sun, were held as divine throughout Greece, and other natural deities, such as the various nymphs and river gods, were primarily of local significance.[32] Personifications of abstract concepts appeared frequently in Greek art and poetry,[33] though many were also venerated in cult, some as early as the 6th century BC.[34] Groups or societies of deities could be purely mythological in importance, such as the Titans, or they could be the subject of substantial worship, such as the Muses or Charites.[35]

Major deities in Greek religion

The following section is structured after Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion*,

particularly his section "Chapter III: The Gods".[36]

Twelve Olympians

The main deities of the Greek pantheon were the twelve Olympians.[28] They were believed to reside on Mount Olympus,[29] from which they derived their name,[37] and were thought to be connected as part of a familial group,[38] which had Zeus at its head.[29] This family included two generations: the first consisted of children of Cronus and Rhea – Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Demeter, and Hestia – and the second consisted of children of Zeus – Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Hephaestus, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Dionysus (though Aphrodite and Hephaestus were sometimes said not to be children of Zeus).[39] In myth, the Olympians are preceded by another group of gods, the Titans (among them Cronus and Rhea), who are supplanted by Zeus and the Olympian gods in a war known as the Titanomachy, after which Zeus becomes ruler of the gods.[37]

In cult, the notion of the twelve gods (or Dodekatheon) is first attested in the latter half of the 6th century BC, when the Altar of the Twelve Gods was constructed in Athens.[40] Around the same time, the Homeric Hymn to Hermes referred to the division of a sacrifice into twelve pieces,[41] and in 484 BC the poet Pindar mentioned the honouring of twelve gods at Olympia.[42] By the Classical period (c. 5th–4th centuries BC), this idea of twelve gods had become established.[43] Although the Olympians were consistently considered twelve in number, the individual gods which comprised this group of twelve could differ by region; in particular, Hestia and Dionysus were sometimes excluded.[44] Although Hades is the brother of the first-generation Olympians, he was not included among the twelve Olympians because of his residency in the underworld.[45] In addition to the canonical twelve Olympians, there were numerous other gods generally believed to live on Olympus.[46]

Name Image Description

Aphrodite

Ἀφροδίτη

Statue of Aphrodite with short hair and light drapery

The goddess of sexual love and beauty.[47] In Hesiod's Theogony she is born from the castrated genitals of Uranus, and in the Iliad she is the child of Zeus and Dione.[48] She was worshipped throughout the Hellenic world, and her best-known cults were located on the island of Cyprus.[49] Many scholars believe she was Near-Eastern in origin, and others argue she was derived from a Cypriot goddess who contained indigenous elements.[50] In the Odyssey she is the wife of Hephaestus, though she fornicates with Ares, and the two are caught in sexual embrace by an invisible net crafted by her husband.[51] Elsewhere in myth, she has affairs with mortals such as Adonis and Anchises, and provides help to mortal lovers while punishing those who spurn love.[52] In art, she is represented from the 7th century BC as a robed figure, with various nude and semi-nude depictions being produced in the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC).[53] Among her symbols are various birds, especially doves.[54] Her Roman counterpart is

Venus.[55]

Apollo

Ἀπόλλων

Apollo, holding a kithara, beside a black bird

The son of Zeus and Leto, and the twin brother of Artemis.[56] His various functions and associations include healing, music, archery and prophecy,[57] and he has often been characterised as the "most Greek" of the gods.[58]

Apollo's cult existed across the Greek world, and was already dispersed by the beginning of the 7th century BC;[59] it seems to have arrived during the Greek Dark Ages (c. 1180–800 BC).[58] By the 5th century BC, his worship had been introduced to Rome, where he was revered primarily as a god of healing.[60] In mythology, he slays the dragon Python, who guards an oracle of Themis at Delphi, before taking over the shrine for himself.[61] He has numerous love affairs with nymphs and women such as Daphne and Cyrene, and with males such as Hyacinth,[62] though he was often unsuccessful in his amorous pursuits.[63] In art, he is depicted as a youth, usually without a beard,[64] and can be found portrayed as a lyre player or archer.[65] From the 5th century BC, he was often equated with the sun.[66]

Ares

Ἄρης

Statue of Ares, young, seated, and with short hair

The god of war.[67] He is the son of Zeus and Hera,[68] and the lover of Aphrodite,[69] by whom, in the Theogony, he is the father of Deimos, Phobos and Harmonia.[70] His cult was fairly limited,[71] with his temples located mostly on Crete and in the Peloponnese,[72] and he often appeared alongside Aphrodite in cult.[73] In the Iliad, he is depicted in a largely negative manner, as a brash and wild warrior;[72] he supports the Trojan side of the war, and is frequently presented in opposition to Athena.[74] In ancient art, he is depicted early on as a warrior, bearded and generally holding a spear and shield, though in the Classical period (c. 5th–4th centuries BC) he can be found as a beardless and more youthful figure.[75] In Rome, his counterpart was Mars.[76]

Artemis

Ἄρτεμις

Statue of Artemis reaching into her quiver

The daughter of Zeus and Leto, and the twin sister of Apollo.[77] She presided over transitions,[78] and was associated with hunting and the wild.[79] Her cult was the most far-reaching of any goddess,[80] and she presided over female (and male) initiation rites.[81] She was among the oldest of the Greek gods, and was closely linked with Anatolia.[82] In Homeric epic, she is described as a talented hunter who traverses the Arcadian mountains, accompanied by a retinue of nymphs.[83] She remains a young maiden and virgin indefinitely,[84] and men who attempt to violate her chastity generally face severe consequences.[85] She swiftly punishes mortals who display arrogance towards her, or fail to honour her properly,[86] and is said to unexpectedly and suddenly kill mortal women.[87] In art, she is often depicted as a hunter carrying a bow and arrow and wearing a dress, though from the 7th century BC there exist depictions of her as Potnia

Theron ('Mistress of Animals').[88] Her Roman counterpart is Diana.[85]

Athena

Ἀθηνᾶ

Athena, holding a spear and shield, slays a Giant

A daughter of Zeus, who is born from his head after he swallows her mother, Metis.[89] She originated from a Minoan or Mycenaean goddess, and it is likely her name derives from that of Athens.[90] Throughout Greece she was the foremost polis ('city') deity, and in poleis (pl. of 'polis') her temple was typically located on the citadel;[91] the nexus of her worship was the Athenian Acropolis, upon which she had a temple by the 8th or 7th century BC.[92] She is both a virgin goddess and a warrior,[93] and is the patroness of all forms of craftsmanship.[94] In mythology, she competes with Poseidon for the patronage of Athens, besting him by offering its inhabitants the olive tree.[95] She provides aid to male heroes,[96] helping figures such as Heracles, Perseus, and Bellerophon in their quests.[97] In her earliest known artistic depictions, she wears a helmet and carries a spear and lance, and from roughly the early 6th century BC she can be found holding the aegis or a shield adorned with a gorgoneion.[98] Her Roman counterpart is Minerva.[99]

Demeter

Δημήτηρ

Bust of Demeter, wearing a polos

The goddess of agriculture.[100] She is the daughter of Cronus and Rhea, and the mother of Persephone by Zeus.[101] She and her daughter were intimately connected in cult,[102] and the two were honoured in the Thesmophoria festival, which included only women.[103] Demeter presided over the growing of grain, and was responsible for the lives of married women.[104] Her most important myth is that of her daughter's abduction, in which Persephone is stolen by Hades and taken into the underworld.[105] Hearing her daughter's screams as she is taken, Demeter traverses the earth to look for her; local versions of the story tell of her interactions with mortals during the search.[106] This myth, which first survives in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (7th–6th century BC),[107] was central to the Eleusinian Mysteries,[103] the most ancient Greek mystery religion.[108] In art, Demeter is typically depicted as a clothed figure, and her iconographic features include the polos, calathus, sheaf, and torch.[109] Her Roman counterpart is Ceres.[110]

Dionysus

Διόνυσος

Dionysus, riding a cheetah and holding a thyrsus

The son of Zeus and the mortal woman Semele.[111] He is the "most versatile and elusive" Greek deity (according to Albert Henrichs),[112] and is the god who has received the greatest attention in modern scholarship.[113] He is the god of wine, intoxication, and ecstasy,[114] and is associated with theatre, eroticism, masks, and madness.[115] His name is attested in Mycenaean Greece (c. 1750–1050 BC),[116] and on Keos there is evidence of him being worshipped continuously from the 15th century BC.[117] His cult was more far-reaching than that of any other Greek god.[118] His festivals, which existed across the Greek world, often

featured drunkenness and revelry;[119] they included the Anthesteria, the Agrionia, the Rural Dionysia, and the City Dionysia.[120] In myth, his pregnant mother dies upon seeing Zeus in the form in which he appears to Hera, with Zeus stitching the infant into his thigh, from which he is later born.[121] He is accompanied by a retinue of satyrs, maenads, and silenoi, and is said to travel with his followers to locations such as Egypt and India.[122] His artistic depictions are more numerous than those of any other god. Prior to 430 BC, he is portrayed as a bearded and clothed adult, often adorned with an animal skin, while later representations depict him as a beardless, effeminate youth.[119]

Hephaestus

Ἥφαιστος

Hephaestus, handing armour to Thetis

The god of fire and metalworking.[123] He is the son of Hera, either on her own or by Zeus.[124] He is non-Greek in origin,[125] and his cult was probably imported from Anatolia.[126] He was worshipped on the island of Lemnos, and more famously at Athens, where he was linked with Athena.[127] In Homeric epic he is the smith of the gods, who produces creations such as the shield of Achilles;[128] he has crippled feet, and is an outcast among the Olympians.[129] He is said to be hurled from Olympus as an infant, either by Zeus (landing on Lemnos) or by Hera (landing in the sea).[130] His wife is either the unfaithful Aphrodite or Aglaea, one of the Charites.[124] In art, he is depicted as wearing a pilos from the 5th century BC, and can be found holding an axe or hammer.[131] His Roman counterpart is Vulcan.[132]

Hera

Ἥρα

Statue of Hera, holding a staff

The wife of Zeus, and the daughter of Cronus and Rhea.[133] She is strongly associated with marriage,[134] and is the queen of the gods.[135] She probably descended from a goddess who was worshipped in Mycenaean Greece (c. 1750–1050 BC).[136] She had some of the oldest sanctuaries, which often contained immense temples,[137] and her two most important locations of worship were the Heraion of Argos and the island of Samos.[135] She was venerated in her role as the wife of Zeus, and as a city goddess.[136] By her husband she is the mother of Ares, Hebe, and Eileithyia,[138] and in myth she is a jealous wife who torments Zeus's mistresses and other children.[139] In artistic depictions featuring groups, she can sometimes be distinguished as a figure in bride's attire, accompanying Zeus, and in scenes of hieros gamos ('sacred marriage') she is portrayed as a matronly figure. Features of her depictions include clothing drawn around her head (similarly to a veil), the patera, the sceptre, and the pomegranate.[140] Her Roman counterpart is Juno.[141]

Hermes

Ἑρμῆς

Statue of Hermes, nude and with drapery over his arm

The son of Zeus and the nymph Maia.[142] He is the messenger and herald of the gods,[143] the god of boundaries and their crossing,[144] and a trickster deity.[145] He probably derives from a god of Mycenaean Greece (c. 1750–1050

BC), and the most ancient location of his cult was the region of Arcadia, where his worship was especially prevalent.[146] His cult was spread through the Peloponnese, and existed in a particularly old form in Athens.[147] He was closely linked with herms (stone statues which marked various kinds of boundaries), and was the patron of shepherds, especially young men whose job it was to protect crops from cattle.[148] In myth, he steals the cattle of Apollo as a new-born, eventually receiving the herd from the god by gifting him the lyre, which he creates from a tortoise's shell.[149] In art, his symbols include the caduceus, the petasos (or pilos), and his winged sandals. He is a bearded figure prior to the 4th century BC, after which beardless depictions begin appearing.[150] His Roman counterpart is Mercury.[151]

Hestia

Ἑστία

Upper portion of a statue of Hestia

The goddess of the hearth.[152] She is the daughter of Cronus and Rhea.[153] Her role in mythology is minimal,[154] and she is never fully anthropomorphic.[31] In cultic activity, she is always the deity who receives the first offering or prayer, and she was venerated in each city's communal hearth, or prytaneion.[155] She is a virgin goddess, who forever retains her chastity, and rejects the advances of male deities such as Apollo and Poseidon.[156] Her Roman counterpart is Vesta.[157]

Poseidon

Ποσειδών

Poseidon, robed and holding his trident

The god of the sea, earthquakes, and horses.[158] He is the son of Cronus and Rhea, and the brother of Zeus and Hades.[159] He was an important deity in Mycenaean Greece (c. 1750–1050 BC), and through the archaic period (c. 800–480 BC) his position receded.[160] He had sanctuaries in many coastal locations, though he was also worshipped in inland areas, where he was associated with bodies of water such as pools and streams.[161] His epithets include Hippios (relating to horses), 'Earth-Shaker', and 'Embracer of Earth'.[162] In the Iliad, he and his brothers split the cosmos between themselves, with Poseidon receiving the sea.[163] His wife is Amphitrite, with whom he lives beneath the sea, though he has affairs with numerous women, producing sometimes dangerous or monstrous children.[164] From the 7th century BC, Corinthian votive tablets show him holding his trident and wearing a diadem and chiton. In art, it can be difficult to tell him apart from Zeus, and only from the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC) is he found accompanied by marine life, in a chariot pulled by hippocampi.[165] His Roman counterpart is Neptune.[166]

Zeus

Ζεύς

Bust of Zeus, with full beard and hair

The chief god of the Greek pantheon.[167] He is the king of the gods,[168] and the most powerful deity.[169] He is the son of the Titans Cronus and Rhea, and the husband of Hera.[170] He is the only Greek god who is unquestionably Indo-European in origin,[167] and he is attested in Mycenaean Greece

(c. 1750–1050 BC).[171] His cult existed from the Bronze Age, and was spread across the Greek world, with major temples in Olympia, Athens, and Acragas.[172] His functions and domains are more varied than those of any other Greek god, and over 1000 of his epithets survive.[173] According to Hesiod's Theogony, he attains his power by overthrowing his father and the other Titans in a ten-year war known as the Titanomachy.[174] Through his many amorous encounters with mortal women, he is the father of heroes and progenitors of well-known family lines.[175] Among his symbols are the thunderbolt, the sceptre, and the eagle.[176] In art, from the 6th century BC onwards he is often shown sitting on a throne, or as an upright figure wielding a lightning bolt. His lusting after women is also frequently found on vase paintings of the 5th century BC.[177] His Roman counterpart is Jupiter, also referred to as Jove.[178]

Chthonic deities

The word "chthonic" is applied to deities who were believed to inhabit the underworld or to be otherwise subterranean in nature, and who were associated with fertility or the dead.[179] Hades and Persephone, the rulers of the underworld, were the principal chthonic deities.[180] They were not the only gods held as chthonic, though such figures were typically only alluded to, and were referenced with apprehension.[181]

Name Image Description

Hades

Ἅιδης Bust of Hades, bearded Ruler of the underworld and of the dead.[182] He is the child of Cronus and Rhea, and the consort of Persephone.[183] In the Iliad, Hades and his brothers, Poseidon and Zeus, split the world between themselves, with Hades receiving the underworld.[184] He is mentioned under names such as Plouton and "chthonian Zeus", and his epithets include Klymenos ('Renowned') and Eubouleus ('Good Counsellor').[185] In myth, he kidnaps Persephone with Zeus's assent, and takes her into the underworld. While there, she consumes some of his food, forcing her to henceforth spend part of each year in the underworld.[186] He had virtually no role in cult, and was instead worshipped in the form of Plouton (whose cult existed across the Greek world).[187] In artistic depictions, he often holds a sceptre or key, and his appearance is similar to that of Zeus.[188] His name can also denote the underworld itself.[189]

Persephone

Περσεφόνη

Head of Persephone, grey and broken at top

Daughter of Zeus and Demeter.[190] She is the wife of Hades, and queen of the underworld.[191] In her central myth, first narrated in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (7th–6th century BC), she is seized by Hades while frolicking in a meadow, and carried into the underworld.[192] Zeus asks for her return, but she consumes pomegranate seeds during her stay, and so is forced to spend a part of each year from then on in the underworld.[193] She was frequently found alongside her mother in cult, and the two were honoured in the Thesmophoria festival,[194] as well as the Eleusinian Mysteries.[195] In some places, she was worshipped in conjunction with her husband.[196] In myth, she can also be found

in the role of queen of the underworld, a domain over which she has substantial control; she is described as helping certain mortals, such as Heracles and Sisyphus, when they are in the underworld.[197]

Plouton

Πλούτων

Upper portion of statue of Plouton

A name for the ruler of the underworld, who is also known as Hades.[198] Plouton is attested from around the beginning of the 5th century BC,[199] before which he is a distinct deity from Hades.[187] The name Plouton is a euphemistic title, which alludes to the riches that exist beneath the earth.[198] He appears in cult linked with Persephone and Demeter, and prior to the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC) his worship is attested almost exclusively in Attica, particularly in relation to the Eleusinian Mysteries.[200] In art, he is depicted with a beard (which is sometimes white), carrying a cornucopia or sceptre.[201]

Lesser deities

Name Image Description

Eileithyia

Εἰλείθυια

Detail of vase, showing Zeus, Athena, and Eileithyia

A goddess associated with birth.[31] In the Theogony, she is the daughter of Zeus and Hera.[202] She is attested in the Bronze Age,[203] and was worshipped at a cave in Amnisos on Crete as early as the Middle Minoan period (c. 2100–1700 BC).[204] She was venerated mostly by women,[205] and in the archaic period (c. 800–480 BC) her worship was found most prominently on Crete, in the Peloponnese, and in the Cyclades.[206] She was also worshipped in a number of locations as an aspect of Artemis.[207]

Enyalios

Ἐνυάλιος

A war god.[208] He is associated in particular with close-quarters fighting, though the degree to which he is a separate deity from Ares has been debated since antiquity.[209] He is mentioned as early as the Mycenaean period (c. 1750–1050 BC),[210] and his worship is most clearly attested in the Peloponnese; he possessed a cult in Sparta, where there sat a statue of him bound in chains.[211] In literature, he is little more than an epithet or byname for Ares.[212]

Hecate

Ἑκάτη

Hecate on a frieze, robed and holding a shield

A goddess associated with ghosts and magic.[213] In the Theogony, she is the daughter of Perses and Asteria.[214] She emerged in Caria in Anatolia, and her worship seems to have been taken up by the Greeks during the archaic period (c. 800–480 BC).[215] She is attested in Athens in the 6th century BC, and statues of her stood guard throughout the city by the Classical period (c. 5th–4th centuries BC).[216] She is absent from Homeric epic, and Hesiod celebrates her in a section of his Theogony, treating her as a mighty goddess who helps various members of society.[217] She was believed to be accompanied by the ghosts of maidens and women who died childless, and was linked with dogs and their

sacrifice.[218] Beginning in the 5th century BC, she was assimilated with Artemis.[205] In art, she is depicted with either one or three faces (and sometimes three bodies), and is frequently found wearing a polos and carrying torches.[219]

Pan

Πάν

Statue of Pan copulating with a goat

The god of shepherds and goatherds.[220] He originated from the region of Arcadia, and was conceived of as partly human and partly goat.[221] During the 5th century BC, his worship spread to Athens from Arcadia, before being dispersed across the Greek world.[222] He was venerated in caves, sometimes in conjunction with Hermes and the nymphs.[221] There are numerous conflicting versions of his parentage,[223] and in myth he roams the mountains and plays the syrinx.[224] He is a lecherous figure who lusts after both nymphs and young men,[225] though he typically has little success in his amorous pursuits.[226] In art, he is commonly portrayed as ithyphallic.[227]

Prometheus

Προμηθεύς

An eagle pecks at the midriff of a tied Prometheus

The son of the Titan Iapetus.[228] He is credited with the creation of mankind, producing the first human from a lump of clay.[229] He is said to bring fire to humanity, after covertly stealing it from Olympus. This action earns him the punishment of Zeus, who has him attached to a rock face in the Caucasus Mountains, where each day an eagle tears apart his liver, which regenerates over the following night.[230] He is later set free from his punishment by Heracles.[231] The image of his punishment is found in art as early as the 7th century BC, and he is typically portrayed as a bearded figure with an unclothed body and arms bound, while the eagle hovers overhead.[232]

Leto

Λητώ

Leto, standing and robed

The mother of Apollo and Artemis by Zeus.[233] She is the daughter of the Titans Coeus and Phoebe.[234] When pregnant with her twins, she travels to find somewhere she can give birth, but is rebuffed in each location (in some accounts because of the efforts of a jealous Hera), before arriving on Delos, where she eventually delivers both children (though in an early version Artemis is born instead on Ortygia).[235] In cult, she was frequently linked with her children,[236] though in Anatolia she had more importance as an individual, and from the 6th century BC she was worshipped at the Letoon in Lycia.[237]

Leucothea

Λευκοθέα

Head of Leucothea, with expansive hair

A sea goddess.[238] In myth, she is originally a mortal woman named Ino, who flees from her frenzied husband with her young son, Melicertes, in her arms. She jumps into the sea, taking her son with her, and the two are deified, becoming Leucothea and Palaemon, respectively.[239] Leucothea was venerated across the Mediterranean world,[240] and was linked with initiation rites, a connection which

is probably responsible for her identification with Ino.[241]

Thetis

Θέτις

Detail of Thetis's face, with short hair

The mother of Achilles.[242] She is one of the Nereids, the daughters of Nereus and Doris.[243] She is courted by Poseidon and Zeus until they hear of a prophecy that any son she bears will overthrow his father, prompting Zeus to wed Thetis to the hero Peleus.[244] Prior to their marriage, Peleus pursues her, with her transforming into different shapes as she flees.[245] After the birth of Achilles, she burns her son in an attempt to make him immortal, an action which leads to the end of her marriage.[246] Her cult existed in Thessaly and Sparta,[240] and she was a popular subject in vase paintings, particularly in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.[247]

Nature deities

While many of the major Greek gods were associated with aspects of nature, various lesser deities are classed as nature gods because they personify particular parts of the natural world.[248] Some such deities stood for parts of nature that played a role in the lives of all people – such as the earth, sea, sun, moon, and winds – and so were held as divine throughout Greece (though these gods did not experience the same development in myth and cult as figures such as the Olympians).[32] Other nature deities – the river gods and nymphs,[249] who represented features of the landscape such as rivers, springs, or mountains – were individually worshipped only in a specific town or area.[250] They were numerous, and their cults were found throughout the Greek world.[251]

Name Image Description

Achelous

Ἀχελῷος

Monochrome illustration of a serpentine Achelous fighting Heracles

One of the river gods, sons of Oceanus and Tethys.[252] He was the god of the Achelous River,[253] the largest river in Greece.[254] The oracle of Zeus at Dodona helped to spread his worship,[255] which began to recede in the 4th century BC.[255] He was often venerated alongside the nymphs.[256] In myth, he fights the hero Heracles for the hand of Deianeira, assuming multiple forms in the battle, including that of a bull; he is beaten when Heracles snaps one of his horns from his head.[257]

Anemoi

ἄνεμοι

Mosaic of a winged Zephyrus

The personifications of the winds.[258] They are typically four in number – Zephyrus (West Wind), Boreas (North Wind), Notus (South Wind), and Eurus (East Wind)[259] – though Hesiod, who describes them as children of Eos and Astraeus, omits Eurus.[260] There survives a reference to a "Priestess of the Winds" from the Mycenaean period (c. 1750–1050 BC), and, of the four winds, Boreas and Zephyrus were individually worshipped in antiquity.[261] In myth, Boreas is said to kidnap the Athenian princess Orithyia.[262]

Gaia

Γαῖα

Upper body of Gaia, with long hair, on a frieze

The personification and goddess of the earth.[263] In Hesiod's Theogony, she is one of the earliest beings in existence, and the progenitor of an extensive genealogy,[264] producing figures such as Uranus and Pontus on her own, and the Titans, Cyclopes, and Hecatoncheires by Uranus.[265] She is capable of prophecy, and is said to precede Apollo as the owner of the oracle of Delphi.[266] In cult, she was more commonly referred to as Ge, and was often venerated alongside Zeus.[211] Her worship existed primarily outside of the polis ('city'),[267] though she was venerated in Athens under the epithet Kourotrophos.[268]

Helios

Ἥλιος

Helios, flying a four-horse chariot

The sun and its god.[269] He is the son of the Titans Hyperion and Theia.[270] He is said to travel through the sky each day in a horse-pulled chariot, making his way from east to west. Each night he drifts back to the east in a bowl, through Oceanus (the river thought to wrap around the earth).[271] Though the sun was universally viewed as divine in Classical Greece, it received relatively little worship.[272] The most important location of Helios's cult was the island of Rhodes, where he was the subject of the Colossus of Rhodes.[273] He was commonly called upon in oaths, as it was believed he could witness everything across the earth.[274] He was assimilated with Apollo by the 5th century BC, though their equation was not established until later on.[275]

River gods

ποταμοί

Mosaic of a reclining elderly river god

The 3000 male offspring of Oceanus and Tethys, and brothers of the Oceanids.[276] River gods were often locally worshipped in Greek cities, and seen as a representation of a city's identity.[277] Their worship was developed by the time of Homer (c. 750–700 BC);[278] a river god was given a sanctuary in his city, and was honoured with sacrifices of youths' hair.[35] The only river god worshipped throughout Greece was Achelous.[256] Their iconography includes the melding of the human form with bull-like features.[279] Other river gods include Eridanos, Alpheus, and Scamander.[280]

Other deities with cults

Name Image Description

Asclepius

Ἀσκληπιός

Bust of Asclepius, with a beard and hat

God of healing and medicine.[281] In mythology, he is described as a mortal hero,[282] a son of Apollo and Coronis in the usual tradition.[283] While pregnant, Coronis weds the mortal Ischys, leading Apollo to kill her and rescue the infant in the process.[284] Asclepius grows up to become a skilled healer, capable even of bringing the deceased back to life, an activity which leads Zeus to strike him

down with lightning.[285] During the archaic era (c. 800–480 BC), his worship was probably centred in Tricca and Messenia, spreading further abroad towards the end of the period.[286] His cult at Epidauros emerged around 500 BC, and in the late 5th century BC he had two sanctuaries in Athens.[287] He was worshipped alongside family members, such as Hygieia, Machaon, and Podalirius.[288] Artistic depictions of Asclepius often portray him sitting on a throne, or as an upright figure holding a staff laden with a snake.[289]

Cabeiri

Κάβειροι

Vase painting of Cabeiros, reclining, near a snake

A group of divinities venerated in mysteries.[290] Evidence of their worship comes primarily from the island of Lemnos and from Thebes,[291] and they are also attested through the northern Aegean, in Thrace, and at Anthedon.[292] They originated outside of Greece, though there is evidence of their worship in Thebes as early as the 7th century BC.[293] The gods of the mysteries on Samothrace are called Cabeiri by some sources, though only Megaloi Theoi ('Great Gods') and Theoi ('Gods') are mentioned in epigraphic evidence from the island.[294] The Cabeiri are commonly associated with other groups of divinities – such as the Kouretes, Corybantes, and Idaean Dactyls[295] – and their number varies by source.[296] Some authors call them the offspring of Hephaestus.[297]

Charites

Χάριτες

White relief of three robed Charites

Goddesses who embody beauty, charm, and grace.[298] In the Theogony there are three Charites – Aglaea, Euphrosyne, and Thalia – who are offspring of Zeus and Eurynome.[299] They are associated with Aphrodite, and are said to be her attendants.[300] The most famous location of their worship was Orchomenus,[301] where they were venerated in the form of three stones.[302] They were also worshipped in Athens and on the island of Paros.[203] In the Iliad, the Charis Pasithea is the wife of Hypnos, while in the Theogony Aglaea is married to Hephaestus.[303]

The Dioscuri

Διόσκουροι

Castor, standing behind a horse, wearing a helmet

A pair of divine twins named Castor and Polydeuces.[304] The Iliad calls Helen of Troy their sister and Tyndareus their father, though in later sources Polydeuces is the son of Zeus.[305] They are generally considered Indo-European in origin.[306] They were venerated across Greece, with Sparta regarded in antiquity as their primary location of worship.[305] In myth, they are often involved in disputes with other pairs of figures, such as Lynceus and Idas, whose wives they steal, causing a battle (or, in an earlier version, the dispute arises over cattle).[307] They are also said to retrieve a kidnapped Helen from Attica.[308] In art, their symbols include horses, piloi, and stars.[309]

Heracles

Ἡρακλῆς

Heracles, holding a club and bow

The mightiest of the Greek heroes.[310] He is the son of Zeus and Alcmene,[311] and was considered both a hero and a god.[312] He was worshipped throughout the Greek world (though to a limited extent in Crete), and his cults resembled those of the gods.[313] His cult on the island of Thasos was among his oldest, and he was worshipped in numerous locations in Attica.[314] In Thebes, his cult existed as early as the time of Homer (c. 750–700 BC).[315] In myth, he is said to complete twelve labours on the command of Eurystheus;[316] the canonical set of labours is established by around the end of the archaic era (c. 800–480 BC). His myths often involve him fighting monstrous beasts or humanoid creatures.[317] In art, scenes from his labours survive from the 8th century BC onwards,[318] and his attributes include his cape (made from the Nemean lion's fur), a club, and a bow.[319]

Muses

Μούσαι

Relief of three robed Muses

Goddesses responsible for inspiring poets and others engaged in creative and intellectual pursuits.[320] In the Theogony, they are the nine daughters of Zeus and the Titan Mnemosyne.[321] Their earliest site of worship was on Mount Olympus,[322] and there was a sanctuary to them at the foot of Mount Helicon.[323] There are different sets of Muses mentioned in relation to different locations,[324] and particular areas of creative activity are said to be governed by individual Muses.[325] As a group, they are commonly associated with Apollo.[326]

Foreign deities worshipped in Greece

Greek poleis (sg.: polis, 'city') were able to adopt new gods fairly easily, a process which involved the deity's inclusion in the existing pantheon of the polis, and the starting of a cult in their honour.[327] Some deities were introduced from abroad (such as Cybele), experiencing some amount of alteration as a result, and others were original creations (such as Serapis), who took from existing divinities of different origins.[328] The choice to adopt a new deity was largely pragmatic, and seems to have been decided through the regular political systems of the polis.[329] Which gods were considered "foreign" (which could include some gods from elsewhere in Greece) was also determined by the authority of the polis.[330]

In ancient Greece, it was thought that different cultures all revered the same set of deities, who were simply known under various names.[331] Because of this, when the Greeks encountered gods of other cultures, they identified them with their own deities (in a process known as interpretatio).[331] The Greeks also held respect for foreign gods when in the homeland of those deities (without losing the distinct nature of their own gods),[332] and there is evidence of deities from foreign cultures retaining their identities when in the Greek world.[333]

Name Image Description

Adonis

Ἄδωνις

Vase painting including Aphrodite and Adonis

A figure of Levantine origin.[334] He is born of an incestuous union between a Phoenician king and his daughter, Myrrha.[335] Though this genealogy places him as a mortal, in cult he was considered a god.[336] He was worshipped on Lesbos by the beginning of the 6th century BC,[337] and in Athens by the 5th century BC.[336] He was revered primarily by women, who were the participants in the Adonia festival.[338] In myth, he is a young man of great beauty who enchants both Aphrodite and Persephone; it is decided that he spends a part of the year with each goddess.[339]

Ammon

Ἄμμων

Head of Zeus with horns

The principal deity of the Egyptian pantheon.[340] Because of this position, he was equated by the Greeks with Zeus.[341] He was worshipped at the Siwa Oasis from at least the 6th century BC,[342] and during that century his oracle there came to be widely known.[343] Greek attention towards Ammon was due primarily to the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya,[343] and by the 4th century BC he was worshipped in Athens.[344]

Cybele

Κυβέλη

Statue of a robed Cybele, seated

A mother goddess from Anatolia.[345] She is the Anatolian form of a Great Mother goddess, and in Greece she was usually referred to as Meter.[346] During the 6th century BC, her worship proliferated through the Greek world, and in the same century she was introduced in Athens.[347] Upon the spread of her cult, she was identified with Rhea (the mother of the first generation of Olympians), and other goddesses such as Gaia and Demeter;[348] she may also have been identified with an indigenous mother goddess.[349] In artistic depictions, she is found seated on a throne, accompanied by lions and holding a tambourine.[349] Her cult was officially introduced in Rome around the end of the 3rd century AD.[345]

Isis

Ἴσις

Relief of Isis, holding grain

An Egyptian goddess.[350] In Egyptian mythology, she was the wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus.[351] She was known to the Greeks as early as the archaic period (c. 800–480 BC), and possessed a temple in Athens by the 4th century BC.[352] In the Graeco-Roman world, she presided over the family,[351] and was a healer and protective figure.[353] Herodotus equates her with Demeter.[354]

Men

Μήν

Bust of Men, with crescent moons extending from his shoulders

A deity from western Anatolia.[355] He was a moon god, and his worship is most clearly documented in Lydia and Phrygia.[356] He is attested from the 4th century BC, with the earliest evidence of the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC) originating from Greece, particularly Attica.[357] In art, he is found with crescent moons

extending up from his shoulders; he typically wears a Phrygian cap and sleeved clothes, and sometimes holds a sceptre or rod.[358]

Sabazios

Σαβάζιος

Bust of Sabazios, bearded

A god from Phrygia in Anatolia.[359] The earliest literary references to him are from the 5th century BC,[360] and his worship in Attica is mentioned in the 4th century BC.[361] He was identified with Dionysus, and an Orphic myth of Dionysus's birth to Zeus and his daughter, Persephone, was linked with the mysteries of Sabazios.[362] In art, he is portrayed either with a beard and Phrygian garb, or in the image of Zeus-Jupiter. There also survive votive hands dedicated to him, which hold objects such as snakes or pine cones.[363]

Serapis

Σέραπης

Head of Serapis, bearded, wearing a calathus

A god derived from the syncretic Egyptian figure Osiris-Apis.[364] This Egyptian antecedent had a cult in Memphis, where he was a sacred bull figure.[365] This cult was adapted by the Greeks into that of Serapis;[366] the first three Ptolemies had a Serapeum constructed in Alexandria,[367] and Ptolemy I Soter (c. 367–282 BC) was said to have brought to the city a statue of Pluto, which was given the name of Serapis.[368] The god was identified with Greek deities such as Dionysus, Pluto, and Zeus,[369] and in art he was depicted wearing a calathus atop his head.[370] His worship was propagated, with temples built in places such as Athens and Corinth.[371]

Early deities

The following section is structured after the chapter "1. The Early Gods" in Timothy Gantz's *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. [372]

In antiquity, the *Theogony* (c. 700 BC), a work by the Boeotian poet Hesiod, was considered the "standard mythical account" (according to Robin Hard) of the world's origins and earliest ages.[373] The poem details an extensive genealogy of the gods, and describes the events which led to the current state of the cosmos, under the rule of Zeus.[374] The cosmogonic part of the work, which is fairly brief,[375] begins the account of this mythical history.[376]

Though Hesiod's poem is the only theogony which is extant in its entirety, during the archaic era (c. 800–480 BC) there existed similar works, ascribed to various legendary or historical writers such as Orpheus, Musaeus, Pherecydes, and Epimenides.[377] Of works outside the theogonic genre, Homeric epic only briefly references the world prior to Zeus's rule, and the 1st–2nd-century AD *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus provides an account similar to Hesiod's.[378]

Primal elements

Hesiod's cosmogony begins with Chaos, who is followed by several other primal beings.[379] The poet then details two generations of descendants of Chaos.[380] Later in the poem, he continues his enumeration of her descendants, listing

various dismal abstractions who descend from her daughter, Nyx (these figures are listed under § Abstract personifications).[381] Of these primordial figures in Hesiod's poem, deities such as Nyx, Aether, and Eros feature in a number of other early cosmogonies.[382]

Aether, fighting a lion-headed Giant, on a frieze
Aether (right)

Young adult Eros, winged and flying
Eros

Cloaked Nyx, flying a two-horse chariot
Nyx

Name Description

Aether Personification of the brightness present in the upper sky.[383] In the Theogony, he is the offspring of Nyx and Erebus, and the brother of Hemera.[384] He appears in a number of other early cosmogonies,[382] and in an Orphic theogony he is produced by Chronos, alongside Chaos and Erebus.[385]
Chaos The first being to exist in Hesiod's Theogony.[386] The word means 'yawning' or 'gap', though the location of Chaos, or what it sits between, is not specified.[387] After Chaos there comes Gaia, Tartarus, and Eros, and from Chaos herself is born Erebus and Nyx.[388]

Erebus Personification of darkness.[389] In the Theogony, he is the offspring of Chaos, and the brother of Nyx, with whom he produces Aether and Hemera.[390] In an Orphic theogony, he is produced by Chronos.[391] The word Erebus is also often used to refer to the underworld.[392]

Eros God of love.[393] He is typically considered the son of Aphrodite,[394] though in the Theogony he is among the earliest beings to exist.[395] In other cosmogonies, he is similarly a primordial figure, a portrayal also present in Orphic literature.[396] He is absent from Homeric epic, and lyric poets of the archaic era (c. 800–480 BC) present him as a representation of the subjective experience of love.[397] He appears in Aphrodite's retinue alongside figures such as Himeros and Pothos.[398] In Thespiai, he was venerated in the form of a stone,[399] and in cult he typically appears alongside Aphrodite.[400] The Romans referred to him as Cupid or Amor.[401]

Gaia See § Nature deities.

Hemera The personification and goddess of the day.[402] In the Theogony, she is the offspring of Nyx and Erebus, and the sister of Aether.[403] Hemera and Eos are frequently identified in later works.[404]

Nyx The goddess and personification of the night.[405] In the Theogony, she is the offspring of Chaos and the sister of Erebus, by whom she becomes the mother of Aether and Hemera.[406] Without the help of a father, she gives rise to a brood of dismal personifications.[407] She is said to live at the extremes of the earth or in the underworld, and to drive a horse-pulled chariot.[408] In the Iliad, even Zeus fears to upset her.[409] She figures prominently in early cosmogonies,[382] and she appears to have been the first deity in the oldest

known Orphic theogonies.[410] In the Orphic Rhapsodies, she is a ruler who supplants Phanes.[411]

Tartarus A region which sat far below the underworld,[412] and its personification.[413] In the Theogony, he is one of the first beings to come into existence, appearing after Gaia and prior to Eros.[414] By Gaia, he becomes the father of the monstrous Typhon and (in later sources) of Echidna.[415]

Descendants of Gaia and Uranus

Aside from the progeny of Chaos, all the deities of Hesiod's poem, from this point on, descend from Gaia (or Earth).[416] On her own, she produces several figures who represent parts of the physical world, including Uranus (or Sky) and Pontus (or Sea), both of whom subsequently mate with her.[383] Together with Uranus, she sits at the head of the family which eventually produces the Olympians;[417] the couple's children include the twelve Titans (listed under § The Titans and their descendants), the youngest of whom, Cronus, castrates his father.[418] The resulting spilt blood and detached genitals in time lead to further offspring.[419]

Vase painting of two Erinyes, sleeping
Erinyes

Uranus, with wings, on a frieze

Uranus

Name Description

Aphrodite See § Twelve Olympians.

Erinyes Figures who punish those who commit serious offences, particularly against family members.[420] Their names are Alecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone.[421] In the Theogony, they are produced from blood spilt onto the earth when Uranus is castrated by his son, Cronus.[422] Elsewhere, they are offspring of Nyx.[423] They are inhabitants of the underworld, and are capable of cursing mortals, or driving them mad.[424] Erinys (sg. of 'Erinyes') was assimilated to Demeter in Arcadia, and was considered the mother of Arion by Poseidon.[425] The Roman counterparts of the Erinyes are the Furies.[426]

Meliae Considered by most scholars to be nymphs of ash trees.[427] According to Hesiod, they are born from drops of blood spilt when Uranus's genitals are severed.[428]

Ourea The mountains.[429] In the Theogony, they are produced by Gaia without the aid of a father.[430]

Pontus The personification of the sea.[431] In the Theogony, he is the offspring of Gaia, who produces him without a father.[432] By Gaia, he fathers Eurybia, Nereus, Thaumas, Phorcys, and Ceto.[433]

Uranus The personification of the sky.[434] He is the offspring of Gaia, who produces him without the help of a partner.[435] By Gaia, he fathers the Titans, the Cyclopes, and the Hecatoncheires.[436] He imprisons his offspring within the earth, leading his Titan son Cronus to castrate him.[437] He hurls the severed genitals into the ocean, and the blood spilt onto the earth in time produces the Erinyes, Giants, and Meliae.[438]

Descendants of Gaia and Pontus

The other lineage arising from Gaia is the family she produces with Pontus, which includes figures associated with the sea as well as an assortment of monsters.[439]

Ceto, robed and with long hair, on a frieze
Ceto

Iris, winged, and with blonde hair
Iris

Relief of a Nereid riding a sea-bull
A Nereid

Vase painting of Nereus, with a fishtail
Nereus

Name Description

Winds See § Nature deities.

Astraeus The son of Crius and Eurybia.[440] He is the husband of Eos, by whom he becomes the father of the winds – Boreas, Zephyrus, and Notus – as well as the stars, including Eosphorus.[441]

Ceto The daughter of Gaia and Pontus.[433] She is the wife of the sea god Phorcys, by whom she produces a brood of monstrous creatures, including the Gorgons, the Graeae, and Echidna.[442]

Eosphorus The morning star.[443] He is one of the children of Eos and Astraeus,[444] and his offspring, in different sources, include Stilbe, Philonis, and Leuconoe.[445] His Roman counterpart is Lucifer.[446]

Eurybia The daughter of Gaia and Pontus.[447] She is the wife of the Titan Crius, by whom she becomes the mother of Astraeus, Pallas, and Perses.[448]

Hecate See § Lesser deities.

Iris The messenger of the gods and personification of the rainbow.[449] She is considered the daughter of Thaumas and Electra, and at times the wife of Zephyrus.[450] In the Iliad, she is dispatched as divine messenger mostly by Zeus, though she also acts independently in some instances.[451] In later works, she serves Hera.[452] She sometimes transforms into another figure during a task, and her epithets in the Iliad emphasise her swiftness.[449] In art, she commonly has wings and carries a staff, and is often found accompanying more important deities.[453]

Nereus A sea god, and son of Gaia and Pontus.[454] He is the husband of Doris, by whom he becomes the father of the fifty Nereids, who live with him beneath the sea.[455] He is one of the deities referred to as an "Old Man of the Sea", and is described as having prophetic abilities and being capable of shapeshifting.[456] He is said to battle the hero Heracles, changing himself into numerous forms during the struggle. This myth is represented in vase paintings; Nereus has the tail of a fish in the earliest depictions, and legs in later works.[457]

Nereids Sea nymphs, who are the fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris.[458]

Ancient authors give varying lists of Nereids,[459] and only a handful – such as

Thetis, Galateia, Amphitrite, and Psamathe – have any meaningful role in myth.[455] They live with their father at the bottom of the sea, and were said to partake in song and dance.[460] In art, they are often shown riding marine animals, accompanying a sea deity such as Poseidon. From the 4th century BC, they can be found partially or fully nude, and occasionally with fishtails.[460] Pallas A Titan.[461] In the Theogony, he is the husband of Styx and the father of Zelus, Nike, Kratos, and Bia.[462] Elsewhere, Eos is given as his daughter.[463] Perses The son of Crius and Eurybia.[464] With Asteria, he produces the goddess Hecate.[465] Hesiod states that he is exceptionally wise.[466] Phorcys An early sea god.[467] He is most often considered the offspring of Gaia and Pontus.[468] His wife is Ceto, with whom he produces a series of monsters, including the Gorgons, the Graeae, and Echidna.[469] In the Odyssey, he is the father of Thoosa and is referred to as an "Old Man of the Sea".[470] The Sirens, the Hesperides, and Scylla are elsewhere given as his offspring.[471] Thaumias The son of Gaia and Pontus.[472] His wife is Electra, by whom he becomes the father of the goddess Iris and the Harpies.[381]

The Titans and their descendants

The Titans, the twelve offspring of Uranus and Gaia, are the former gods, the generation who come before the Olympians.[473] The group consists of six members of each sex:[439] four male-female pairs are married couples,[474] with the remaining two male Titans marrying other goddesses, and the remaining two female Titans later coupling with Zeus.[475] Many of the Titans' descendants relate to the physical world and its organisation.[475] In sources later than Hesiod, there is some disagreement as to the names of the twelve Titans,[476] and there are several figures described as Titans beyond the original group of twelve.[477]

Vase painting of Atlas, holding up a disc
Atlas

Rhea handing Cronus a swaddled stone
Cronus (right) and Rhea (left)

A winged Eos holds a man's body in her arms
Eos (winged)

Procession of figures in a vase painting
Oceanus and (immediately to his left) Tethys

Selene, flying a two-horse chariot
Selene

Statue of a robed Themis
Themis

Name Description

Asteria The daughter of Coeus and Phoebe.[478] In the Theogony, she

marries Perses, and the two produce Hecate.[479] Zeus is said to chase her lustfully, resulting in her falling into sea and being transformed into a quail. In the place she lands rises an island, sometimes called Asteria, on which her sister Leto later gives birth.[480]

Atlas The offspring of the Titan Iapetus and an Oceanid, either Clymene or Asia.[481] He is said to stand at the edge of the earth (in the far west or north) and hold up the sky.[482] Early sources give no explicit reason as to why he has this burden,[483] though later authors state it is because of his role in the Titanomachy.[466] A story from the *Metamorphoses* tells that Perseus encounters Atlas and causes him to become a mountain using the severed head of Medusa. He is also said to be approached by Heracles, who tricks him and steals the golden apples from the nearby garden of the Hesperides.[484]

Coeus One of the Titans, children of Uranus and Gaia.[485] He marries Phoebe, with whom he produces Leto (the mother of Artemis and Apollo) and Asteria.[486]

Crius One of the Titans, offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[487] His wife is Eurybia, by whom he becomes the father of Astraeus, Pallas, and Perses.[488]

Cronus The youngest of the Titans, the offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[489] He is chief among the Titans, and is ruler prior to Zeus.[490] He is said to castrate his father with a sickle, overthrowing him, before becoming a tyrant. He swallows each child he has by his sister Rhea, until she hands him a stone to swallow in place of their final child, Zeus.[491] Once grown, Zeus forces Cronus to disgorge his other children, who side with Zeus in a battle against the Titans, with Cronus and his siblings being defeated and banished to Tartarus.[492] In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Cronus's reign is contrastingly described as an idyllic age in which there lives a golden race of humans.[493] He was honoured in the Kronia festival, which may have been associated with the harvest, and he possessed a temple in Olympia.[494] His Roman counterpart is Saturn.[495]

Dione A consort of Zeus in some sources.[280] In the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, she is one of the Titans.[496] Homer places her as the mother of Aphrodite (presumably by Zeus), and in the *Theogony* she is listed as one of the Oceanids.[497] She was possibly considered the wife of Zeus prior to Hera, who already had this role in the Mycenaean era (c. 1750–1050 BC).[498] Dione was venerated as his consort at the oracle of Dodona, and the name 'Dione' is a feminine version of 'Zeus'.[499]

Eos The goddess of the dawn,[500] and the daughter of Hyperion and Theia.[501] With Astraeus, she produces the winds – Boreas, Zephyrus, and Notus – and the stars, including Eosphorus.[502] She is said to drive a chariot up from the horizon at the beginning of each day.[503] In myth, she steals away a number of young mortal men with amorous intent, as in the stories of Tithonus, Orion, and Cleitus. In the first of these, she lives with Tithonus, who Zeus grants immortality (but not eternal youth), and the couple produce two children, Emathion and Memnon, before Tithonus slowly begins to deteriorate.[504] She is found in art from the 6th century BC onwards, and is typically portrayed with wings.[505]

Epimetheus The son of Iapetus and either Clymene or Asia.[506] His brother,

Prometheus, cautions him to refuse all gifts from Zeus, but when the gods create Pandora, the first woman, and Zeus has her sent to the half-witted Epimetheus, he accepts her. The two are married, and as a result she is brought among humans, allowing her to unleash upon them the evils from her jar.[507]

Helios See § Nature deities.

Hyperion One of the Titans, the offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[508] His consort is Theia, by whom he becomes the father of Helios, Selene, and Eos.[509] He is frequently equated with Helios, and Homer uses "Hyperion" as an epithet of that god.[510]

Iapetus One of the Titan offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[511] In the Iliad, he is mentioned as one of the Titans Zeus banishes to Tartarus.[512] In Hesiod's Theogony, he is the father of Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas, and Menoetius, and the husband of Clymene, though other sources give his consort as Asia.[513]

Leto See § Lesser deities.

Menoetius The son of Iapetus and either Clymene or Asia.[514] Zeus punishes his hubris by hitting him with lightning and hurling him down to Tartarus.[515]

Metis One of the Oceanids, offspring of Oceanus and Tethys.[516] In the Theogony, she is the first goddess Zeus marries.[517] When he hears that she is destined to bear a child who will overthrow him, he swallows her.[518] Metis, pregnant with Athena, births her daughter inside Zeus, and Athena emerges from his head. Metis exists within him permanently, a position from which she provides him counsel.[519] In Apollodorus's account, she aids Zeus against his father, Cronus, by delivering the latter an emetic, which frees Zeus's siblings from his father's stomach.[520]

Mnemosyne The personification of memory.[521] She is the one of the Titan daughters of Uranus and Gaia.[522] In the Theogony, she lies with Zeus for nine consecutive nights, resulting in the birth of the nine Muses.[523] She had some existence in cult, appearing alongside the Muses in particular.[524]

Oceanids Ocean nymphs, the 3000 female offspring of Oceanus and Tethys.[525] The forty-one oldest Oceanids are enumerated in the Theogony, and other lists are given in later works.[526] They are said to be protectors of the young.[527] Some of them feature in the retinue of Artemis, and others are mentioned as companions of Persephone before her abduction.[528] Individual Oceanids include Styx, Doris, Metis, and Peitho.[529]

Oceanus The god of the river believed to encompass the earth and give rise to all other water bodies.[530] He is one of the Titans, the offspring of Gaia and Uranus.[531] His wife is Tethys, by whom he is the father of the 3000 Oceanids and the 3000 river gods.[532] The Iliad possibly refers to him as the forefather of the gods.[533] Various monsters and peoples are said to reside next to the river Oceanus, at the far extent of the world.[534] Artistic depictions portray him as part human and part marine creature.[535]

Phoebe A female Titan, one of the offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[536] Her husband is her brother, Coeus, by whom she becomes the mother of Leto and Asteria,[537] and thereby the grandparent of Apollo and Artemis.[538] In some accounts, she is credited as the founder of the Delphic oracle, which she hands on to Apollo.[536]

Prometheus See § Lesser deities.

Rhea One of the female Titans, daughters of Uranus and Gaia.[539] She is the wife of Cronus, and the mother of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus.[540] Her husband swallows each child upon their birth, until Rhea hides away their final child, Zeus, instead delivering Cronus a stone to consume. Once grown, Zeus wages war against Cronus, during which Rhea has Oceanus and Tethys look after Hera.[541] As early as the 5th century BC, Rhea was identified with Cybele.[542]

River gods See § Nature deities.

Selene The goddess and personification of the moon.[543] In the Theogony, she is the offspring of Hyperion and Theia.[544] She is said to fall for the beautiful Endymion, who sleeps permanently, with the two producing fifty daughters.[545] She also has an affair with Pan, and births Pandia and Ersa to Zeus.[546] She is found in art as early as the 5th century BC. She is depicted flying her horse-pulled (or oxen-pulled) chariot through the sky, and can also be found on horseback.[547]

Styx The goddess of the river Styx, the main river of the underworld.[548] She is the oldest of the Oceanids, the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys,[549] and is the wife of Pallas, with whom she produces Zelus, Nike, Kratos, and Bia.[550] She aids Zeus and the younger gods in the Titanomachy, for which Zeus makes swearing upon her waters the highest oath of the gods.[551] She is said to reside in the underworld.[552]

Tethys One of the Titans, offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[553] She is the wife of her brother Oceanus, by whom she becomes the mother of the 3000 river gods and 3000 Oceanids.[537] In the Iliad, she and her husband may be referred to as the progenitors of the gods.[533] During Zeus's battle against the Titans, Hera is sent to stay with Oceanus and Tethys at the far extremes of the earth. The couple, who have become alienated, are brought together again by Hera.[554]

Theia One of the female Titans, offspring of Uranus and Gaia.[555] She is the wife of Hyperion, by whom she becomes the mother of Helios, Selene, and Eos.[556]

Themis One of the Titans, a daughter of Uranus and Gaia.[557] Hesiod names her as the second goddess married by Zeus, with their union producing the three Horae and three Moirai.[558] She is the goddess who presides over "sacred ancient law", [559] and she provides counsel to Zeus.[560] Aeschylus names her as the mother of Prometheus, and equates her with Gaia.[561] She possesses the power of prophecy, and delivers oracles (including that which stops Zeus from wedding Thetis). She is also said to be an owner of the Delphic oracle prior to Apollo.[562] She was worshipped in a number of locations, including at Rhamnous, where she was venerated in conjunction with Nemesis.[563]

Groups of divinities and nature spirits

The following section is based upon the chapter "6. Lesser deities and nature-spirits" in Robin Hard's Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology, and the section "Minor Divinities" in Timothy Gantz's Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources.[564]

Among the various minor deities are divine groups such as the Muses or

Horae.[565] These sorts of divinities are referred to under a collective name, and appear in one another's company.[566] The members of these groups, who are sometimes individually named, are consistently of one sex and are around the same age,[566] though their number often differs by source, as do their names.[567] These divinities often feature in the retinue of major gods, or are otherwise said to accompany such deities; the satyrs and maenads, for example, are among the companions of Dionysus, and the dancing Kouretes surround the infant Zeus.[568] In some cases, these divine groups reflect the existence of real-world religious associations.[568]

The various nature spirits, such as the nymphs and satyrs, are inhabitants of different parts of the landscape, and fall somewhere between gods and humans.[565] In antiquity, for example, there was disagreement as to the mortality of nymphs (who were sometimes described as goddesses), though it was seen as evident that they lived long enough to be virtually immortal by human standards.[569] Similarly, whether or not satyrs were immortal seems to have been uncertain in ancient times.[570]

Procession of four figures, the first male
The three Horae (centre and right)

Infant Zeus is suckled, and two men hold shields
Two Kouretes

An ithyphallic satyr grasps a draped maenad
A maenad (left) and satyr (right)

Three robed women walking

Three nymphs

Name Description

Cabeiri See § Other deities in cult.

Charites See § Other deities in cult.

Dactyls Figures described as companions of Rhea (or at times Cybele). Their name translates as 'fingers'.[571] In the Phoronis, they are three in number, and are companions of Adrasteia who originate from Ida.[297] Elsewhere they are more numerous, with some sources describing them as ten or 100 in number.[572] They are sometimes described as metal-workers or magicians,[573] and can be found, equated with the Kouretes, as protectors of the young Zeus.[574]

Horae The Seasons,[575] daughters of Zeus and Themis.[576] They are three or four in number,[577] and Hesiod names them as Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene.[578] In Athens, they called Thallo, Auxo, and Carpo.[579] They are connected with plant life and with order,[580] and Homer states that they stand guard outside the entrance to Olympus.[581] They had a sanctuary in Attica, and there is evidence of their worship elsewhere. In art, they often cannot be told apart from the nymphs and Charites.[582]

Korybantes Figures who accompany Cybele.[583] They were commonly equated with the Kouretes, and are similarly described as dancers who clang their spears upon their shields.[584] They are ascribed numerous parentages in different sources, with Apollo or Rhea frequently being named as one of their parents.[585] **Kouretes** Figures who protect the young Zeus by producing a din with their spears and shields, so that the child's crying cannot be heard by his father, Cronus.[586] Some writers give their number as two or nine.[587] The location in which they protect Zeus is usually given as Mount Dicte on Crete, though sometimes it is said to be Mount Ida.[588] A fragment of Hesiod calls them offspring of the daughters of Dorus.[589] Their cult was spread across Crete, and existed in locations such as Olympia, Ephesus, Messenia, and the island of Thera (an early location of worship).[590] They were often conflated with the Korybantes.[591]

Maenads Female figures in the retinue of Dionysus, who follow him in his travels.[592] Artistic depictions portray them as nude or thinly clothed women, holding thyrsi, kantharoi, or musical instruments such as flutes or tambourines.[593] The nymphs who nurse the young Dionysus are said to be the first Maenads.[594] The term is also used to refer to the historical women who took inspiration from the mythical Maenads.[595]

Muses See § Other deities in cult.

Nymphs Female divinities connected with nature, and conceived of as human women.[596] There are types of nymphs, some of which are connected to certain habitats – such as the dryads (tree nymphs), Oreads (mountain nymphs), or Meliae (ash tree nymphs) – and others are of a specific parentage, such as the Nereids (daughters of Nereus) or Oceanids (daughters of Oceanus).[597] In the Homeric epics, they are called daughters of Zeus.[598] They are typically found in groups, and are frequently included as part of a nature-dwelling god's retinue.[599] Their cult is attested by the time of Homer (c. 750–700 BC), and their worship was linked with caves and with the river gods.[600] The term was sometimes used more generally to refer to young women.[601]

Satyrs Male figures who live in the wilderness.[602] They are first attested around the start of the 6th century BC, and are among the figures in Dionysus's retinue.[603] They are depicted as part human and part animal, ithyphallic, and tailed.[604] Although early representations depict them with horse-like features, they gradually come closer to humans, before developing more goat-like traits in the Hellenistic era (c. 323–30 BC).[605] They are generally shown as nude, bald, and snub-nosed, with their equine features extending to their ears, their tail, and (less often) their feet.[606] Their first literary mention is a fragment of Hesiod, which calls them offspring of daughters of Dorus, as well as "worthless" and "good-for-nothing".[607] In myth, they are often found lusting after nymphs.[608] Their Roman counterparts are the fauns.[609]

Silenoi Companions of Dionysus, who live in the wild.[610] They are first mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, where they are said to be sexual partners of the mountain nymphs.[611] In art, they seem to be identical in appearance to the satyrs;[603] they are perhaps the same figures as the satyrs, though they may have initially been separate.[612]

Telchines Magical figures from the island of Rhodes.[613] They are said to be the original inhabitants of a number of islands in the Aegean Sea.[614] They are magicians and shapeshifters, and in art they are portrayed as amphibious creatures who are part fish or part snake.[615] They are sometimes said to invent metal-working, and different authors credit them with the creation of objects such as the Trident of Poseidon or the sickle of Cronus.[616]

Thriae Prophetesses who are offspring of Zeus.[617] They are nymphs belonging to Mount Parnassus, and are three in number. They are said to be among the first to practice divination, doing so through the use of pebbles.[618]

Abstract personifications

Note that abstract personifications listed in previous sections are excluded here.

The Greeks often personified abstract concepts and represented them as deities; these concepts could range from emotions such as love or fear, to forces such as persuasion, luck or longing, and to states such as night, victory, or death.[619] The sex of the resulting deity was dictated by the gender of the personified noun.[619] Such personifications are first attested in Greece in the 8th century BC, with the emergence of epic poetry.[620] In this genre, they are portrayed as anthropomorphic, and feature in roles which connect them to other deities of the pantheon, and to other personifications.[399] They sometimes appear in the retinues of major gods – for example, Eros and Himeros are companions of Aphrodite – and they commonly feature, genealogically linked to one another, in cosmogonies – for example, in the Theogony, the descendants of Nyx (Night) include Thanatos (Death), Hypnos (Sleep), and Eris (Strife), among various others.[621]

Although personifications originated in poetry,[399] some of those who were more developed in literature were also represented in ancient art.[622] The earliest known artistic depiction is the Chest of Cypselus (c. 600 BC), which was followed in the late 6th century BC by representations in vase painting.[622] Various personifications from epic poetry later developed cults, the earliest of which are attested in the 6th century BC; by the 4th century BC, there was worship of personifications who had no connection to the epic tradition.[623] Only two personifications, Nemesis and Themis, are known to have been the dedicatees of a sanctuary, which was located in Rhamnous.[624]

Eris, with wings and a dress

Eris

Thanatos and Hypnos carry a corpse

Hypnos (left) and Thanatos (right)

Lyssa, winged and holding a goad

Lyssa

Head of Nemesis

Nemesis

Winged statue of Nike, missing the head

Nike

Mosaic of a robed Peitho

Peitho

Statue of Tyche, holding a cornucopia

Tyche

Name	Personified concept	Description
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Achlys	Misery, sadness[625]	In the Shield of Heracles, she is one of the figures pictured on Heracles' shield. Her Latin counterpart, Caligo, is said to be the parent of Chaos and Nox in the Fabulae.[626]
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Adikia	Injustice[627]	Her earliest attestation is a representation on the Chest of Cypselus (c. 600 BC), which shows her being pummeled by Dike.[628] The two are also depicted on a pair of 6th-century BC Attic vases. In art, Adikia is portrayed as ugly, and she has spots in one instance.[629]
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Agon	Athletic contests[630]	There existed a statue of him at Olympia.[631]
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Aidos	Shame or modesty[632]	She appears in the Works and Days alongside Nemesis, and Sophocles states that she sits beside Zeus and looks over all actions that are taken.[633] In Plato's story of Protagoras, Aidos approaches humankind alongside Dike.[634]
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Aion	Eternal time.[635]	Euripides calls Chronos his father, and he is mentioned in the proem of the Orphic Hymns, though he is otherwise absent from Orphic literature. In Nonnus's Dionysiaca, he is an old man who advises Zeus.[635]
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Alala	The war cry[636]	According to Pindar, she is the daughter of Polemos.[637]
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Alastor	The curse of generational guilt[638]	He features in tragic literature, and is described as the figure who enacts vengeance for wicked actions. In Aeschylus, however, he is a daimon who is pernicious in nature, but unassociated with vengeance.[639]
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Aletheia	Truth[640]	She is said to be the offspring of Zeus, and to nurture Apollo during his childhood.[641]
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Algea	Pains[435]	They are daughters of Eris.[642]
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Alke	Battle strength[643]	In the Iliad, she is depicted on the aegis.[644]
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Amechania	Impossibility[645]	One of the gods of the people of Andros, according to Herodotus.[646]
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Amphilogiai	Verbal exchanges[647]	They are offspring of Eris.[648]
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Anaideia	Shamelessness[649]	Authors mention an altar or sanctuary dedicated to Anaideia in Athens.[649]
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Ananke	Necessity or compulsion[650]	She is first attested as a cosmic goddess in the 5th century BC, appearing in the works of Parmenides, Simonides, and Empedocles.[651] In the Hieronyman Theogony, attributed to Orpheus, she produces Aether, Chaos, and Erebus by Chronos.[652] In the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC), she is identified with Adrasteia.[653] In Plato's Republic, she is the
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mother of the Moirai.[654]

Androktasiai Slaughter of men during war[655] They are offspring of Eris in the Theogony.[656]

Angelia Report[657] According to Pindar, she is the daughter of Hermes.[658]

Anteros Requited love[659] He is said to punish those who do not reciprocate love.[659] He had an altar in Athens close to the Acropolis, and was depicted alongside Eros in a relief that was displayed in Elis.[660]

Apate Deceit[661] In Hesiod's Theogony, she is one of the offspring of Nyx.[662] In a fragment of Orphic literature, she and Zelus receive Aphrodite after her birth from the sea. In the Dionysiaca, she possesses a girdle that contains all forms of deceit.[663]

Apheleia Simplicity, "the good old days"[664] Eustathius calls her the nurse of Athena.[664]

Ara The curse[665] Aeschylus identifies her with Erinys (sg. of 'Erinyes').[665]

Arete Goodness[666] She appears in a 5th-century BC allegory by Prodicus, in which Heracles must choose either Arete or Kakia (the personification of vice).[667] A giant statue of her was produced by Euphranor, according to Pliny the Elder. In a late genealogy, she is the offspring of Praxidike and Zeus Soter.[668]

Astrape The lightning bolt[669] She was present in several lost works of art, including a painting by Apelles and a depiction of Semele's death. She is connected with Bronte.[670]

Ate Delusion[671] She is said to deceive Zeus, who then hurls her down from Olympus as punishment. She lands on a hill in Phrygia, in the location in which Troy will later be founded.[672] In the Iliad she is the daughter of Zeus, while in the Theogony she is one of the offspring of Eris.[673]

Bia Violence[674] She is the offspring of Pallas and Styx, and alongside her siblings – Kratos, Nike, and Zelus – she is said to live on Mount Olympus, where she serves Zeus.[675] According to Aeschylus, she helps Hephaestus attach Prometheus to a rock after his deception of Zeus.[676]

Bronte Thunder[677] She appears in the proem of the Orphic Hymns, and is at times found alongside Sterope and Astrape.[678] She was represented in several works of Greek and Roman art, including a painting by Apelles.[679]

Caerus The "opportune moment"[680] He is attested from the 5th century BC, and is called the son of Zeus. He was worshipped at Olympia. In art, he is depicted as a winged figure with a tuft of hair on the front of his head.[681]

Chronos Time[682] He is a primeval being in the cosmogony of Pherecydes of Syros, and is an important figure in theogonies attributed to Orpheus.[683] In the Hieronyman Theogony, one such work, he is a winged, serpentine figure with the heads of a lion and bull,[684] and he produces Aether, Chaos, and Erebus with Ananke.[652] Later sources sometimes conflate him with the Titan Cronus.[685]

Corus Surfeit[686] He is the offspring of Hybris.[687]

Deimos Fear[688] Hesiod calls him the son of Ares and Aphrodite, and in

the Iliad he is a companion of Ares alongside his brother, Phobos.[689]

According to the Aspis, the two are his charioteers.[690]

Dike Justice[691] In the Theogony, she is one of the three Horae, offspring of Zeus and Themis.[692] She is intimately connected with Zeus, and is sometimes said to sit next to his throne, acting as his delegate and keeping a record of sinful actions for him.[693] She was depicted on the Chest of Cypselus as a beautiful figure, who strangles the ugly Adikia.[694] Hesychia is said to be her daughter, and Poena her assistant.[695]

Dysnomia Lawlessness[696] In the Theogony, she is one of the offspring of Eris.[697]

Eirene Peace[698] Hesiod lists her among the three Horae, offspring of Zeus and Themis.[699] There existed a cult to her in Athens from the 4th century BC, and she is depicted on vases from Attica. Several of her cults are attested during the Hellenistic period (c. 323–30 BC).[700]

Eleos Compassion[701] There was an altar honouring him in Athens.[701]

Eleutheria Freedom[702] She is called the daughter of Zeus, and elsewhere an attendant of Aletheia. She appears on a number of coins.[702]

Elpis Hope[703] In Hesiod's Works and Days, when Pandora opens her jar, releasing the evils contained therein, Elpis is the only personification who does not leave.[704]

Eris Strife[705] In the Theogony she is among the gloomy offspring of Nyx, and in the Iliad she is called Ares' sister.[706] In the Works and Days, there are two figures named Eris, one the daughter of Nyx and the other less negative in nature.[707] She is said to indirectly lead to the start of the Trojan War by tossing a golden apple into the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, causing the Judgement of Paris.[708]

Ersa Dew[709] According to Alcman, she is the daughter of Zeus and Selene.[710]

Eucleia Glory from a day of fighting[711] There was a sanctuary in Athens in honour of both her and Eunomia.[712] According to Plutarch, some considered Heracles and Myrto her parents, while others conflated her with Artemis.[711] She is found alongside Eunomia on vases from the 5th century BC.[713]

Eulabeia Caution[714] In Euripides' Phoenician Women, Eteocles asks her to save Thebes.[715]

Eunomia Good order[716] In Hesiod's Theogony, she is one of the three Horae, daughters of Zeus and Themis.[717] She was considered a protector of peace, and during the 5th-century BC her name was used in politics.[718] She was represented in 5th-century BC vase paintings alongside Eucleia, and she had a cult in Athens.[719]

Eupraxia Success[720] According to Aeschylus's Seven Against Thebes, she is the daughter of Peitharchia.[629]

Eusebeia Piety[721] She is the mother of Dike in Orphic literature, and is mentioned in the proem of the Orphic Hymns. A figure with this name is depicted on a number of Alexandrian coins.[721]

Gelos Laughter[722] Plutarch mentions a Spartan sanctuary in his honour,

and Apuleius states that he was worshipped in the city of Hypata.[722]

Geras Old age[723] In the Theogony, he is among the offspring of Nyx. In a late tale, he helps Sisyphus escape the underworld.[724] He is said to lose in a fight with Heracles, and to live on Olympus.[725]

Hedone Desire, joy, pleasure[726] She appears as an allegorical personification in works of Greek philosophy. Apuleius gives her parents as Cupid (the Latin name for Eros) and Psyche.[727]

Heimarmene Fate[728] She is depicted on a 5th-century BC vase by the Heimarmene Painter.[729]

Himeros Affectionate longing[730] In the Theogony, he, alongside Eros, accompanies Aphrodite after she is born from the sea. He resides on Olympus.[731] In art, Himeros is identical in appearance to Eros.[732]

Homados Tumult[733] In Hesiod's Shield of Heracles, he is depicted on Heracles' shield.[734]

Homonoia Concord, unanimity, oneness of mind[735] She is known from the 4th century BC onwards, and there is early evidence of her cult in Olympia, Athens, and elsewhere.[736] According to Mnaseas, her parents are Zeus Soter and Praxidike.[735] She is represented on several Greek coins and a vase.[737]

Horkos Curse resulting from swearing a false oath[738] In the Theogony, Hesiod places her among the offspring of Eris, and in the Works and Days he writes that the Erinyes help with his birth.[671] According to Sophocles, he is Zeus's son.[739]

Horme Energetic activity[740] Pausanias mentions an altar to her in the agora of Athens.[741]

Hybris Lack of restraint, insolence[742] In one version of Pan's parentage, she is his mother by Zeus.[224]

Hygieia Health[743] She was considered the child of Asclepius.[744] From the beginning of the 4th century BC, she became the most prominent family member in her father's cult, and was present in sanctuaries dedicated to him. Sometimes, she was instead considered his wife.[745]

Hypnos Sleep[746] According to Hesiod, he is among the offspring of Nyx, and lives beside his brother Thanatos at the furthest reaches of the earth.[747] In the Iliad, he and Thanatos carry the deceased Sarpedon to Lycia, an episode that appears on vase paintings.[748] Elsewhere in the work, Hera requests he lull Zeus to sleep, and Hypnos protests that after a previous attempt to do so he had to escape Zeus's wrath; she persuades him by offering Pasithea in marriage.[749] In art, he is typically a young, winged figure, and alongside Thanatos he is depicted on the Chest of Cypselus.[750]

Hysminai Combat[751] In the Theogony, they are offspring of Eris. Quintus Smyrnaeus names them among the personifications found on Achilles' shield.[752]

Ioke Pursuit[753] In the Iliad, she is among the personifications depicted on the aegis.[753]

Kakia Vice[754] In an allegory by the philosopher Prodicus, Heracles must choose either Arete (the personification of goodness) or Kakia, the latter of whom tells the hero she is also called Eudaimonia. She is also found in works by

Athenian orators.[755]

Keres Inevitability of death[756] Female figures who, according to Hesiod, are daughters of Nyx who wear blood-covered clothing. In the Iliad, they are said to cause disaster, and to steal human bodies and take them into the underworld, before consuming them.[757] In sources of the Classical period (c. 5th–4th centuries BC), they are sometimes conflated with similar figures such as the Moirai.[758]

Kratos Power[759] In the Theogony, he is among the offspring of Pallas and Styx, and is the brother of Bia.[760] Alongside his siblings, he accompanies Zeus. In Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, he and Bia urge Hephaestus to fasten Prometheus to a rock.[761]

Kydoimos Tumult of battle[762] In the Iliad, he is found on the shield of Achilles.[763]

Lethe Oblivion[764] She is among the offspring of Eris, and is sometimes said to be the mother of Dionysus or the Charites.[765] Lethe, the underworld river, received its name from her.[766]

Limos Hunger[767] She is one of the offspring of Eris.[767]

Litae Prayers of contrition[768] In the Iliad, they are daughters of Zeus and are said to answer prayers which display sufficient respect.[769]

Lyssa Rage, frenzy, and madness[770] She is first attested in 5th-century BC tragedy, appearing in Euripides as a daughter of Nyx who drives Heracles to insanity, causing him to murder his family.[771] Euripides also describes her as a huntress who drives a chariot, and has snakes surrounding her face. In Aeschylus, she brings madness upon the Minyades, who dismember someone as a result.[772]

Machai Wars[773] In the Theogony, they are daughters of Eris.[751]

Maniae Madness[774] They were worshipped in Maniae, close to Megalopolis. Mania (sg. of 'Maniae') is depicted on an Italian vase.[774]

Methe Drunkenness[775] She is a companion of Dionysus, and is represented in art. According to Nonnus, she is the mother of Botrys by Staphylus, the king of Assyria.[775]

Momos Fault-finding[776] In the Cypria, Zeus intends to kill off humans with flooding and lightning, until Momus instead suggests starting a devastating war; this leads to the beginning of the Trojan War.[777] Hesiod includes him among the children of Nyx.[778]

Moros Destiny[779] In the Theogony, he is one of Nyx's offspring.[780]

Neikea Quarrels[781] According to Hesiod, Neikea is one of Nyx's children.[781]

Nemesis Retribution[782] She is said to be the daughter of Nyx, and the mother of Helen by Zeus.[783] In the Cypria, Zeus violates Nemesis while disguised as a swan, after a chase in which she attempts to escape by transforming herself multiple times.[784] She is said to punish those who display hubris or engage in misconduct, and is often equated with Adrasteia.[785] In the 5th century BC, there was a temple to her in Rhamnous, where her cult image was said to have been created.[786]

Nike Victory[787] In the Theogony, she is the child of Pallas and Styx, and is

said to always accompany Zeus.[788] There is evidence of her worship in Magna Graecia, and in Elis from the 6th century BC. She also had an altar in Olympia.[789] In Athens, she was intimately linked with Athena, who was sometimes called Nike.[790] In art, she is depicted as a winged figure in mid-flight, wearing draped clothing; one of her best-known representations is the Winged Victory of Samothrace.[791]

Nomos Law[792] He is first mentioned by Pindar (5th century BC), and is found in works by philosophers. He appears in Orphic literature as the father of Dike or Dikaioyne, and is addressed in the Orphic Hymns.[793]

Oizys Pain or distress[748] According to Hesiod, she is one of the offspring of Nyx.[794]

Oneiroi Dreams[795] Hesiod lists them among the offspring of Nyx, while in the Odyssey they live at the western extremes of the earth. In the Iliad, an individual Oneiros is used by Zeus in his deception of Agamemnon.[796]

Palaestra Wrestling[797] She is a lover of Hermes, and her father is sometimes named Choricus or Pandocus.[797]

Palioxis Rally[798] In Hesiod's Shield of Heracles, she is depicted on Heracles' shield.[799]

Peitharchia Obedience[800] According to Aeschylus, her daughter is Eupraxia and her husband is Soter.[629]

Peitho Persuasion[801] She is typically found as part of Aphrodite's retinue,[802] and is sometimes called the daughter of that goddess.[803] In Hesiod's Works and Days, she outfits Pandora with gold jewelry. There is evidence of her cult in Athens, and on Thasos as early as the 5th century BC.[804]

Penia Poverty[805] In Plato's Symposium, she is the wife of Poros, by whom she becomes the mother of Eros.[806]

Penthos Grief[807] According to Pseudo-Plutarch, he is not present when Zeus confers spheres of influence upon the gods, so he is given dominion over honours for (and the mourning of) the dead, the only area which is untaken.[807]

PHEME Rumour or report[808] According to Pausanias, there was an altar to her in Athens.[809]

Philotes Affection[810] In the Theogony, she is one of Nyx's offspring.[810]

Phobos Fear[811] According to Hesiod, he is the son of Ares and Aphrodite, and the brother of Deimos.[812] Alongside his brother, he is said to accompany his father, and to enter into battle in Ares' chariot.[813] He was worshipped in Sparta.[814]

Phonoi Killings[619] In the Theogony, they are offspring of Eris.[815]

Phthonus Envy[816] According to Callimachus, he tries to elicit envy within Apollo. In Nonnus's Dionysiaca, he concocts a plan to make Hera envious of Semele, leading eventually to the latter's deception. He also appears on a vase from the 4th century BC.[817]

Plutus Wealth[818] According to Hesiod, he is born to Demeter and Iasion (a mortal), who lie with one another in Crete.[819] He was of importance in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and he appears alongside Demeter and Persephone in

works of art.[820] He initially personifies agricultural wealth, while in later times his domain broadens to wealth in general. Aristophanes portrays him as blind and elderly.[818]

Poine Vengeance or punishment[821] She is found alongside the Erinyes, with whom she is assimilated at times.[821]

Polemos War[822] Pindar calls him the father of Alala, while other sources make him the brother of Enyo or a companion of Ares. He also features in a story from Aristophanes' Peace, where he detains Eirene in a cave.[822]

Ponos Toil and stress[823] Hesiod lists him among the children of Eris, though elsewhere he is the son of Nyx and Erebus.[823]

Porus Expediency[824] He is said to be the father of Eros, the husband of Penia, and the son of Metis.[824]

Pothos Erotic desire[825] He is part of Aphrodite's retinue, and is sometimes said to be her son, or the son of Eros.[825] On vases, he is depicted as a young, winged boy, identical to other figures in Aphrodite's retinue such as Eros and Himeros.[826]

Proioxis Pursuit[798] In Hesiod's Shield of Heracles, she is one of the figures represented on the shield of Heracles.[827]

Prophasis Excuse[828] According to Pindar, she is the daughter of Epimetheus.[829]

Soteria Physical well-being[830] There is evidence of her worship in the Peloponnese.[830]

Sophrosyne Prudence and moderation[831] She is first mentioned by Theognis of Megara (c. 6th century BC). She had a cult in Anatolia.[831]

Telete Dionysiac rites, especially choral dances[832] In Nonnus's Dionysiaca, she is the daughter of Dionysus and Nicaea (a nymph).[833]

Thalassa Sea[834] Ion of Chios calls her the mother of Briareus, one of the Hecatoncheires.[835] She is addressed in one of the Orphic Hymns, where she is identified with Tethys.[836]

Thanatos Death[837] The Iliad calls him the brother of Hypnos, and in the Theogony the two are children of Nyx.[838] He and his brother are said to carry Sarpedon's corpse to Lycia, a subject found in Attic vase painting as early as the 6th century BC. In early artistic representations he is a winged boy, while in later depictions he has a beard and a hooked nose.[839] In Euripides' Alcestis, there is a fight between him and Heracles.[840]

Tyche Luck or fortune[841] In the Theogony she is one of the Oceanids, while for Pindar she is the child of Zeus.[842] She is absent from mythological stories, and is not a clearly definable figure.[841] Her cult is attested from the 4th century BC, and she was identified with other goddesses such as Isis and Cybele.[843] Her iconographic attributes include the cornucopia and the rudder.[844]

Zelus Envy[845] In Hesiod's Theogony, he is one of the children of Pallas and Styx.[846]

Other deities

Amphitrite, holding a trident

Amphitrite

Bearded Charon, in his boat
Charon

Snake wrapped around a winged Phanes
Phanes

Priapus, with an oversized, erect penis
Priapus

Triton, with a fishtail, holding a dolphin
Triton

Name Description

Aceso The daughter of Asclepius and Epione.[847] She was worshipped in certain locations.[848]

Acheron The offspring of Gaia, and the father of Ascalaphus by Orphne or Gorgyra. Shades journey across the Acheron river when entering the underworld. It is said that Acheron is forced to live underground after permitting the Giants to drink from his stream.[849]

Agathos Daimon 'Good Daimon'. He is absent from mythological stories,[850] and was worshipped particularly in a private context.[851] He was the recipient of the first offering when wine was drunk.[850] He was sometimes depicted in the guise of Zeus.[851]

Agdistis A hermaphroditic deity.[852] In a tale from Pessinus, she is born from the earth in the place where some of Zeus's seed falls. Her male genitals are severed, and a boy, Attis, is born to a woman named Nana, who is made pregnant by an almond tree which grows where the genitals landed. Attis grows into a beautiful young man, and Agdistis (here equated with Cybele) becomes enamoured with him, and eventually causes Attis to castrate himself and die in the process.[853]

Amphitrite A sea goddess.[854] She is a Nereid, and the consort of Poseidon, with whom she lives in a palace under the sea.[855] Before their marriage, Poseidon is sometimes said to kidnap her, or search for her after she rejects his advances and escapes.[856] The couple are the parents of Triton according to Hesiod, and later sources add further children.[857] She was worshipped alongside her husband in the Cyclades, and the two had a sanctuary on Tenos.[858]

Angelos A daughter of Zeus and Hera. Sophron relates that she is raised by nymphs; she is later sanctified by the Cabeiri, and takes on a role relating to the underworld.[859]

Anytos A Titan. He was thought to raise Despoina, and there was a statue of him in her temple in Arcadia.[860]

Aphaia A goddess to whom a temple on the island of Aegina was dedicated. Evidence from the temple implies she was associated with pregnancy and newly born children.[861]

Aristaeus A god associated with a number of rustic activities.[862] He is born to Apollo and the princess Cyrene, after the god kidnaps her and transports her

to Libya.[863] Different sources attribute to him different teachers or nurturers, from whom he learns skills such as prophecy and healing, and agrarian pursuits such as beekeeping and olive-growing.[862] He marries Autonoe, by whom he fathers the hunter Actaeon.[864] In one story, he accidentally causes the death of Eurydice, and his bees are killed as punishment.[865]

Arke The daughter of Thaumas, and sister of Iris. In the Titanomachy, she supports the Titans, and once the Olympian gods are victorious she is punished: she is imprisoned in Tartarus, and her wings are removed.[866]

Astraea The child of Zeus and Themis.[867] She dwells among mortals during the Golden Age, though she leaves when this era comes to an end, which happens as humanity grows more immoral.[868]

Auxesia A goddess worshipped alongside Damia [fr]. The pair were venerated at Epidauros and Troezen, as well as on the island of Aegina (where Auxesia was known as Azesia).[869]

Britomartis A Cretan goddess.[870] She is born to Zeus and Carme, and is a maiden who accompanies Artemis.[871] She is usually said to attain immortality after jumping into the ocean while trying to escape the lustful advances of Minos. As a goddess, she is referred to as Dictynna.[872] In addition to Crete, she was worshipped in Aegina, Sparta, Athens, and Gythium, among other locations. In artistic depictions, her appearance is identical to that of Artemis.[873]

Brizo A goddess venerated by the women of Delos, who was honoured primarily as a protector of ships. She was believed to be capable of perceiving the prophetic meaning behind dreams.[874]

Charon The ferryman of the underworld.[875] Though sources do not provide him with a divine parentage, he is treated as though he is a deity.[876] He transports shades across the Acheron river in a boat, taking payment in the form of an obol. He is portrayed as a hideous and dishevelled old man, dressed in tattered clothing.[877] In one story, he transports the alive Heracles across the river, and is chained for a year as punishment.[878]

Circe An enchantress. She is the offspring of Helios and Perse, and is considered either a goddess or a nymph.[879] She is said to inhabit the mythical island of Aeaea, which is visited by Odysseus and his companions, half of whom she transforms into animals. She only returns them to their usual form when Odysseus is able to resist her spell using a herb, moly.[880] He extends his stay on the island, and the pair have two children, Telegonus and Cassiphone (though some sources add further offspring).[881]

Comus A god mentioned by Philostratus the Elder. According to that author, there was an artwork which depicted him as a young, winged boy, drunk and with his head sitting on his chest.[882]

Damia [fr] A goddess venerated in conjunction with Auxesia. The two were worshipped in Epidauros and Troezen, and on the island of Aegina (where Damia was referred to as Mnia).[869]

Despoina A goddess venerated in Arcadia. She is said to be born from a union of Poseidon and Demeter (both in the form of a horse), and to be raised by Anytus, a Titan.[883] She was honoured at a temple in Lycosura, where fragments of 2nd-century BC cult statues survive.[884] Despoina ('Mistress') was a cult title

of the goddess, rather than her true name, which was only uttered during ritual performance, and does not survive.[885]

Enodia A goddess from Thessaly. She presides over roads, and has chthonic qualities, being associated with horses, dogs, and torches.[886] By the 5th century BC, she was identified with Hecate.[216] Her worship seemingly originated in Pherae, and spread to Macedonia. There is also evidence of her cult in Epidaurus, Oreus, and Lindos.[886]

Enyo A war goddess.[887] She is a companion of Ares, to whom she is often genealogically related,[888] and with him she produces a son, Enyalios.[889] She was among the deities honoured in a festival which took place in Thebes and Orchomenus.[889] In Rome, she was equated with Bellona.[890]

Epione The wife of Asclepius. Her children by her husband include Hygieia, Iaso, and Panacea,[891] and she was involved in his cult in Epidaurus, in Athens, and on Kos.[892] Merops is sometimes given as her father.[893]

Eubuleus An important figure in the Eleusinian Mysteries. In the Eleusinian myth of Persephone's abduction, he returns her from the underworld. In artistic depictions, he carries a torch and is typically found beside Persephone. In another version of the myth, he tends to a group of pigs, who fall into the ground when she is kidnapped.[894] He is also mentioned in the Orphic gold tablets, and is sometimes assimilated with Zeus or Dionysus.[895]

Eunostus A goddess associated with mills. An idol of her was placed in mills.[896]

Glaucus A sea god.[897] He is born a mortal, and lives as a fisherman in Anthedon before one day consuming grass which turns him into a deity, giving him a green body and the tail of a fish;[898] he also attains prophetic abilities. He amorously pursues Scylla, a beautiful maiden, to no avail, and rejects the advances of the enchantress Circe, prompting the latter to turn Scylla into a monstrous creature. In other myths, he is a deliverer of news to the Argonauts, or to Menelaus.[899]

Harmonia The wife of Cadmus.[900] Her parents are typically said to be Ares and Aphrodite, though in some sources they are Zeus and Electra.[901] She is either divine or semi-divine.[902] The gods are present at her marriage to Cadmus, and offer the couple gifts, including a necklace and robe. By her husband, she becomes the mother of Polydorus, Ino, Autonoe, Semele, and Agave.[901]

Hebe The goddess of youth.[903] She is born to Zeus and Hera, and becomes the wife of Heracles after his apotheosis.[904] She carries out minor duties for the gods, including acting as their cupbearer. In one story, she restores the youth of Iolaus.[905] She was worshipped in Argos, in Mantinea, and on Kos.[906]

Hermaphroditus A figure with both male and female genitalia. He is first attested in the 4th century BC, and in the 1st century BC Hermes and Aphrodite are assigned as his parents.[907] In Ovid's telling, he is born a boy, and during his youth he attracts the unappreciated advances of a nymph, Salmacis, who on one occasion clings to him and begs the gods to ensure they never part. They oblige, causing the pair to fuse into a dual-sexed being.[908] He is represented in art from the 4th century BC onwards.[909]

Hymen The god of marriage.[910] He is born to Apollo and one of the Muses, or to Dionysus and Aphrodite, among other parentages. There exist varying stories designed to explain his connection to marriage, and he is sometimes described as an Athenian, a musician, or a lover of Hesperus.[911]

Iacchus A god of the Eleusinian Mysteries. He was connected with the procession in which initiates marched to Eleusis, and it is likely that he originally personified the exclamation *íakch'*, *ô íakche*, chanted during this procession. In later sources, he is sometimes called the child of Demeter, Dionysus, or Persephone.[912] As Persephone's son, he is Dionysus Zagreus in his reborn form, following that god's dismemberment as a child by the Titans.[913]

Iaso A goddess associated with healing.[914] She is one of Asclepius's children, and was worshipped in Oropus.[915]

Lelantos A Titan. He is the father of Aura by Periboea.[916]

Moirai Goddesses, known in Latin as the Fates, who allot humans their destinies at the beginning of life.[917] Hesiod makes them three in number – naming them Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos – and calls them children of Nyx and of Zeus and Themis at different points.[918] In the Iliad, there is mention of both the collective term and the singular Moira, who is said to spin Hector's fate with thread.[919] They had a sanctuary in Sparta, and an altar in Sicyon, and were given wineless sacrifices.[920] Artistic depictions typically represent them as a trio of goddesses taking part in a mythological scene.[921]

Opora A goddess associated with harvests, particularly those of wine. She appears as a companion of Eirene in Aristophanes' Peace. In one myth, she attracts the amorous attention of Sirius, though he fails to win her hand, and Boreas tasks his sons with retrieving her.[922]

Orphanes A fertility deity. He was a phallic god, and his cult existed in Attica and on Imbros, where there was a festival in his honour as late as the 2nd century BC.[923]

Paeon A healing god in Homeric epic.[924] He heals the wounds of Hades and Ares, and is said to live on Olympus.[925]

Palaemon A sea deity, who is originally a human named Melicertes.[926] He is born to Athamas and Ino, and his mother one day jumps from a cliff with him in her arms, after which the pair are deified, becoming Palaemon and Leucothea.[927] He was worshipped at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia.[928]

Palici A pair of Sicilian deities who are twins. They are sometimes called children of Zeus and Thalia, and their mother is said to sit underground during her pregnancy, with the newborn boys eventually climbing out of the earth's surface. They were worshipped at a site which exhibited unusual natural phenomena, and was near to Lake Naftia [it].[929]

Panacea A daughter of Asclepius in his cult, who was herself worshipped in certain locations.[930]

Pandia A daughter of Selene and Zeus, according to the Homeric Hymn to Selene.[931]

Paregoros A goddess from Megara. A statue of her sat in the Megarian temple of Aphrodite.[932]

Pasikrate A goddess with a sanctuary near Demetrias. She was honoured

primarily by women, and she is attested in inscriptions from the end of the 4th century BC onwards.[933]

Phanes A primeval deity in Orphic theogonies. In different Orphic sources, he is described as hermaphroditic, as part-animal, and as having golden wings. He is sometimes called the offspring of Aether and the father of Nyx.[934] In the Orphic Rhapsodies, he emerges from an egg created by Chronos, and is later swallowed by Zeus.[935] He is sometimes called Protogonos, Pan, Priapus, or Antuages, and is at times the same as Eros, Dionysus, or Metis.[936]

Praxidike An oath goddess. She is said to mate with Zeus Soter, producing Homonoia, Arete, and Ctesius. There was a sanctuary to the Praxidikai (pl. of 'Praxidike') in Haliartus where oaths were sworn. In artistic depictions, it is likely she was represented solely by a head.[937]

Priapus A fertility god. His mother is Aphrodite, and his father is sometimes given as Dionysus or Hermes.[938] He is depicted as having an erect, oversized phallus, and he was thought to guard livestock or bees, and aid herdsmen and fishermen. His cult originated in the Hellespoint region, spreading abroad after the 4th century BC.[939] It is said that Hera gives him his physical deformity while he is in the womb, causing his mother to abandon him. In one story, he attempts to rape Lotis, but is revealed by the braying of a donkey.[940]

Promylaia A goddess of mills. Representations of her sat in mills.[941]

Proteus A sea god.[942] He is one of the deities referred to as the "Old Man of the Sea", and is said to possess prophetic and shapeshifting abilities. He looks after Poseidon's herd of seals and other marine animals, and resides on Pharos, an island near Egypt.[943] In the Odyssey, when Menelaus is marooned on Pharos, he binds Proteus, resisting the god's attempts to transform, and seeks advice from him. Virgil tells a similar story, in which it is Aristaeus who traps Proteus.[944]

Rhapso A goddess mentioned in an inscription from Athens. She is seemingly related to sewing.[945]

Silenus An elderly satyr. He is described as a severely drunken figure, hideous and overweight in appearance, with a donkey for a mount. He is sometimes called the child of Pan, or of Hermes by a nymph, and is said to father Pholus upon a Melie (sg. of 'Meliae').[946] Some sources make him a teacher of Dionysus during that god's youth. In his most famous myth, he is captured for his sage advice by Midas, who detains him by adding wine to his favourite spring.[947]

Sosipolis A divine child. At Olympia, he was worshipped alongside Eileithyia, who was seemingly considered his mother.[905]

Syceus A Titan, according to Androtion. His mother, Gaia, is said to rescue him from Zeus by creating a lightning-resistant fig tree in which he can hide.[948]

Telesphorus A healing god, conceived of as a child. There is evidence of his cult from the 2nd century BC onwards, and Pausanias describes his worship in Pergamon. He was often venerated alongside Asclepius and Hygieia.[949]

Thyone The name of the mortal Semele, after her deification.[950] Semele is a child of Cadmus and Harmonia, and attracts the attention of Zeus, becoming his lover.[951] Hera tricks the girl into asking Zeus to come to her in the form he

comes to his wife. Upon doing so, Zeus reduces her to ashes, though he manages to extract her unborn child, Dionysus. Semele is later deified when her son brings her up from the underworld to live on Olympus.[121]

Triteia The daughter of Triton. By Ares, she becomes the mother of Melanippus, who names the city of Tritaia after her.[952]

Triton A sea god, and the child of Poseidon and Amphitrite.[953] In art, he is portrayed as having a human upper half and a fish's tail, and he often appears sounding a conch-shell horn.[954] He is said to help guide the Argonauts back out to sea when they find themselves at Lake Tritonis in Libya.[953] Tritons (pl. of 'Triton') is used to refer to a species of marine figures with fishtails, who are companions of Poseidon, and are common subjects in Hellenistic art.[955]

Tychon A god of success. He is ithyphallic, and there is evidence of his worship in Boeotia around the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[956]

Zagreus A deity sometimes equated with Dionysus.[957] His original nature is unclear; Aeschylus represents him as a god of the underworld, and he may have been assimilated with Hades.[958] He is seemingly later fused with an Orphic Dionysus, the child of Zeus and Persephone, who is dismembered by the Titans and reincarnated.[959] This tale of dismemberment, sometimes called the "Zagreus myth", has been viewed as the principal myth of Orphism,[960] though the name "Zagreus" is not mentioned in any extant Orphic source.[961]

See also

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Ancient Greek deities

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Lists of mythological figures

Categories: **Greek deities****Lists of deities****Greek mythology-related lists****Characters in Greek mythology**

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by region or culture.

Africa

Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German (Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.^[1]^[2]

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Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth
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Vainakh deities
Central Asia

Turkic deities
East Asia

Chinese deities
Taoist pure ones
Japanese deities
Korean deities
North Asia

Siberian deities

South Asia

The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity

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Buddhist Bodhisattvas

Buddhist deities

Hindu deities

Rigvedic deities (see also Proto-Indo-Iranian religion)

Sri Lankan Tamil local deities

Tamil Nadu local deities

Tirthankara

Southeast Asia

Indonesian deities

Manipuri deities

Ancestral deities of Manipur

King of Gods in Manipuri mythology

King of Serpent deities in Manipuri mythology

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Mesopotamian deities

Assyro-Babylonian pantheon (see also Family tree of the Babylonian gods)

Kassite deities

Sumerian deities

Ugaritic deities

Semitic deities

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Elohim in Abrahamic religions

Pre-Islamic Arabian deities

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Persia

Yazata, see also Proto-Indo-Iranian religion

Elam

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This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

[Motif-index](#)

A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

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A193. Gods of Dying-and-rising
A200—A299. Gods of the Upper World
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Category: Lists of deities

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Religion

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This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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The following is a list of lists of legendary creatures, beings and entities from the folklore record. Entries consist of legendary and unique creatures, not of particularly unique individuals of a commonly known species.

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This article includes a fiction-related list of lists.

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This list of legendary creatures from mythology, folklore and fairy tales is sorted by their classification or affiliation. Creatures from modern fantasy fiction and role-playing games are not included.

This is a dynamic list and may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by editing the page to add missing items, with references to reliable sources.

Animals, creatures associated with

Arthropods

See also: Category:Mythological arthropods

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a greenish-red fiery light reminiscent of fireflies

Karkinos (Greek) – Cancer the crab

Gold-digging ant (Greek) – Reported by Herodotus to live in either Ethiopia or the Indian subcontinent

Khepri (Ancient Egyptian) – Beetle who pushes the sun

Mothman (American cryptid) – Man with moth wings and features

Myrmecoleon (Christian) – Ant-lion

Myrmidons (Greek) – Warriors created from ants by Zeus

Pabilsag (Babylonian) – Sagittarius-like creature with scorpion tail

Scorpion man (Babylonian) – Protector of travellers

Selket (Ancient Egyptian) – Scorpion death/healing goddess

Zaratan (Arabic) – Giant crab mistaken for an island

Spiders

See also: Category:Mythological spiders

Aiapæc (Moche) – Creator god, often seen as a spider with an anthropomorphic face and jaguar fangs

Anansi (West African) – Trickster spider

Arachne (Greek) – Weaver cursed into a spider

Areop-Enap (Nauru) – Creator god, made the earth and sky from a giant clam shell

Chaffee Spider (American cryptid) – Large cave spider kept as pest control and guard dogs by early settlers in Chaffee, Colorado, before mysteriously vanishing off the face of the earth

Christmas Spider (Ukrainian) – Spider whose webs became the first tinsel on a tree

Djieien (Seneca) – Man-sized spider who survived most attacks because its heart was buried underground.

Iktomi (Lakota) – Trickster spider. Also known in parts of the Rockies

Jorōgumo (Japanese) – Ghost woman who shapeshifts into a spider

Spider_Grandmother (Native American) – Important figure across many North West Native American Cultures

Tsuchigumo (Japanese) – Shapeshifting giant spider

Birds

See also: Category:Legendary birds

Ababil (Islamic) – A miraculous bird

Adarna (Philippine) – Colorful bird with healing powers, puts people to sleep, and turns people into stone

Avalerion (English) – Eagle-like bird; only a single pair was said to live at any time

Alicanto (Chilean) – Bird with luminescent feathers which feeds on gold or silver [1]

Anqa (Arabian) – Large, mysterious, or fabulous female bird

Anzû (Mesopotamian) – Massive bird who can breathe fire and water

Bare-fronted Hoodwink (Cryptid) – Bird with the ability to be "almost seen", created to satirize birdwatchers

Caladrius (Roman) – White bird with healing powers

Chalkydri (Jewish) – Heavenly creatures of the sun

Chamrosh (Persian mythology) – Creature with the body of a dog, and the head and wings of a bird

Cinnamon bird (Greek) – Arabian bird in Greek mythology that builds nests out of cinnamon

Devil Bird (Sri Lankan) – Shrieking bird who predicts death

Gagana (Russian) – Miraculous bird with an iron beak and copper claws

Gandabherunda (Hindu) – Two-headed magical bird

Garuda (Hindu) – Known as the primordial bird and the progenitor of all birds; vehicle of Lord Vishnu

Hakawai (Māori) – Bird that was sometimes heard but not usually seen

Hudhud (Islamic) – Messenger to prophets

Jingwei (Chinese) – A bird who is determined to fill up the sea

Luan (Chinese) – A bird which carries a shield and tramples on snakes while wearing one on its breast

Minokawa (Philippine) – Giant, dragon-like bird

Nine-headed Bird (Chinese) – A totem creature, predecessor to the Fenghuang

Oozlum bird (English) – A satirical creature that flies in ever-decreasing circles until it disappears into its own backside

Pamola (Abenaki) – A bird/moose spirit who causes cold weather
Peng (Chinese) – An enormous bird transformed from a giant fish which flies over the great oceans
Phoenix (Greek) –
Bennu (Egyptian) – self-creating bird deity
Chol (Biblical) – regenerative bird
Firebird (Slavic) – legendary bird with glowing eyes and feathers, brings misfortune if captured.
Fenghuang (Chinese) – a phoenix who reigns over all other birds
Huma bird (Persian) – a bird that flies too high to be seen and never lands
Konrul and Toghrul (Turkic)
Paskunji (Georgian/ Caucasus) phoenix like underworld dwelling bird. Kills the snakes on the path to the afterlife & aid heroes on quests.
Vermilion Bird (Chinese)
Piasa (Native American) – Based on monster depicted on Illinois rock painting near the Mississippi River
Qingniao (Chinese) – Blue or green messenger birds of the Queen Mother of the West
Ra (Ancient Egyptian) – Sun deity often depicted with falcon features
Rain Bird (Native American) – Bird who brought rain
Raróg (Slavic) – Fiery demon falcon
Roc (Arabian) – Enormous legendary bird of prey
Shangyang (Chinese) – Rainbird
Shedu (Mesopotamian) – Male counterpart to Lamassu
Simurgh (Persian) – Phoenix-like bird of enormous size and great longevity and wisdom
Stymphalian birds (Greek) – Man-eating birds
Thoth (Ancient Egyptian) – Ibis-headed god of the moon, wisdom, and art
Three-legged bird (various cultures)
Thunderbird (Native American) – Legendary bird spirit that brings storms, found primarily among the cultures of the Pacific Northwest, but also the American Southwest, Great Lakes, and Great Plains
Turul (Hungarian) – Mythological bird of prey
Veðrfölnir (Norse) – Hawk that sits atop an eagle that rests atop the world tree, Yggdrasil
Vucub Caquix (Mayan) – Bird demon
Wampus Bird (Native American) – Giant heron with shell armor instead of feathers
Zhenniao (Chinese) – Poisonous bird
Avian Humanoids
Main article: List of avian humanoids
See also: Category:Avian humanoids
Alkonost (Slavic) – Female with body of a bird
Gamayun (Slavic) – Prophetic bird with woman's head
Gumyōchō (Yōkai) – Twin-headed human-bird
Harpy (Greek) – Ugly winged bird woman, steals food

Aello – Name meaning "storm"

Ocypete – Name meaning "swift wing"

Celaeno – Name meaning "the dark one"

Podarge – Name meaning "fleet-footed"

Horus (Ancient Egyptian) – Tutelary deity and god of the sky and kingship

Inmyeonjo (Korean) – Bird with a human face

Itsumade (Japanese) – Monstrous bird with a human face

Kalavinka (Buddhist) – Fantastical immortal creature with a human head and a bird's torso and long flowing tail

Karura (Japanese) – Divine creature with human torso and bird-like head

Kinnara (Buddhist) – Half-bird musicians

Lamassu (Mesopotamian) – Goddess with a human head, the body of a bull or a lion, and bird wings

Siren (Greek) – Bird-women known for their compelling singing

Achelois – Name meaning "she who drives away pain", surname for the daughters of Achelous

Aglaonoe – Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Agalaope – Name meaning "with lambent voice", daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Leucosia – Name meaning "white", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Ligeia – Name meaning "clear-toned", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Parthenope – Name meaning "maiden-voiced", Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Pisinoe – Daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Sterope

Thelxinoë – Name meaning "mind charming"

Swan maiden (Multi-cultural) – Shapeshifts from human to swan

Tengu (Japanese) – Has human and bird characteristics, name means "dog" Chickens

See also: Category:Mythological galliforms

Alectryon (Greek) – Rooster charged with announcing the arrival of Helios

Basan (Japanese) – Fire-breathing chicken

Cockatrice – Chicken-headed dragon or serpent, visually similar to the Basilisk

Gallic rooster – Symbolic rooster used as an allegory for France

Gullinkambi – Rooster who lives in Valhalla in Norse mythology

Rooster of Barcelos – A mythological rooster from Portugal

Sarimanok (Philippine) – Legendary chicken of the Maranao people who originate from Mindanao

Víðópnir – Rooster that sits atop Yggdrasil in Norse mythology

Corvids

Main article: Cultural depictions of ravens

See also: Category:Mythological corvids

Badb (Irish) – War goddess who takes the form of a crow

Corone (Greek) – Woman turned into a crow to flee Poseidon

Huginn and Muninn (Norse) – Two ravens that serve as messengers

Kutkh (Indigenous Russian) – Raven spirit involved in the creation myth
Nachtkrapp (German) – Raven who kidnaps children out at night
Rainbow crow (Lenape (supposed)) – Crow who brought fire to earth
Raum (Demonology) – Demon crow and a great earl of Hell
Three-legged crow (East Asian) – Crow with three legs representing the sun
Yatagarasu (Shinto) – Three-legged crow
Tulugaak (Inuit) – Raven god and creator of light
Waang (Australian Aboriginal) – Trickster crow and culture hero

Eagles

See also: Category:Mythological birds of prey

Aethon (Greek) – Eagle tormentor of Prometheus

Griffin (Greek) – Guards treasure and priceless possessions

Hippogriff (Italian) – Winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle

Huracán (Mayan) – Type of thunderbird that lives beneath the Gulf of Mexico.

Etymological origin of "hurricane"

Hræsvelgr (Norse) – Jötunn who takes the form of an eagle

Poukai (Māori) – Monstrous predatory bird, likely based on an extinct species

Shahbaz (Persian) – Eagle god who helped the Iranian peoples and guided the Faravahar to the Iranian lands

Triple-headed eagle (multi-cultural) –

Wuchowsen - (Abenaki) One of the four wind spirits in Abenaki lore. Depicted as a giant eagle who lives atop a mountain.

Ziz (Jewish) – Giant griffin

Zu (Mesopotamian) – Divine monster depicted as a lion-headed eagle

Owls

See also: Category:Owls in culture

Chickcharney (Bahamas) – Magical owl with powers over fate, sometimes encountered by travellers in pine forests.

Nyctimene (Roman) – Princess transformed into an owl by Minerva.

Owlman (English) – Owl-like humanoid compared to America's Mothman

Sirin (Slavic) – Birds with women's heads who lured men to their deaths

Strix (Greek) – Owl that ate human flesh

Fish

See also: Category: Legendary fish

Fish People

Mermaid / Merman – half-human, half-fish (worldwide)

Water spirit – (worldwide)

Undine – water elementals in the alchemical writings of Paracelsus

Abaia

Gurangatch

Hippocamp

Ika-Roa

Il Belliegha - (Malta) Eel like monster with a frog tongue and a hand on the tip of its tail that eats children who get too close to open wells.

Isonade

Namaz

Ningyo

Kun

Salmon of Wisdom

Shachihoko (Japanese) – a creature with the head of a tiger and the body of a carp

Mug-wamp - Canadian giant sturgeon monster said to inhabit Lake Temiskaming in Ontario. Name is of Native origin.

Mammals

Aquatic and marine-based

Aspidochelone (Greek) – Island sized whale mentioned in bestiaries

Bahamut (Arabic) – Whale monster whose body supports the earth. Word seems far more ancient than Islam and may have the same origin as the word Behemoth in modern Judeo-Christian lore

Bake-kujira (Japanese) – Ghost whale

Cetus (Greek) – A monster with the head of a boar or a greyhound, the body of a whale or dolphin, and a divided, fan-like tail

Devil Whale (English) – Whale capable of swallowing ships

Dobhar-chú (Scottish) – King otter

Encantado (Brazilian) – Shapeshifting trickster dolphins

Glashtyn (Celtic) – Horse goblin from the sea

Gveleshapi (Georgian) - Snake-whale monster associated with lakes, rivers and springs. Said to be causes of floods and other water related disasters

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Makara (Hindu mythology) – Half terrestrial animal in the frontal part (stag, deer, or elephant) and half aquatic animal in the hind part (usually of a fish, a seal, or a snake, though sometimes a peacock or even a floral tail is depicted)

Sea goat (Greek) – Half goat, half fish

Selkie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting seal people

Water bull (Scottish) – Nocturnal amphibious bull

Water Horse – General name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – Water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – Upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – Water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – Legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being, known for appearing as horses

Nuckelavee (Oradian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting sea water horse

Bats

See also: Category:Bats in religion

Balayang (Australian Aboriginal) – Bat-god and brother to Bunjil

Camazotz (Mayan) – Bat spirit and servant of the lords of the underworld
Leutogi (Polynesian) – Samoan princess rescued by bats
Minyades (Greek) – Three sisters who refused to take part in the worship of Dionysus, and turned into bats by Hermes
Tjinimin (Australian Aboriginal) – Ancestor of the Australian people
Vetala (Hindu) – Vampiric entity that takes over cadavers

Carnivorans

Bears

See also: Category:Mythological bears

Bjarndyrakongur (Icelandic) – King of bears. Stems from Polar Bear sightings in Iceland being extremely rare, but not unheard of. Has a shining horn on its head topped with a ball and red patches on cheeks

Bugbear (Celtic) – Child-eating hobgoblin

Callisto (Greek) – A nymph who was turned into a bear by Hera

Stiff-Legged Bear (Native American) – Gigantic, hairless bear monster in tribal folklore, predominantly Iroquoians and Algonquians, possibly inspired by mammoths

Canines

See also: Category:Mythological canines

Adlet (Inuit) – Tribe of hybrid dog people birthed from a woman who married her dog. Were banished for preying on humans.

Akhlut (Inuit) – Wolf-orca hybrid monster that hunts on both land and sea.

Amarok (Inuit) – Giant solitary wolf that hunts at night

Anubis (Egyptian) – Jackal-headed god associated with mummification and the afterlife

Aralez (Armenian) – Winged dogs that descend from heaven and resurrect fallen warriors by licking their wounds

Asena (Altai/Turkish) – She-wolf impregnated by mythical founder of a tribe called the Golturks. They came to Turkey from Altai in Siberia during the empire of Ghengis Khan

Axehandle hound (North American) – Axe-shaped dog that reputedly subsists on axe-handles left unattended

Black dog (British) – Also known as Barghest, Black Shuck, or Grim; associated with the Devil, Hellhound

Beast of Gévaudan (French) – Man-eating wolf, terrorized the province of Gévaudan

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a small, luminescent dog [2]

Cerberus (Greek, Roman) – Multi-headed dog, guards the gates of the Underworld, son/brother of Orthrus

Chupacabra (Latin American) – Alleged creature reputed to attack and drink the blood of livestock, occasionally described with bat-like features. Sometimes thought to resemble, or mistaken for a hairless coyote

Cu Sith or Cusith (Irish, Scottish, Hebridean) – A hellhound, a highland harbinger of death

Crocotta – Mythical dog-wolf that can imitate human voices, supposedly found in India or Ethiopia

Cynocephaly – Humanoids with the head of a dog or jackal

Dogs of Actaeon (Greek) – Hunting dogs that turned on Actaeon after he was turned into a deer

Failinis (Irish) – Legendary hound with a number of abilities

Fenrir (Norse) – Monstrous wolf destined to kill Odin

Gelert (Welsh) – Dog killed out of error by Welsh King, thinking it had murdered his infant child

Hellhound (Worldwide) – Supernatural dogs, bringers of death

Huodou (Chinese) – a large black dog that can emit flames from its mouth

Hvcko Capko (Seminole) – Also Long Ears, Stinky Wolf. A horse sized wolf with extra large, pointed ears, a horse's tail and reeks of rot and death. Prolonged exposure to its stench causes deadly illness

Kludde (Belgium) – demon summoned from the ashes of witches taking the form of a black wolf with bat wings, a birds beak and bear claws. Has glowing eyes, shapeshifting abilities and great speed

Orthrus (Greek) – two headed dog, father/brother of Cerberus

Papa-mel or Papamel – Dog of the Amazonian Curupira

Penghou (Chinese) – tree spirit that appears like a black dog and tastes like dog-meat

Petitcrieu – Fairy dog in Tristan romance

Psoglav (Bosnia) – Humanoid monster with dog's head, horse's legs, one eye and iron teeth.

Salawa – the "Typhonian Animal," a slender, vaguely canine-animal that is the totemic animal of Set

Sigbin (Philippine) – is a creature in Philippine mythology

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey creature found in Cambridgeshire (Britain)

Tanuki (Japanese) – Japanese raccoon dog, legends claim is a shapeshifting trickster

Värkolak, or "Vukodlak" (Slavic) – Undead vampire werewolf

Werewolf – human, shapeshifts to a wolf because of an affliction, lycanthrope (Worldwide)

Foxes

See also: Category:Mythological foxes

Aguara (Chané) – Trickster fox associate with the constellation Scorpius.

Amaterasu (Japanese) – Sun goddess who sometimes takes the form of a dragon-fox.

Tulikettu (Finnish) – Fox with flaming fur, whose skin is said to be a safer alternative for lighting than fire. Catching on in a hunt will guarantee riches. Gives name to the northern lights

Huli jing (Chinese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kitsune (Japanese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kumiho (Korean) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Sky Fox (mythology) (Chinese) – Celestial nine-tailed Fox Spirit that is 1,000 years old and has golden fur

Felines

See also: Category:Mythological felines

Bael (Demonology) – First king of Hell with three heads: a man, a toad, and a cat
Ball-tailed cat (North American) – a feline similar to a mountain lion, except with a long tail with a bulbous end used for striking its prey

Cactus cat (North American) – a feline of the American Southwest with hair-like thorns that intoxicates itself by the consumption of cactus water

Canaima (Mexico) – Term for a sort of were-jaguar. May be related to skinwalkers

Cat-sìth (Celtic mythology) – Spectral cat that haunts the Scottish Highlands

Cath Palug (Welsh) – Monstrous cat said to have killed 180 warriors

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a cat with a luminescent chin [3]

Demon Cat (North American) – a ghost cat who is purported to haunt the government buildings of Washington, D.C.

Kaibyō (Japanese) – Various forms of cat Yōkai

Bakeneko (Japanese) – Two-tailed cat yōkai

Kasha (Japanese) – Corpse stealing yōkai, sometimes originating as a cat

Nekomata (Japanese) – Cat yōkai from both mountains and domestic areas

Nue (Japanese) – Hybrid of monkey, tiger, tanuki and snake. Considered a yokai

Panther (Greek) – Wildcat with multicolored hide. Attracts prey with sweet smelling breath and is often ridden by and associated with the god, Dionysus
Pard (Greek) – Early Greek understanding of a leopard. It was also surmised that cheetahs were a hybrid of a lion and a pard, hence calling those leopards instead of what we now call leopards

Phantom cat, Alien Big Cat (Modern, Worldwide) – Wildcat that seems to appear far beyond its native range by unknown circumstance

Blue Mountains panther (Australian) – Alleged unknown wildcats sighted in Australia

Glawackus (American) – Hybrid bear-panther-lion monster that sounds like a hyena and can erase the memory of those who look into its eyes

Tyger (English) – Heraldic being that looked like a cross between a lion, horse and wolf, said to be red and speckled

Underwater panther (Native American) – Shapeshifting being known by many names among tribes in Eastern US

Vapula (European, Christian, Demonology) – A demon with insight into mechanics and science which takes a winged lion form

Vassoko (Africa, Chad) – Cat the size of a horse with long fangs and burning eyes. Always accompanied by an entourage of butterflies

Wampus cat (American) – Cat with six legs and a long tail; originally a man who was transformed into the creature by a curse

White Tiger (Chinese) – a Guardian Of The West cardinal point

Winged cat – Archaeological designation for depictions of any mythological creature that can fit that description

Lions

See also: Category:Mythological lions

Arimanius (Greek) – Minor lion-headed Greek god

Ammit (Egyptian) – Goddess with the forequarters of a lion, the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, and the head of a crocodile

Barong (Balinese) – Benevolent king of spirits
Beast of the First Kingdom (Christian) – A beast like a lion with eagle's wings seen in the Book of Revelations
Brunswick Lion (German) – Loyal companion of Henry the Lion after the two slew a dragon together
Chimera (Greek)
Chinese guardian lions (Chinese) – Statues depicted in pairs believed to be protectors
Komainu (Shinto)
Shisa (Ryukyuan)
Sin-you (Japanese)
Xiezhi (Chinese)
Dawon (Tibetan) – Mount of the goddess Durga
Egyptian lion gods – Lions were a symbol of warfare and most all of these gods were warriors
Aker – Earth and underworld god
Âmi-Pe – A lion god
Apedemak – Depicted as a figure with a male human torso and a lion head
Bast – Lioness goddess of fertility and protection against disease.
Hert-ketit-s
Huntheth – A lioness goddess
Ipy (goddess) – Head and feet of a lion, body of a hippo, arms of a human
Maahes – Name means "he who is true beside her"
Matit – A funerary cat goddess who had a cult center at Thinis
Mehit – Depicted as a reclining lioness with three bent poles projecting from her back
Menhit
Pakhet
Repyt
Sekhmet – Warrior goddess as well as goddess of healing
Seret – A lioness goddess possibly originally from Libya
Shesmetet
Taweret – Depicted as a hippopotamus with lion paws and crocodile tail
Tefnut –
Tutu – Body of a striding, winged lion, the head of a human, other heads of hawks and crocodiles projecting from the body, and the tail of a serpent
Urit-en-kru – A lioness headed hippopotamus goddess
Griffin (Europe)
Lamassu (Mesopotamian)
Lampago (Heraldic) – Mythical beast in the form of a "man-tiger or man-lion"
Leo (Greek) –
Lion of Cithaeron (Greek)
Nemean lion (Greek)
Lion of Al-lât (Arabian) – Lion icon of Al-Lat
Manticore (Persian)
Manussiha (Burmese) – Statue with a human head and two lion hindquarters

Merlion (Singaporean) – Fish with a lion's head
Narasimha (Hindu) – Part-lion avatar of Vishnu
Nian (Chinese) – Flat-faced lion with the body of a dog and prominent incisors, warded away by New Year's celebrations
Nongshāba (Sanamahism) – Lion god who created the sun
Pixiu (Chinese) – Powerful, winged lions who protect Feng shui practitioners
Questing Beast (Arthurian) – Beast with the head and neck of a snake, the body of a leopard, the haunches of a lion, and the feet of a hart
Sea-lion (Heraldic) – A half-lion half-fish beast found in heraldry
Serpopard (Egyptian) – Lion/leopard body with a snake head.
Sharabha (Hindu) – Part lion, part bird-beast, with eight legs.
Simhamukha (Tibetan) – A wisdom dakini of the Dzogchen tradition with the head of a snow lion
Snow Lion (Tibetan) – Celestial animal of Tibet
Sphinx (Egyptian) –
Criosphinx (Egyptian) – Ram-headed sphinx
Gopaitioshah (Persian) – Winged bull or lion with human face
Hieracosphinx (Egyptian) – Has the head of a hawk and the body of a lion
Stratford Lyon
Tigris (Jewish) – Giant lion of the forest of Bei Ilai
Vaikuntha Chaturmurti (Hindu) – a four-headed aspect of the Hindu god Vishnu: a human head, a lion head, a boar head and a fierce head
Winged lion
Yali (Hindu) – Portrayed with the head and the body of a lion, the trunk and the tusks of an elephant, and sometimes bearing equine features
Yaghūth – A god of the era of the prophet Noah
Yaldabaoth (Gnostic) – Lion-headed serpent god.
Hyenas
Werehyena
Musteloids and non-hyena herpestoids
Azeban
Gef
Ichneumon
Kamaitachi
Kushtaka (Tlingit) – shapeshifting "land otter man"
Mujina
Ramidreju
Raijū
Procyonids
Azeban – trickster raccoon spirit in Abenaki mythology
Marsupials
See also: Category:Mythological marsupials
Drop bear
Bunyip (Australian Aboriginal)
Primates
See also: Category:Mythological monkeys

Agropelter – a beast that amuses itself by hurling twigs and tree branches at passersby (United States & Canada)

Bigfoot or Sasquatch – Cryptid, animal of the Northwest (North America)

Hibagon or Hinagon – ape-like, similar to Bigfoot, or the Yeti (Japan)

Jué yuán – blue-furred man-sized rhesus monkey that abducts human women (China & Japan)

Satori – mind-reading magical ape or monkey (Japan)

Shōjō – anthropomorphic spirit, depicted as furred, somewhat confounded with orangutan (Japan)

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey (Britain)

Sun Wukong (proper name) – powerful warrior-magician in the form of a monkey who hatched from a stone egg (China)

Vanara – humanoid apes or monkeys (India, Hindu)

Yeren – man-monkey, cryptid hominid, resides in remote mountainous (China)

Yeti – Abominable Snowman, ape-like cryptid similar to Bigfoot, that inhabits the Himalayas (Nepal, Tibet)

Yowie – hominid said to live in the Australian wilderness, a cryptid similar to the Himalayan Yeti (Australia)

Rabbits and hares

See also: Category:Mythological rabbits and hares

Al-Mi'raj – rabbit with unicorn horn (Arabia)

Jackalope – (North America)

Moon rabbit – a rabbit living on the moon (Chinese)

Skvader

Wisakedjak - (Native American) aka Whiskeyjack. One of several names for rabbit trickster spirit of the eastern woodlands and Great Plains

Wolpertinger

Rodents

See also: Category:Mythological rodents

Afanc

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Ratatoskr

Rat king; phenomenon in which a number of rats become intertwined at their tails (Germany, France)

Wolpertinger

Ungulates

Antelopes and deer

See also: Category:Mythological deer

Actaeon (Greek) – a hunter turned into a deer and torn apart by his dogs

Ceryneian Hind (Greek) – Artemis' large, sacred golden hind

Deer Woman (Native American) – female human above the waist, deer below.

Male version is Elk Man.

Eikþyrnir (Norse mythology) – stag which stands upon Valhalla

Goldhorn (Slavic) – white golden-horned antelope

Jackalope (North American) – jackrabbit with antelope horns

Keresh (Jewish) – giant deer of the forest of Bei Ilai

Peryton (Argentina) – Stag that is part bird

Qilin (Chinese) – East Asian chimerical good-luck symbol

Tarand (European) also Parandrus. Antelope or deerlike creature said to be found in Ethiopia that can change the color of its fur at will to camouflage itself

White stag (worldwide) – magic white deer

Xeglun (Tungusic mythology) – celestial elk

Bovines

See also: Category:Mythological bovines

Auðumbla

Bai Ze

Kujata (Arabic) – Cosmic bull that bears the angel who holds the earth. Kujata, in turn, stands on Bahamhut.

Bicorn and Chichevache

Bonnacon

Hodag (American) – monster born of the cremated remains of an abused bull

Minotaur – monster with the head of a bull and the body of a man (Greek)

Nandi

Sarangay – a bull with a huge muscular body and a jewel attached to its ears (Philippines)

Shedu

Tē-gû – a giant buffalo living underground which causes earthquakes (Taiwan)

Ushi-oni – (Japan)

Camelids

Allocamelus – A donkey-headed camel.

Heavenly Llama[4]

Caprids

See also: Category:Mythological caprids

Amalthea

Aries

Barometz

Capricornus

Chimera

Dahu

Faun – a Roman version of satyr. It has a human head and torso and a goat waist and legs.

Goldhorn – also known as Zlatorog

Heiðrún – goat in Norse mythology, which produces mead for the einherjar

Khnum

Satyr – a goat legged human that is associated to the deity Dionysus. Known to be drunk partiers.

Sidehill gouger

Tanngrisnir and Tanngrjóstr – Thor's magical goats

Chrysomallos – a sheep with golden fleece from Greek mythology

Equines

Main articles: List of horses in mythology and folklore and List of winged horses

See also: Category:Horses in mythology

Anggitay – is a creature with the upper body of a female human and the lower body of a horse from waist down (Philippines)

Arion – Talking immortal horse (Greek)

Balius and Xanthus (Greek) – immortal offspring of harpies

Buraq – Al-Burāq, steed from the heavens that transported the prophets (Islam)

Centaur – head, arms, and torso of a human, the body and legs of a horse (Greek)

Cheval Gauvin – horse which tries to kill its rider (French/Swiss)

Cheval Mallet; horse that tempts and kidnaps weary travelers (French)

Chiron – centaur believed to be exceptional among his brethren (Greek)

Chollima – a winged horse too swift to be mounted by any mortal (Chinese)

Drapé - (France) Ghostly horse who spirits away children wandering at night to an unknown location, never to be seen again.

Gytrash (English) – shapeshifting spirit usually taking the form of a horse, mule or other animal that appears to the lost and leads them to their destination

Haizum – horse of the archangel Gabriel (Islam)

Hippogriff – winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle (French, English)

Ipotane – half-horse, half-humans, original centaurs (Greek)

Karkadann – monstrous, highly aggressive unicorn (India, Persia)

Kotobuki (Japanese) – Yokai with traits of all members of the Chinese zodiac

Longma – fabled winged horse with dragon scales (China)

Mankayia (Kiowa) – tornado spirit in the form of a horse

Onocentaur – part human, part donkey (Greek)

Pegasus – winged white stallion (Greek)

Pooka – spirits or fairies who lived near ancient stones; could be good or bad (Ireland)

Sleipnir – Odin's eight-legged horse, which he rode to Hel (Norse)

Simurgh – like the Hippogriff with the head of a human (Persian)

Sihuanaba – shapeshifting spirit that typically appears as a beautiful, long-haired woman when seen from behind, before revealing her face to be that of a horse

Tikbalang – creature with the body of a man and the head and hooves of a horse that lurks in the mountains and forests (Philippines)

Uchchaihshravas – seven-headed flying white horse (Hindu)

Unicorn – horse-like creature with a single horn, often symbolizing purity (worldwide)

Winged unicorn

Water Horse – general name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being known for appearing as a horse

Nuckelavee (Oradian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – shapeshifting sea water horse

White horse

Pachyderms

Main article: List of elephants in mythology and religion

See also: Category:Mythological elephants

Abath

Baku

Behemoth

Quugaarpak - (Inuit) Explanation for Mammoths & other Ice Age remains washing out of riversides. Underworld monsters who dig their way up to the human world, but die upon breathing our air.

Taweret

Pigs and boars

See also: Category:Mythological pigs

Calydonian Boar

Erymanthian Boar

Zhu Bajie

Xenarthrans

Mapinguari

Molluscs

See also: Category:Mythological molluscs

Akkorokamui – octopus monster (Ainu, Japan)

Amikuk (Yup'ik) - Shapeshifting four armed 'octopus' that can swim through land as easily as water.

Carbuncle (Chilote) – one of its many descriptions is a luminescent bivalve[3][2]

Lou Carcolh – A giant, man-eating snail with fur and tentacles (France)

Kraken – squid monster (Worldwide)

Shen – A clam-dragon that creates mirages and fata morgana at sea (China)

Reptiles

Limbed

See also: Category:Legendary reptiles

Agoa (American) – turtle monster of West Virginian lore centered around the Monongahela River

Ammut – female demon, funerary deity and animal hybrid (Egypt)

Bakunawa – serpentine dragon in Philippines

Basilisk – king of serpents with the power to cause death with a single glance (Europe)

Black Tortoise – one of the four symbols of the Chinese constellations

Chalkydri

Chinese Dragon – serpentine creature with four legs

Cipactli – sea monster, part crocodile, fish and toad. Always hungry, thousands of mouths (Aztec)

Dragon – serpentine, reptilian traits (worldwide)

Dungavenhooter – a crocodilian creature with no mouth and huge nostrils who uses its tail to pound victims into a vapor, which it then inhales

Knucker – sea serpent-like dragon

Kurma

Loch Ness Monster – sea monster cryptid (Scotland)

Loveland frog – Humanoid cryptid (The United States (Ohio))

Luu – (Mongol) – serpentine water dragons capable of causing great floods if angered.

Makara

Mokele Mbembe

Mo‘o (Hawaiian) class of shapeshifting lizard monsters

Morgawr (Cornish) – crocodilian sea serpent that affects fishing

Mungoon-Gali – a giant goanna (Australia)

Peluda

Reptilian humanoids

Sewer alligator

Sobek

Taniwha

Whowie – a giant frog-headed goanna with six legs (Australia)

Wyvern

Zaratan

Serpents and worms

See also: List of dragons in mythology and folklore, Category: Legendary serpents, and Serpents in the Bible

Alicante

Amphisbaena

Amphithere

Apep/Apophis

Azhi Dahaka

Basilisk

Bakonawa

Biscione

Cockatrice

Dragon

Drake

Echidna

Fáfnir

Feathered serpent

Garafena (Russian)

Gorgon

Hoop snake

Indus worm

Hydra

Jaculus/Jaculi

Jasconius

Jörmungandr — the Midgård serpent

Lamia
Lindworm
Madame White Snake
Meretseger
Mongolian Death Worm
Naga
Níðhöggr
Orm
Ouroboros
Python
Rainbow serpent
Sea serpent
Tarasque
Tolba — the world turtle that supports North America upon its back
Tsuchinoko
Typhon
Ur
Wyvern
Yamata no Orochi
Zilant
Megafauna

Main article: List of megafauna in mythology and folklore

Giants

Main article: List of giants in mythology and folklore

Artificial creatures

This listing includes creatures that are man-made, mechanical or of alchemical origins.

Automaton (worldwide) – self-operating machine; most famous example is Greek mythology's Talos

Blodeuwedd (Welsh) – wife of Lleu Llaw Gyffes

Brazen head (Medieval legends) – living head of brass purported to be able to answer any question given to it

Doll Woman- (Lenape) lifelike doll spirit. Must stay properly appeased, or will cause mischief in the home.

Frankenstein's monster

Galatea (Greek) – ivory statue carved by Pygmalion

Gingerbread man – from German folk tales

Golem (Jewish) – animated humanoid construct

Homunculus (Alchemy) – diminutive, animated construct

Nephele (Greek) – nymph formed from a cloud by Zeus to resemble the goddess

Hera

Shabti (Egyptian) – clay model used as workers

Tokeloshe (Zulu mythology) – diminutive, hairy humanoid with various magical powers

Tilberi (Iceland) – creations of witches from a rib bone and wool for the purpose

of stealing milk

Tsukumogami (Japanese) – objects that come to life, of their own accord, after 100 years

Tulpa (Tibetan Buddhism) – creature brought to life through meditation

Tupilaq (Inuit) – large statues brought to life to serve witches and shamans

Ushabti (Egyptian) – clay guardians/assistants

Various objects animated by gods, demons and spirits in mythology, legend and folklore

Body parts, creatures associated with

Blood

See also: Category:Mythological hematophages

Alan

Chupacabra

Dhampir

Preta

Golden Hind

Kappa

Kekkai

Lamia

Manananggal

Mandurugo

Redcap

Rokurokubi

Sigbin

Vampire

Werewolf

Yuki-onna

Bone

Bloody Bones

Gashadokuro

Grim Reaper

Skeleton

Eye

Argus Panoptes

Basilisk

Catoblepas

Cockatrice

Cyclopes

Gorgon

Hitotsume-kozou

Lamia

Lynx

Mokumokuren

One-eyed

Main article: List of one-eyed creatures in mythology and fiction

Face

Asura
Deva / Devi
Noppera-bō
Hair
Futakuchi-onna
Harionago
Mavka
Medusa
Head
Further information: Polycephaly
Amphisbaena
Cerberus
Chimera
Chonchon
Double-headed eagle
Dullahan
Hekatonkheires
Kishi
Hydra
Lernaean Hydra
Nine-headed Bird
Nukekubi
Rokurokubi
Orthrus
Shesha
Penanggalan
Wanyūdō
Xing Tian
Yacuruna
Yamata no Orochi
Limbs
Asura (Indian)
Deva / Devi (Indian)
Hekatonkheires
Hinkypunk - (English) variation on Will o the wisp. A single, incorporeal leg hopping around bogs with a lantern.
Kui
O'nya:ten (Iroquoian) aka Dry Fingers. Mummified hand. Appears and leaps out at people after certain transgressions, such as speaking ill of the dead, or butting into other people's personal business.
Sleipnir
Three-legged bird
Mouth
Futakuchi-onna
Kuchisake-onna
Skin

Selkie
Skin-walker
Swan maiden
Tail
Bakeneko
Kitsune
Yamata no Orochi
Kumiho
Hulder
Nguruvilu
Neck
Serpopard
Rokurokubi
Vampire
Torso
Manananggal
Geryon[5]
Abdomen
Pixiu
Concepts, creatures associated with
Battle, Vengeance, Violence, and War
See also: Category:War deities
Androktasiai
Erinyes
Hipag
Hysminai
Keres
Lemures
Makhai
Onryō
Phonoi
Valkyrie
Vengeful ghost
Birth and Rebirth
See also: Category:Phoenix birds
Aralez
Phoenix
Ubume
Death and Immortality
See also: List of ghosts
See also the categories Undead and Personifications of death
Abasy
Ammit
Banshee
Demon
Devil

Dullahan
Ghost
Grim Reaper
Ox-Head and Horse-Face
Phoenix
Undead
Valkyrie
Vampire
Dream, the Mind, and Sleep
See also: Category:Sleep in mythology and folklore
Alp
Baku
Carbuncle
Devil
Drude
Incubus / Succubus
Mermaid
Nightmare
Nue
Oni
Sandman
Satori
Zduhać
Evil Eye and Sight
Alp (folklore)
Basilisk
Balor of the Evil Eye – king of the Fomorians, a race of giants, and a cyclops (Irish)
Catoblepas
Cockatrice
Gorgon – woman with hair made of living, venomous snakes, and eyes that turned men to stone (Greek):
Medusa – once a human, Medusa and her sisters were cursed to be terrible monsters by Athena (Greek)
Euryale – second eldest of the three vicious Gorgon sisters (Greek)
Stheno – eldest of the Gorgon Sisters (Greek)
Fertility and Human Sexuality
Alan
Boto
Faun
Gancanagh
German
Incubus / Succubus
Maenad
Nymph
Pombero

Popobawa
Satyr
Sileni / Silenus
Unicorn
Zemyna / Zemepatis
Simurgh
Fortune, Luck, and Wealth
Carbuncle (Chilote) – said to be the "guardian of the metals"[3]
Dwarf
Egbere
Genie
Leib-Olmai
Leprechaun
Matagot
Pixiu
Sarimanok
Sigbin
Yaksha / Yakshini
Light
Angel
Chalkydri
Deity
Lampetia
Will-o'-the-wisp
Dragon
Love and Romance
See also: Category:Love and lust gods
Cupid / Eros / Cherub
Gancanagh
Selkie
Swan maiden
Madame White Snake
Melusine
Tennin
Undine
Sound
Banshee
Encantado
Fenghuang
Fossegrim
Mermaid
Nue
Siren
Yamabiko
Speech
Main article: Talking animal

Gef
Satan
Time and Technology
See also: Category:Time and fate gods
Chronos
Father Time
Gremlin
Wisdom
Baba Yaga
Bai Ze
Griffin
Salmon of Wisdom
Sphinx
Demons
See list of theological demons
Elements, creatures associated with
Aether
Chalkydri
Deity
Elemental
Spirit
Angel
Demon
Devil
Yokai
Nymph
Elf
Fairy
Air and wind
See also: List of flying mythological creatures
Ala
Elemental
Feldgeister
Zduhać
Darkness
Black dog
Bogeyman
Enenra
Ghost
Grim Reaper
Wechuge
Wendigo
Shadow People
Vampire
Werewolf
Oni

Gashadokuro

Camazotz

Wild Hunt

Hell Hound

Earth and subterranean

See also: Category:Earth spirits

Asag

Bluecap

Elemental

Dwarf

Earth Dragon

Gargoyle

Giant

Gnome

Goblin

Golem

Knocker (folklore)

Monopod

Nymph

Ogre

Oread

Ten Ten-Vilu

Troll

Fire

Further information: Fire-breathing monster

Basan

Bluecap

Cherufe

Chimera

Dragon

Elemental

Enenra

Ifrit

Hellhound

Lampad

Phoenix

Salamander

Light and rainbow

Angel

Chalkydri

Light Elf

Rainbow crow

Rainbow Serpent

Metal and gold

Alicanto[1]

Pixiu

Carbunclo[3]
Chrysomallos
Cyclopes
Griffin
Gnome
Leprechaun
Bulgasari
Thunder and lightning
Chinese dragon
Cyclopes
Feldgeist
Kitsune
Raijū
Thunderbird
Valkyrie
Water

See also the categories Mythological water creatures and Water spirits

Afanc
Amefurikozō
Aspidochelone
Bloody Bones
Buggane
Bunyip
Camenae
Capricorn
Cetus
Charybdis
Chinese Dragon
Cai Cai-Vilu
Crinaeae
Davy Jones' Locker
Draug
Each uisge
Elemental
Fish People
Fossegrim
Fur-bearing trout
Gargouille
Grindylow
Haetae
Hippocamp
Hydra
Ichthyocentaur
Jasconius
Jengu
Kappa

Kelpie
Kraken
Lake monster
Lavellan
Leviathan
Loch Ness monster
Lorelei
Lusca
Makara
Melusine
Mami Wata
Mermaid / Merman
Merrow
Morgens
Muc-sheilch
Naiad
Näkki
Nereid
Nix
Nymph
Pisces
Ponaturi
River gods
Rusalka
Samebito
Sea monster
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Taniwha
Tiamat
Triton
Ondine
Vodyanoy
Water dragon
Water leaper
Water sprite
Yacuruna
Zaratan
Habitats, creatures associated with
Cave and underground
Dwarf
European dragon
Gnome
Goblin

Golem
Grootslang
Leprechaun
Troll
Yaoguai
Celestial and heaven
Angel
Chalkydri
Deva / Devi
Feathered serpent
Heavenly Llama[4]
Pegasus
Grim Reaper
Swan Maiden
Tennin
Three-legged bird
Valkyrie
Desert
Amphisbaena
Basilisk
Cockatrice
Ghoul
Mongolian Death Worm
Sphinx
Temperate forest and woodland
See also: Category:Forest spirits
Äbädä (Turkic) – forest spirit with shoes on the wrong feet
Ajatar
Bigfoot
Dryad
Elf
Green Man
Irrwurz
Leshy
Lindworm
Mavka
Moss people
Owlman
Satyr
Unicorn
Tropical forest and jungle
Curupira
Dingonek
Mapinguari
Manticore
Saci

Temperate grassland and garden

Fairy

Gnome

Savanna

Ennedi tiger

Werehyena

Lake and river

See also: Category:Lake monsters

Ahuitzotl

Bak

Bunyip

Chinese dragon

Dobhar-chú

Encantado

Grootslang

Iara

Jiaolong

Kappa

Kelpie

Lake monster

Hydra

Loch Ness Monster

Mizuchi

Mugwump

Naiad

Nixie

Ogopogo

Ondine

Rainbow serpent

Rusalka

Ryujin

Shellycoat

Warlock

Yacuruna

Mountain and hill

See also: Category:Mining spirits

Alp

Dwarf

Fenghuang

Griffin

Hippogriff

Mountain Giant

Kamaitachi

Mavka

Oread

Patupaiarehe

Rübezahl
Satyr
Tengu
Yeti
Sea
See also: Sea monster and Greek sea goddesses
Amikuk
Aspidochelone
Bishop-fish
Charybdis
Cai Cai-Vilu
Dragon King
Fish People
Hippocamp
Leviathan
Jormungand
Kraken
Mermaid / Merman
Nereid
Sea monk
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Tritons
Umibōzu
Water Dragon
Yacuruna
Swamp and marsh
See also: Category:Swamp monsters
Błudnik
Bunyip
Grootslang
Lernaean Hydra
Honey Island Swamp monster
Mokele-mbembe
Swamp monster
Will-o'-the-wisp
Volcano and lava
Cherufe
Phoenix
Salamander
Polar, ice, and winter
Akhlut
Amarok
Hrimthurs

Ijiraq
Jotun
Qiqirn
Saumen Kar
Tizheruk
Wechuge
Wendigo
Yeti
Ymir
Yuki-onna
Frau Holle
Urban and house
Main article: Household deity
See also: Category:Household deities
Banshee
Boggart
Brownie
Domovoi – Slavic house spirit
Dvorovoi – Slavic yard spirit
Duende
Jinn
Kobold
Tomte
Vampire
Zashiki-warashi
Underworld and hell
See also: Category:Underworld deities

Cerberus
Ammit
Cerberus
Cyclopes
Demon
Devil
Earth Dragon
Garm
Hekatonkheires
Hellhound
Ifrit
Ox-Head and Horse-Face
Preta
Humanoids
See Mythic humanoids
Hybrids
See List of hybrid creatures
Astronomical objects, creatures associated with

Sun

Chalkydri beings from the Second Book of Enoch[6]

Kua Fu a giant in China

Three-legged bird in China, Korea, and Japan

Phoenix in Greek Mythology

Moon

Jade rabbit

Werewolf

Werejaguar

Alien

Constellation

Azure Dragon

Black Tortoise

Capricorn

Centaur

Heavenly Llama[4]

Ladon

Nemean Lion

Pegasus

Phoenix

Vermilion Bird

Yellow Dragon

White Tiger

World

See also: List of mythological places

World Elephant

World Tree

World Turtle

Creatures associated with plants

See also: Category:Trees in mythology

Alraune

Clickbok Tree- (American) An oak tree planted by a slave which later comes to life to protect his wife and son from a vengeful slave overseer.

Dryad

Ghillie Dhu

Green Man

Hamadryad

Jubokko

Kodama

Leshy

Mandrake

Penghou

Snake Tree- (Lakota) Tree brought to life by a witch. Lashes out at anything that comes close with branches covered in poisonous thorns that paralyze the victim.

Spriggan

Tree of life

Vampire pumpkins and watermelons (Romani)
Vegetable Lamb of Tartary
Zapam Zucum
Zaqqum
See Trees in mythology
Shapeshifters
Main article: List of shapeshifters
Creatures associated with times
Day and diurnal
Griffin
Jackalope
Unicorn (rather resembles the moon)
Wolpertinger
Night and nocturnal
Amarok
Bigfoot
Ennedi tiger
Ghoul
Owlman
Werewolf
Vampire
Undead
See also: Undead and Category:Ghosts
Aswang
Banshee – (Scottish, Gaelic, Irish)
Chindi - (Navajo) The dark side of the soul which has the ability to remain behind in the earth after death and become a sort of dark spirit.
Drekavac (Croatia) Name used for several distinct undead monsters.
Ghost – (Worldwide)
Inipi- (California Native) shapeshifting ghosts
Jikininki
Kuchisake-onna
Lugat (Albanian)
Poltergeist – (Worldwide)
Preta
Revenant
Sluagh
Spirit – (Worldwide)
Tei Pai Wanka - (Wampanoag) Term for swamp lights in Algonquian lore.
Enslaved souls of people taken by the Little People who are used to scare people who've done wrong or lure them to their deaths.
Wanagi- (Lakota) Lakota name for Siouan shadow people. Essentially ghosts.
Wewe Gombel
Wili
Will o' the wisp – Jack o lantern (English)
Wraith

Yurei

Ghosts in Hindu Mythology: Bhoot, Baital and Pishacha

Corporeal

See also: List of vampires in folklore and mythology and Category: Corporeal undead

Draugr

Fext

Ghoul

Jiangshi

Lich

Manananggal

Mullo (Romani) variation on a vampire.

Mummy (undead) (modern interpretation)

Myling

Nukekubi

Pontianak

Skeleton

Vampire

Zombie

Miscellaneous

Anaye - (Navajo) various monsters that take the forms of animals, living objects and other things. Derived from a time where men and women bet on who would last the longest without the other sex and the women pleasuring themselves with whatever random things they thought would do the job, which caused their chosen toys to father them monstrous, man-eating children.

Daimon

Demon

Fairy

Familiar

Genie – or Jinn, Djinn

Monster

Sprite

Yōkai

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Lists of fictional life forms

Plants

Plants

Animals

Animal superheroesArthropodsFishInvertebratesParasitesWorms

Amphibians

Frogs and toads

Reptiles

CrocodyliansDinosaursSnakesTurtles

Birds

Birds of preyDucks animationPenguins

Mammals

Canines

AnimationComicsLiteratureDogs prose and poetrycomicslive-action

filmlive-action televisionanimationanimated filmanimated televisionvideo

gamesFoxesWolves

Felines

AnimationComicsFilmLiteratureTelevisionBig cats animation

Rodents

AnimationComicsLiterature

Non-human primates

AnimationComicsFilmLiteratureTelevision

Ungulates

AnimationHorsesLiteraturePachydermsPigs

Miscellaneous

BatsBearsCetaceansMarsupialsMusteloidsPinnipedsRabbits and

haresRhinogradentia

Humanoids

General

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Specific

AlienAquaticAvianReptilianSquid-faced

Other

ExtraterrestrialsParasitesSymbionts

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ghostsFictional mermaidsFictional vampiresFictional werewolves

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Fictional angelsFictional demonsFictional deities

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List of legendary creatures by type

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This list of legendary creatures from mythology, folklore and fairy tales is sorted by their classification or affiliation. Creatures from modern fantasy fiction and role-playing games are not included.

This is a dynamic list and may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by editing the page to add missing items, with references to reliable sources.

Animals, creatures associated with

Arthropods

See also: [Category:Mythological arthropods](#)

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a greenish-red fiery light reminiscent of fireflies

Karkinos (Greek) – Cancer the crab

Gold-digging ant (Greek) – Reported by Herodotus to live in either Ethiopia or the Indian subcontinent

Khepri (Ancient Egyptian) – Beetle who pushes the sun

Mothman (American cryptid) – Man with moth wings and features

Myrmecoleon (Christian) – Ant-lion

Myrmidons (Greek) – Warriors created from ants by Zeus

Pabilsag (Babylonian) – Sagittarius-like creature with scorpion tail

Scorpion man (Babylonian) – Protector of travellers

Selket (Ancient Egyptian) – Scorpion death/healing goddess

Zaratan (Arabic) – Giant crab mistaken for an island

Spiders

See also: Category:Mythological spiders

Aiapæc (Moche) – Creator god, often seen as a spider with an anthropomorphic face and jaguar fangs

Anansi (West African) – Trickster spider

Arachne (Greek) – Weaver cursed into a spider

Areop-Enap (Nauru) – Creator god, made the earth and sky from a giant clam shell

Chaffee Spider (American cryptid) – Large cave spider kept as pest control and guard dogs by early settlers in Chaffee, Colorado, before mysteriously vanishing off the face of the earth

Christmas Spider (Ukrainian) – Spider whose webs became the first tinsel on a tree

Djieien (Seneca) – Man-sized spider who survived most attacks because its heart was buried underground.

Iktomi (Lakota) – Trickster spider. Also known in parts of the Rockies

Jorōgumo (Japanese) – Ghost woman who shapeshifts into a spider

Spider_Grandmother (Native American) – Important figure across many North West Native American Cultures

Tsuchigumo (Japanese) – Shapeshifting giant spider

Birds

See also: Category:Legendary birds

Ababil (Islamic) – A miraculous bird

Adarna (Philippine) – Colorful bird with healing powers, puts people to sleep, and turns people into stone

Avalerion (English) – Eagle-like bird; only a single pair was said to live at any time

**Alicanto (Chilean) – Bird with luminescent feathers which feeds on gold or silver
[1]**

Anqa (Arabian) – Large, mysterious, or fabulous female bird

Anzû (Mesopotamian) – Massive bird who can breathe fire and water

Bare-fronted Hoodwink (Cryptid) – Bird with the ability to be "almost seen", created to satirize birdwatchers

Caladrius (Roman) – White bird with healing powers

Chalkydri (Jewish) – Heavenly creatures of the sun

Chamrosh (Persian mythology) – Creature with the body of a dog, and the head and wings of a bird

Cinnamon bird (Greek) – Arabian bird in Greek mythology that builds nests out of cinnamon

Devil Bird (Sri Lankan) – Shrieking bird who predicts death

Gagana (Russian) – Miraculous bird with an iron beak and copper claws

Gandabherunda (Hindu) – Two-headed magical bird

Garuda (Hindu) – Known as the primordial bird and the progenitor of all birds;

vehicle of Lord Vishnu

Hakawai (Māori) – Bird that was sometimes heard but not usually seen

Hudhud (Islamic) – Messenger to prophets

Jingwei (Chinese) – A bird who is determined to fill up the sea

Luan (Chinese) – A bird which carries a shield and tramples on snakes while wearing one on its breast

Minokawa (Philippine) – Giant, dragon-like bird

Nine-headed Bird (Chinese) – A totem creature, predecessor to the Fenghuang

Oozlum bird (English) – A satirical creature that flies in ever-decreasing circles until it disappears into its own backside

Pamola (Abenaki) – A bird/moose spirit who causes cold weather

Peng (Chinese) – An enormous bird transformed from a giant fish which flies over the great oceans

Phoenix (Greek) –

Bennu (Egyptian) – self-creating bird deity

Chol (Biblical) – regenerative bird

Firebird (Slavic) – legendary bird with glowing eyes and feathers, brings misfortune if captured.

Fenghuang (Chinese) – a phoenix who reigns over all other birds

Huma bird (Persian) – a bird that flies too high to be seen and never lands

Konrul and Toghrul (Turkic)

Paskunji (Georgian/ Caucasus) phoenix like underworld dwelling bird. Kills the snakes on the path to the afterlife & aid heroes on quests.

Vermilion Bird (Chinese)

Piasa (Native American) – Based on monster depicted on Illinois rock painting near the Mississippi River

Qingniao (Chinese) – Blue or green messenger birds of the Queen Mother of the West

Ra (Ancient Egyptian) – Sun deity often depicted with falcon features

Rain Bird (Native American) – Bird who brought rain

Raróg (Slavic) – Fiery demon falcon

Roc (Arabian) – Enormous legendary bird of prey

Shangyang (Chinese) – Rainbird

Shedu (Mesopotamian) – Male counterpart to Lamassu

Simurgh (Persian) – Phoenix-like bird of enormous size and great longevity and wisdom

Stymphalian birds (Greek) – Man-eating birds

Thoth (Ancient Egyptian) – Ibis-headed god of the moon, wisdom, and art

Three-legged bird (various cultures)

Thunderbird (Native American) – Legendary bird spirit that brings storms, found primarily among the cultures of the Pacific Northwest, but also the American Southwest, Great Lakes, and Great Plains

Turul (Hungarian) – Mythological bird of prey

Veðrfölnir (Norse) – Hawk that sits atop an eagle that rests atop the world tree, Yggdrasil

Vucub Caquix (Mayan) – Bird demon

Wampum Bird (Native American) – Giant heron with shell armor instead of feathers

Zhenniao (Chinese) – Poisonous bird

Avian Humanoids

Main article: List of avian humanoids

See also: Category:Avian humanoids

Alkonost (Slavic) – Female with body of a bird

Gamayun (Slavic) – Prophetic bird with woman's head

Gumyōchō (Yōkai) – Twin-headed human-bird

Harpy (Greek) – Ugly winged bird woman, steals food

Aello – Name meaning "storm"

Ocypete – Name meaning "swift wing"

Celaeno – Name meaning "the dark one"

Podarge – Name meaning "fleet-footed"

Horus (Ancient Egyptian) – Tutelary deity and god of the sky and kingship

Inmyeonjo (Korean) – Bird with a human face

Itsumade (Japanese) – Monstrous bird with a human face

Kalavinka (Buddhist) – Fantastical immortal creature with a human head and a bird's torso and long flowing tail

Karura (Japanese) – Divine creature with human torso and bird-like head

Kinnara (Buddhist) – Half-bird musicians

Lamassu (Mesopotamian) – Goddess with a human head, the body of a bull or a lion, and bird wings

Siren (Greek) – Bird-women known for their compelling singing

Achelois – Name meaning "she who drives away pain", surname for the daughters of Achelous

Aglaonoe – Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Agalaope – Name meaning "with lambent voice", daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Leucosia – Name meaning "white", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Ligeia – Name meaning "clear-toned", daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Terpsichore

Parthenope – Name meaning "maiden-voiced", Daughter of Achelous and Terpsichore

Pisinoe – Daughter of Achelous and either Melpomene or Sterope

Thelxinoë – Name meaning "mind charming"

Swan maiden (Multi-cultural) – Shapeshifts from human to swan

Tengu (Japanese) – Has human and bird characteristics, name means "dog" Chickens

See also: Category:Mythological galliforms

Alectryon (Greek) – Rooster charged with announcing the arrival of Helios

Basan (Japanese) – Fire-breathing chicken

Cockatrice – Chicken-headed dragon or serpent, visually similar to the Basilisk

Gallic rooster – Symbolic rooster used as an allegory for France

Gullinkambi – Rooster who lives in Valhalla in Norse mythology

Rooster of Barcelos – A mythological rooster from Portugal
Sarimanok (Philippine) – Legendary chicken of the Maranao people who originate from Mindanao

Víðópnir – Rooster that sits atop Yggdrasil in Norse mythology

Corvids

Main article: Cultural depictions of ravens

See also: Category:Mythological corvids

Badb (Irish) – War goddess who takes the form of a crow

Corone (Greek) – Woman turned into a crow to flee Poseidon

Huginn and Muninn (Norse) – Two ravens that serve as messengers

Kutkh (Indigenous Russian) – Raven spirit involved in the creation myth

Nachtkrapp (German) – Raven who kidnaps children out at night

Rainbow crow (Lenape (supposed)) – Crow who brought fire to earth

Raum (Demonology) – Demon crow and a great earl of Hell

Three-legged crow (East Asian) – Crow with three legs representing the sun

Yatagarasu (Shinto) – Three-legged crow

Tulugaak (Inuit) – Raven god and creator of light

Waang (Australian Aboriginal) – Trickster crow and culture hero

Eagles

See also: Category:Mythological birds of prey

Aethon (Greek) – Eagle tormentor of Prometheus

Griffin (Greek) – Guards treasure and priceless possessions

Hippogriff (Italian) – Winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle

Huracán (Mayan) – Type of thunderbird that lives beneath the Gulf of Mexico.

Etymological origin of "hurricane"

Hræsvelgr (Norse) – Jötunn who takes the form of an eagle

Poukai (Māori) – Monstrous predatory bird, likely based on an extinct species

Shahbaz (Persian) – Eagle god who helped the Iranian peoples and guided the Faravahar to the Iranian lands

Triple-headed eagle (multi-cultural) –

Wuchowsen - (Abenaki) One of the four wind spirits in Abenaki lore. Depicted as a giant eagle who lives atop a mountain.

Ziz (Jewish) – Giant griffin

Zu (Mesopotamian) – Divine monster depicted as a lion-headed eagle

Owls

See also: Category:Owls in culture

Chickcharney (Bahamas) – Magical owl with powers over fate, sometimes encountered by travellers in pine forests.

Nyctimene (Roman) – Princess transformed into an owl by Minerva.

Owlman (English) – Owl-like humanoid compared to America's Mothman

Sirin (Slavic) – Birds with women's heads who lured men to their deaths

Strix (Greek) – Owl that ate human flesh

Fish

See also: Category: Legendary fish

Fish People

Mermaid / Merman – half-human, half-fish (worldwide)

Water spirit – (worldwide)

Undine – water elementals in the alchemical writings of Paracelsus

Abaia

Gurangatch

Hippocamp

Ika-Roa

Il Belliegha - (Malta) Eel like monster with a frog tongue and a hand on the tip of its tail that eats children who get too close to open wells.

Isonade

Namazuo

Ningyo

Kun

Salmon of Wisdom

Shachihoko (Japanese) – a creature with the head of a tiger and the body of a carp

Mug-wamp - Canadian giant sturgeon monster said to inhabit Lake Temiskaming in Ontario. Name is of Native origin.

Mammals

Aquatic and marine-based

Aspidochelone (Greek) – Island sized whale mentioned in bestiaries

Bahamut (Arabic) – Whale monster whose body supports the earth. Word seems far more ancient than Islam and may have the same origin as the word Behemoth in modern Judeo-Christian lore

Bake-kujira (Japanese) – Ghost whale

Cetus (Greek) – A monster with the head of a boar or a greyhound, the body of a whale or dolphin, and a divided, fan-like tail

Devil Whale (English) – Whale capable of swallowing ships

Dobhar-chú (Scottish) – King otter

Encantado (Brazilian) – Shapeshifting trickster dolphins

Glashtyn (Celtic) – Horse goblin from the sea

Gveleshapi (Georgian) - Snake-whale monster associated with lakes, rivers and springs. Said to be causes of floods and other water related disasters

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Makara (Hindu mythology) – Half terrestrial animal in the frontal part (stag, deer, or elephant) and half aquatic animal in the hind part (usually of a fish, a seal, or a snake, though sometimes a peacock or even a floral tail is depicted)

Sea goat (Greek) – Half goat, half fish

Selkie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting seal people

Water bull (Scottish) – Nocturnal amphibious bull

Water Horse – General name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – Water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – Upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of

a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – Water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – Legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being, known for appearing as horses

Nuckelavee (Oradian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – Shapeshifting sea water horse

Bats

See also: Category:Bats in religion

Balayang (Australian Aboriginal) – Bat-god and brother to Bunjil

Camazotz (Mayan) – Bat spirit and servant of the lords of the underworld

Leutogi (Polynesian) – Samoan princess rescued by bats

Minyades (Greek) – Three sisters who refused to take part in the worship of

Dionysus, and turned into bats by Hermes

Tjinimin (Australian Aboriginal) – Ancestor of the Australian people

Vetala (Hindu) – Vampiric entity that takes over cadavers

Carnivorans

Bears

See also: Category:Mythological bears

Bjarndyrakongur (Icelandic) – King of bears. Stems from Polar Bear sightings in Iceland being extremely rare, but not unheard of. Has a shining horn on its head topped with a ball and red patches on cheeks

Bugbear (Celtic) – Child-eating hobgoblin

Callisto (Greek) – A nymph who was turned into a bear by Hera

Stiff-Legged Bear (Native American) – Gigantic, hairless bear monster in tribal folklore, predominantly Iroquoians and Algonquians, possibly inspired by mammoths

Canines

See also: Category:Mythological canines

Adlet (Inuit) – Tribe of hybrid dog people birthed from a woman who married her dog. Were banished for preying on humans.

Akhlut (Inuit) – Wolf-orca hybrid monster that hunts on both land and sea.

Amarok (Inuit) – Giant solitary wolf that hunts at night

Anubis (Egyptian) – Jackal-headed god associated with mummification and the afterlife

Aralez (Armenian) – Winged dogs that descend from heaven and resurrect fallen warriors by licking their wounds

Asena (Altai/Turkish) – She-wolf impregnated by mythical founder of a tribe called the Golturks. They came to Turkey from Altai in Siberia during the empire of Ghengis Khan

Axehandle hound (North American) – Axe-shaped dog that reputedly subsists on axe-handles left unattended

Black dog (British) – Also known as Barghest, Black Shuck, or Grim; associated with the Devil, Hellhound

Beast of Gévaudan (French) – Man-eating wolf, terrorized the province of Gévaudan

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a small, luminescent dog [2]

Cerberus (Greek, Roman) – Multi-headed dog, guards the gates of the Underworld, son/brother of Orthrus

Chupacabra (Latin American) – Alleged creature reputed to attack and drink the blood of livestock, occasionally described with bat-like features. Sometimes thought to resemble, or mistaken for a hairless coyote

Cu Sith or Cusith (Irish, Scottish, Hebridean) – A hellhound, a highland harbinger of death

Crocotta – Mythical dog-wolf that can imitate human voices, supposedly found in India or Ethiopia

Cynocephaly – Humanoids with the head of a dog or jackal

Dogs of Actaeon (Greek) – Hunting dogs that turned on Actaeon after he was turned into a deer

Failinis (Irish) – Legendary hound with a number of abilities

Fenrir (Norse) – Monstrous wolf destined to kill Odin

Gelert (Welsh) – Dog killed out of error by Welsh King, thinking it had murdered his infant child

Hellhound (Worldwide) – Supernatural dogs, bringers of death

Huodou (Chinese) – a large black dog that can emit flames from its mouth

Hvcko Capko (Seminole) – Also Long Ears, Stinky Wolf. A horse sized wolf with extra large, pointed ears, a horse's tail and reeks of rot and death. Prolonged exposure to its stench causes deadly illness

Kludde (Belgium) – demon summoned from the ashes of witches taking the form of a black wolf with bat wings, a birds beak and bear claws. Has glowing eyes, shapeshifting abilities and great speed

Orthrus (Greek) – two headed dog, father/brother of Cerberus

Papa-mel or Papamel – Dog of the Amazonian Curupira

Penghou (Chinese) – tree spirit that appears like a black dog and tastes like dog-meat

Petitcrieu – Fairy dog in Tristan romance

Psoglav (Bosnia) – Humanoid monster with dog's head, horse's legs, one eye and iron teeth.

Salawa – the "Typhonian Animal," a slender, vaguely canine-animal that is the totemic animal of Set

Sigbin (Philippine) – is a creature in Philippine mythology

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey creature found in Cambridgeshire (Britain)

Tanuki (Japanese) – Japanese raccoon dog, legends claim is a shapeshifting trickster

Vǎrkolak, or "Vukodlak" (Slavic) – Undead vampire werewolf

Werewolf – human, shapeshifts to a wolf because of an affliction, lycanthrope (Worldwide)

Foxes

See also: Category:Mythological foxes

Aguara (Chané) – Trickster fox associate with the constellation Scorpius.

Amaterasu (Japanese) – Sun goddess who sometimes takes the form of a dragon-fox.

Tulikettu (Finnish) – Fox with flaming fur, whose skin is said to be a safer alternative for lighting than fire. Catching on in a hunt will guarantee riches. Gives name to the northern lights

Huli jing (Chinese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kitsune (Japanese) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Kumiho (Korean) – Fox spirits, like Fairies

Sky Fox (mythology) (Chinese) – Celestial nine-tailed Fox Spirit that is 1,000 years old and has golden fur

Felines

See also: Category:Mythological felines

Bael (Demonology) – First king of Hell with three heads: a man, a toad, and a cat

Ball-tailed cat (North American) – a feline similar to a mountain lion, except with a long tail with a bulbous end used for striking its prey

Cactus cat (North American) – a feline of the American Southwest with hair-like thorns that intoxicates itself by the consumption of cactus water

Canaima (Mexico) – Term for a sort of were-jaguar. May be related to skinwalkers

Cat-sìth (Celtic mythology) – Spectral cat that haunts the Scottish Highlands

Cath Palug (Welsh) – Monstrous cat said to have killed 180 warriors

Carbuncle (Chilote) – One of its many descriptions is a cat with a luminescent chin [3]

Demon Cat (North American) – a ghost cat who is purported to haunt the government buildings of Washington, D.C.

Kaibyō (Japanese) – Various forms of cat Yōkai

Bakeneko (Japanese) – Two-tailed cat yōkai

Kasha (Japanese) – Corpse stealing yōkai, sometimes originating as a cat

Nekomata (Japanese) – Cat yōkai from both mountains and domestic areas

Nue (Japanese) – Hybrid of monkey, tiger, tanuki and snake. Considered a yokai

Panther (Greek) – Wildcat with multicolored hide. Attracts prey with sweet smelling breath and is often ridden by and associated with the god, Dionysus

Pard (Greek) – Early Greek understanding of a leopard. It was also surmised that cheetahs were a hybrid of a lion and a pard, hence calling those leopards instead of what we now call leopards

Phantom cat, Alien Big Cat (Modern, Worldwide) – Wildcat that seems to appear far beyond its native range by unknown circumstance

Blue Mountains panther (Australian) – Alleged unknown wildcats sighted in Australia

Glawackus (American) – Hybrid bear-panther-lion monster that sounds like a hyena and can erase the memory of those who look into its eyes

Tyger (English) – Heraldic being that looked like a cross between a lion, horse and wolf, said to be red and speckled

Underwater panther (Native American) – Shapeshifting being known by many names among tribes in Eastern US

Vapula (European, Christian, Demonology) – A demon with insight into mechanics and science which takes a winged lion form

Vassoko (Africa, Chad) – Cat the size of a horse with long fangs and burning eyes. Always accompanied by an entourage of butterflies

Wampus cat (American) – Cat with six legs and a long tail; originally a man who was transformed into the creature by a curse

White Tiger (Chinese) – a Guardian Of The West cardinal point

Winged cat – Archaeological designation for depictions of any mythological creature that can fit that description

Lions

See also: Category:Mythological lions

Arimanius (Greek) – Minor lion-headed Greek god

Ammit (Egyptian) – Goddess with the forequarters of a lion, the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, and the head of a crocodile

Barong (Balinese) – Benevolent king of spirits

Beast of the First Kingdom (Christian) – A beast like a lion with eagle's wings seen in the Book of Revelations

Brunswick Lion (German) – Loyal companion of Henry the Lion after the two slew a dragon together

Chimera (Greek)

Chinese guardian lions (Chinese) – Statues depicted in pairs believed to be protectors

Komainu (Shinto)

Shisa (Ryukyuan)

Sin-you (Japanese)

Xiezhi (Chinese)

Dawon (Tibetan) – Mount of the goddess Durga

Egyptian lion gods – Lions were a symbol of warfare and most all of these gods were warriors

Aker – Earth and underworld god

Āmi-Pe – A lion god

Apedemak – Depicted as a figure with a male human torso and a lion head

Bast – Lioness goddess of fertility and protection against disease.

Hert-ketit-s

Huntheth – A lioness goddess

Ipy (goddess) – Head and feet of a lion, body of a hippo, arms of a human

Maahes – Name means "he who is true beside her"

Matit – A funerary cat goddess who had a cult center at Thinis

Mehit – Depicted as a reclining lioness with three bent poles projecting from her back

Menhit

Pakhet

Repyt

Sekhmet – Warrior goddess as well as goddess of healing

Seret – A lioness goddess possibly originally from Libya

Shesmetet

Taweret – Depicted as a hippopotamus with lion paws and crocodile tail

Tefnut –

Tutu – Body of a striding, winged lion, the head of a human, other heads of hawks and crocodiles projecting from the body, and the tail of a serpent

Urit-en-kru – A lioness headed hippopotamus goddess
 Griffin (Europe)
 Lamassu (Mesopotamian)
 Lampago (Heraldic) – Mythical beast in the form of a "man-tiger or man-lion"
 Leo (Greek) –
 Lion of Cithaeron (Greek)
 Nemean lion (Greek)
 Lion of Al-lāt (Arabian) – Lion icon of Al-Lat
 Manticore (Persian)
 Manussiha (Burmese) – Statue with a human head and two lion hindquarters
 Merlion (Singaporean) – Fish with a lion's head
 Narasimha (Hindu) – Part-lion avatar of Vishnu
 Nian (Chinese) – Flat-faced lion with the body of a dog and prominent incisors, warded away by New Year's celebrations
 Nongshāba (Sanamahism) – Lion god who created the sun
 Pixiu (Chinese) – Powerful, winged lions who protect Feng shui practitioners
 Questing Beast (Arthurian) – Beast with the head and neck of a snake, the body of a leopard, the haunches of a lion, and the feet of a hart
 Sea-lion (Heraldic) – A half-lion half-fish beast found in heraldry
 Serpopard (Egyptian) – Lion/leopard body with a snake head.
 Sharabha (Hindu) – Part lion, part bird-beast, with eight legs.
 Simhamukha (Tibetan) – A wisdom dakini of the Dzogchen tradition with the head of a snow lion
 Snow Lion (Tibetan) – Celestial animal of Tibet
 Sphinx (Egyptian) –
 Criosphinx (Egyptian) – Ram-headed sphinx
 Gopaitioshah (Persian) – Winged bull or lion with human face
 Hieracosphinx (Egyptian) – Has the head of a hawk and the body of a lion
 Stratford Lyon
 Tigris (Jewish) – Giant lion of the forest of Bei Ilai
 Vaikuntha Chaturmurti (Hindu) – a four-headed aspect of the Hindu god Vishnu: a human head, a lion head, a boar head and a fierce head
 Winged lion
 Yali (Hindu) – Portrayed with the head and the body of a lion, the trunk and the tusks of an elephant, and sometimes bearing equine features
 Yaghūth – A god of the era of the prophet Noah
 Yaldabaoth (Gnostic) – Lion-headed serpent god.
 Hyenas
 Werehyena
 Musteloids and non-hyena herpestoids
 Azeban
 Gef
 Ichneumon
 Kamaitachi
 Kushtaka (Tlingit) – shapeshifting "land otter man"
 Mujina

Ramidreju

Raijū

Procyonids

Azeban – trickster raccoon spirit in Abenaki mythology

Marsupials

See also: Category:Mythological marsupials

Drop bear

Bunyip (Australian Aboriginal)

Primates

See also: Category:Mythological monkeys

Agropelter – a beast that amuses itself by hurling twigs and tree branches at passersby (United States & Canada)

Bigfoot or Sasquatch – Cryptid, animal of the Northwest (North America)

Hibagon or Hinagon – ape-like, similar to Bigfoot, or the Yeti (Japan)

Jué yuán – blue-furred man-sized rhesus monkey that abducts human women (China & Japan)

Satori – mind-reading magical ape or monkey (Japan)

Shōjō – anthropomorphic spirit, depicted as furred, somewhat confounded with orangutan (Japan)

Shug Monkey – dog/monkey (Britain)

Sun Wukong (proper name) – powerful warrior-magician in the form of a monkey who hatched from a stone egg (China)

Vanara – humanoid apes or monkeys (India, Hindu)

Yeren – man-monkey, cryptid hominid, resides in remote mountainous (China)

Yeti – Abominable Snowman, ape-like cryptid similar to Bigfoot, that inhabits the Himalayas (Nepal, Tibet)

Yowie – hominid said to live in the Australian wilderness, a cryptid similar to the Himalayan Yeti (Australia)

Rabbits and hares

See also: Category:Mythological rabbits and hares

Al-Mi'raj – rabbit with unicorn horn (Arabia)

Jackalope – (North America)

Moon rabbit – a rabbit living on the moon (Chinese)

Skvader

Wisakedjak - (Native American) aka Whiskeyjack. One of several names for rabbit trickster spirit of the eastern woodlands and Great Plains

Wolpertinger

Rodents

See also: Category:Mythological rodents

Afanc

Lavellan (Scottish) – Water shrew or water vole with poisonous abilities, said to be able to injure cattle over a hundred feet away

Ratatoskr

Rat king; phenomenon in which a number of rats become intertwined at their tails (Germany, France)

Wolpertinger

Ungulates

Antelopes and deer

See also: Category:Mythological deer

Actaeon (Greek) – a hunter turned into a deer and torn apart by his dogs

Ceryneian Hind (Greek) – Artemis' large, sacred golden hind

Deer Woman (Native American) – female human above the waist, deer below.

Male version is Elk Man.

Eikþyrnir (Norse mythology) – stag which stands upon Valhalla

Goldhorn (Slavic) – white golden-horned antelope

Jackalope (North American) – jackrabbit with antelope horns

Keresh (Jewish) – giant deer of the forest of Bei Ilai

Peryton (Argentina) – Stag that is part bird

Qilin (Chinese) – East Asian chimerical good-luck symbol

Tarand (European) also Parandrus. Antelope or deerlike creature said to be found in Ethiopia that can change the color of its fur at will to camouflage itself

White stag (worldwide) – magic white deer

Xeglun (Tungusic mythology) – celestial elk

Bovines

See also: Category:Mythological bovines

Auðumbla

Bai Ze

Kujata (Arabic) – Cosmic bull that bears the angel who holds the earth. Kujata, in turn, stands on Bahamhut.

Bicorn and Chichevache

Bonnacon

Hodag (American) – monster born of the cremated remains of an abused bull

Minotaur – monster with the head of a bull and the body of a man (Greek)

Nandi

Sarangay – a bull with a huge muscular body and a jewel attached to its ears (Philippines)

Shedu

Tē-gû – a giant buffalo living underground which causes earthquakes (Taiwan)

Ushi-oni – (Japan)

Camelids

Allocamelus – A donkey-headed camel.

Heavenly Llama[4]

Caprids

See also: Category:Mythological caprids

Amalthea

Aries

Barometz

Capricornus

Chimera

Dahu

Faun – a Roman version of satyr. It has a human head and torso and a goat waist and legs.

Goldhorn – also known as Zlatorog

Heiðrún – goat in Norse mythology, which produces mead for the einherjar
Khnum

Satyr – a goat legged human that is associated to the deity Dionysus. Known to be drunk partiers.

Sidehill gouger

Tanngrisnir and Tanngrjónir – Thor's magical goats

Chrysomallos – a sheep with golden fleece from Greek mythology

Equines

Main articles: List of horses in mythology and folklore and List of winged horses

See also: Category:Horses in mythology

Anggitay – is a creature with the upper body of a female human and the lower body of a horse from waist down (Philippines)

Arion – Talking immortal horse (Greek)

Balius and Xanthus (Greek) – immortal offspring of harpies

Buraq – Al-Burāq, steed from the heavens that transported the prophets (Islam)

Centaur – head, arms, and torso of a human, the body and legs of a horse (Greek)

Cheval Gauvin – horse which tries to kill its rider (French/Swiss)

Cheval Mallet; horse that tempts and kidnaps weary travelers (French)

Chiron – centaur believed to be exceptional among his brethren (Greek)

Chollima – a winged horse too swift to be mounted by any mortal (Chinese)

Drapé - (France) Ghostly horse who spirits away children wandering at night to an unknown location, never to be seen again.

Gytrash (English) – shapeshifting spirit usually taking the form of a horse, mule or other animal that appears to the lost and leads them to their destination

Haizum – horse of the archangel Gabriel (Islam)

Hippogriff – winged horse with the head and upper body of an eagle (French, English)

Ipotane – half-horse, half-humans, original centaurs (Greek)

Karkadann – monstrous, highly aggressive unicorn (India, Persia)

Kotobuki (Japanese) – Yokai with traits of all members of the Chinese zodiac

Longma – fabled winged horse with dragon scales (China)

Mankayia (Kiowa) – tornado spirit in the form of a horse

Onocentaur – part human, part donkey (Greek)

Pegasus – winged white stallion (Greek)

Pooka – spirits or fairies who lived near ancient stones; could be good or bad (Ireland)

Sleipnir – Odin's eight-legged horse, which he rode to Hel (Norse)

Simurgh – like the Hippogriff with the head of a human (Persian)

Sihuanaba – shapeshifting spirit that typically appears as a beautiful, long-haired woman when seen from behind, before revealing her face to be that of a horse

Tikbalang – creature with the body of a man and the head and hooves of a horse that lurks in the mountains and forests (Philippines)

Uchchaisravas – seven-headed flying white horse (Hindu)

Unicorn – horse-like creature with a single horn, often symbolizing purity (worldwide)

Winged unicorn

Water Horse – general name for mythical water dwelling horses of many cultures

Ceffyl Dŵr (Welsh) – water horse

Each-uisge (Scottish) – Malevolent shapeshifting oceanic water horse

Enbarr (Irish) – Manann's horse, capable of traversing land and sea

Hippocampus (Greek) – Horse with a fish tail

Ichthyocentaurs (Greek) – upper body of a man, the lower front of a horse, tail of a fish

Kelpie (Scottish) – water horse

Morvarc'h (Breton) – legendary horse that could gallop on the waves

Nixie (Germanic) – Shapeshifting water being known for appearing as a horse

Nuckelavee (Oradian) – Skinless oceanic water horse with pestilent breath

Nuggle (Scottish) – Mischievous male water horse

Tangie (Scottish) – shapeshifting sea water horse

White horse

Pachyderms

Main article: List of elephants in mythology and religion

See also: Category:Mythological elephants

Abath

Baku

Behemoth

Quugaarpak - (Inuit) Explanation for Mammoths & other Ice Age remains washing out of riversides. Underworld monsters who dig their way up to the human world, but die upon breathing our air.

Taweret

Pigs and boars

See also: Category:Mythological pigs

Calydonian Boar

Erymanthian Boar

Zhu Bajie

Xenarthrans

Mapinguari

Molluscs

See also: Category:Mythological molluscs

Akkorokamui – octopus monster (Ainu, Japan)

Amikuk (Yup'ik) - Shapeshifting four armed 'octopus' that can swim through land as easily as water.

Carbuncle (Chilote) – one of its many descriptions is a luminescent bivalve^{[3][2]}

Lou Carcolh – A giant, man-eating snail with fur and tentacles (France)

Kraken – squid monster (Worldwide)

Shen – A clam-dragon that creates mirages and fata morgana at sea (China)

Reptiles

Limbed

See also: Category:Legendary reptiles

Agua (American) – turtle monster of West Virginian lore centered around the Monongahela River

Ammut – female demon, funerary deity and animal hybrid (Egypt)
Bakunawa – serpentine dragon in Philippines
Basilisk – king of serpents with the power to cause death with a single glance (Europe)
Black Tortoise – one of the four symbols of the Chinese constellations
Chalkydri
Chinese Dragon – serpentine creature with four legs
Cipactli – sea monster, part crocodile, fish and toad. Always hungry, thousands of mouths (Aztec)
Dragon – serpentine, reptilian traits (worldwide)
Dungavenhooter – a crocodilian creature with no mouth and huge nostrils who uses its tail to pound victims into a vapor, which it then inhales
Knucker – sea serpent-like dragon
Kurma
Loch Ness Monster – sea monster cryptid (Scotland)
Loveland frog – Humanoid cryptid (The United States (Ohio))
Luu – (Mongol) – serpentine water dragons capable of causing great floods if angered.
Makara
Mokele Mbembe
Mo’o (Hawaiian) class of shapeshifting lizard monsters
Morgawr (Cornish) – crocodilian sea serpent that affects fishing
Mungoon-Gali – a giant goanna (Australia)
Peluda
Reptilian humanoids
Sewer alligator
Sobek
Taniwha
Whowie – a giant frog-headed goanna with six legs (Australia)
Wyvern
Zaratan
Serpents and worms
See also: List of dragons in mythology and folklore, Category: Legendary serpents, and Serpents in the Bible
Alicante
Amphisbaena
Amphithere
Apep/Apophis
Azhi Dahaka
Basilisk
Bakonawa
Biscione
Cockatrice
Dragon
Drake
Echidna

Fáfnir
Feathered serpent
Garafena (Russian)
Gorgon
Hoop snake
Indus worm
Hydra
Jaculus/Jaculi
Jasconius
Jörmungandr — the Midgård serpent
Lamia
Lindworm
Madame White Snake
Meretseger
Mongolian Death Worm
Naga
Níðhöggr
Orm
Ouroboros
Python
Rainbow serpent
Sea serpent
Tarasque
Tolba — the world turtle that supports North America upon its back
Tsuchinoko
Typhon
Ur
Wyvern
Yamata no Orochi
Zilant
Megafauna
Main article: List of megafauna in mythology and folklore
Giants
Main article: List of giants in mythology and folklore
Artificial creatures
This listing includes creatures that are man-made, mechanical or of alchemical origins.

Automaton (worldwide) – self-operating machine; most famous example is Greek mythology's Talos
Blodeuwedd (Welsh) – wife of Lleu Llaw Gyffes
Brazen head (Medieval legends) – living head of brass purported to be able to answer any question given to it
Doll Woman- (Lenape) lifelike doll spirit. Must stay properly appeased, or will cause mischief in the home.
Frankenstein's monster

Galatea (Greek) – ivory statue carved by Pygmalion
Gingerbread man – from German folk tales
Golem (Jewish) – animated humanoid construct
Homunculus (Alchemy) – diminutive, animated construct
Nephele (Greek) – nymph formed from a cloud by Zeus to resemble the goddess Hera
Shabti (Egyptian) – clay model used as workers
Tokeloshe (Zulu mythology) – diminutive, hairy humanoid with various magical powers
Tilberi (Iceland) – creations of witches from a rib bone and wool for the purpose of stealing milk
Tsukumogami (Japanese) – objects that come to life, of their own accord, after 100 years
Tulpa (Tibetan Buddhism) – creature brought to life through meditation
Tupilaq (Inuit) – large statues brought to life to serve witches and shamans
Ushabti (Egyptian) – clay guardians/assistants
Various objects animated by gods, demons and spirits in mythology, legend and folklore
Body parts, creatures associated with
Blood
See also: Category:Mythological hematophages
Alan
Chupacabra
Dhampir
Preta
Golden Hind
Kappa
Kekkai
Lamia
Manananggal
Mandurugo
Redcap
Rokurokubi
Sigbin
Vampire
Werewolf
Yuki-onna
Bone
Bloody Bones
Gashadokuro
Grim Reaper
Skeleton
Eye
Argus Panoptes
Basilisk
Catoblepas

Cockatrice
Cyclopes
Gorgon
Hitotsume-kozou
Lamia
Lynx

Mokumokuren

One-eyed

Main article: List of one-eyed creatures in mythology and fiction

Face

Asura

Deva / Devi

Noppera-bō

Hair

Futakuchi-onna

Harionago

Mavka

Medusa

Head

Further information: Polycephaly

Amphisbaena

Cerberus

Chimera

Chonchon

Double-headed eagle

Dullahan

Hekatonkheires

Kishi

Hydra

Lernaean Hydra

Nine-headed Bird

Nukekubi

Rokurokubi

Orthrus

Shesha

Penanggalan

Wanyūdō

Xing Tian

Yacuruna

Yamata no Orochi

Limbs

Asura (Indian)

Deva / Devi (Indian)

Hekatonkheires

Hinkypunk - (English) variation on Will o the wisp. A single, incorporeal leg hopping around bogs with a lantern.

Kui

O'nya:ten (Iroquoian) aka Dry Fingers. Mummified hand. Appears and leaps out at people after certain transgressions, such as speaking ill of the dead, or butting into other people's personal business.

Sleipnir

Three-legged bird

Mouth

Futakuchi-onna

Kuchisake-onna

Skin

Selkie

Skin-walker

Swan maiden

Tail

Bakeneko

Kitsune

Yamata no Orochi

Kumiho

Hulder

Nguruvilu

Neck

Serpopard

Rokurokubi

Vampire

Torso

Manananggal

Geryon[5]

Abdomen

Pixiu

**Concepts, creatures associated with
Battle, Vengeance, Violence, and War**

See also: Category:War deities

Androktasiai

Erinyes

Hipag

Hysminai

Keres

Lemures

Makhai

Onryō

Phonoi

Valkyrie

Vengeful ghost

Birth and Rebirth

See also: Category:Phoenix birds

Aralez

Phoenix
Ubume
Death and Immortality
See also: List of ghosts
See also the categories Undead and Personifications of death
Abasy
Ammit
Banshee
Demon
Devil
Dullahan
Ghost
Grim Reaper
Ox-Head and Horse-Face
Phoenix
Undead
Valkyrie
Vampire
Dream, the Mind, and Sleep
See also: Category:Sleep in mythology and folklore
Alp
Baku
Carbuncle
Devil
Drude
Incubus / Succubus
Mermaid
Nightmare
Nue
Oni
Sandman
Satori
Zduhać
Evil Eye and Sight
Alp (folklore)
Basilisk
Balor of the Evil Eye – king of the Fomorians, a race of giants, and a cyclops (Irish)
Catoblepas
Cockatrice
Gorgon – woman with hair made of living, venomous snakes, and eyes that turned men to stone (Greek):
Medusa – once a human, Medusa and her sisters were cursed to be terrible monsters by Athena (Greek)
Euryale – second eldest of the three vicious Gorgon sisters (Greek)
Stheno – eldest of the Gorgon Sisters (Greek)

Fertility and Human Sexuality

Alan

Boto

Faun

Gancanagh

German

Incubus / Succubus

Maenad

Nymph

Pombero

Popobawa

Satyr

Sileni / Silenus

Unicorn

Zemyna / Zemepatis

Simurgh

Fortune, Luck, and Wealth

Carbuncle (Chilote) – said to be the "guardian of the metals"[3]

Dwarf

Egbere

Genie

Leib-Olmai

Leprechaun

Matagot

Pixiu

Sarimanok

Sigbin

Yaksha / Yakshini

Light

Angel

Chalkydri

Deity

Lampetia

Will-o'-the-wisp

Dragon

Love and Romance

See also: Category:Love and lust gods

Cupid / Eros / Cherub

Gancanagh

Selkie

Swan maiden

Madame White Snake

Melusine

Tennin

Undine

Sound

Banshee
Encantado
Fenghuang
Fossegrim
Mermaid
Nue
Siren
Yamabiko
Speech
Main article: Talking animal
Gef
Satan
Time and Technology
See also: Category:Time and fate gods
Chronos
Father Time
Gremlin
Wisdom
Baba Yaga
Bai Ze
Griffin
Salmon of Wisdom
Sphinx
Demons
See list of theological demons
Elements, creatures associated with
Aether
Chalkydri
Deity
Elemental
Spirit
Angel
Demon
Devil
Yokai
Nymph
Elf
Fairy
Air and wind
See also: List of flying mythological creatures
Ala
Elemental
Feldgeist
Zduhać
Darkness
Black dog

Bogeyman

Enenra

Ghost

Grim Reaper

Wechuge

Wendigo

Shadow People

Vampire

Werewolf

Oni

Gashadokuro

Camazotz

Wild Hunt

Hell Hound

Earth and subterranean

See also: Category:Earth spirits

Asag

Bluecap

Elemental

Dwarf

Earth Dragon

Gargoyle

Giant

Gnome

Goblin

Golem

Knocker (folklore)

Monopod

Nymph

Ogre

Oread

Ten Ten-Vilu

Troll

Fire

Further information: Fire-breathing monster

Basan

Bluecap

Cherufe

Chimera

Dragon

Elemental

Enenra

Ifrit

Hellhound

Lampad

Phoenix

Salamander
Light and rainbow
Angel
Chalkydri
Light Elf
Rainbow crow
Rainbow Serpent
Metal and gold
Alicanto[1]
Pixiu
Carbunclo[3]
Chrysomallos
Cyclopes
Griffin
Gnome
Leprechaun
Bulgasari
Thunder and lightning
Chinese dragon
Cyclopes
Feldgeist
Kitsune
Raijū
Thunderbird
Valkyrie
Water
See also the categories Mythological water creatures and Water spirits
Afanc
Amefurikozō
Aspidochelone
Bloody Bones
Buggane
Bunyip
Camenae
Capricorn
Cetus
Charybdis
Chinese Dragon
Cai Cai-Vilu
Crinaeae
Davy Jones' Locker
Draug
Each uisge
Elemental
Fish People
Fossegrim

Fur-bearing trout
Gargouille
Grindylow
Haetae
Hippocamp
Hydra
Ichthyocentaur
Jasconius
Jengu
Kappa
Kelpie
Kraken
Lake monster
Lavellan
Leviathan
Loch Ness monster
Lorelei
Lusca
Makara
Melusine
Mami Wata
Mermaid / Merman
Merrow
Morgens
Muc-sheilch
Naiad
Näkki
Nereid
Nix
Nymph
Pisces
Ponaturi
River gods
Rusalka
Samebito
Sea monster
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Taniwha
Tiamat
Triton
Ondine
Vodyanoy
Water dragon

Water leaper
Water sprite
Yacuruna
Zaratan
Habitats, creatures associated with
Cave and underground
Dwarf
European dragon
Gnome
Goblin
Golem
Grootslang
Leprechaun
Troll
Yaoguai
Celestial and heaven
Angel
Chalkydri
Deva / Devi
Feathered serpent
Heavenly Llama[4]
Pegasus
Grim Reaper
Swan Maiden
Tennin
Three-legged bird
Valkyrie
Desert
Amphisbaena
Basilisk
Cockatrice
Ghoul
Mongolian Death Worm
Sphinx
Temperate forest and woodland
See also: Category:Forest spirits
Äbädä (Turkic) – forest spirit with shoes on the wrong feet
Ajatar
Bigfoot
Dryad
Elf
Green Man
Irrwurz
Leshy
Lindworm
Mavka

Moss people
Owlman
Satyr
Unicorn
Tropical forest and jungle
Curupira
Dingonek
Mapinguari
Manticore
Saci
Temperate grassland and garden
Fairy
Gnome
Savanna
Ennedi tiger
Werehyena
Lake and river
See also: Category:Lake monsters
Ahuitzotl
Bak
Bunyip
Chinese dragon
Dobhar-chú
Encantado
Grootslang
Iara
Jiaolong
Kappa
Kelpie
Lake monster
Hydra
Loch Ness Monster
Mizuchi
Mugwump
Naiad
Nixie
Ogopogo
Ondine
Rainbow serpent
Rusalka
Ryujin
Shellycoat
Warlock
Yacuruna
Mountain and hill
See also: Category:Mining spirits

Alp
Dwarf
Fenghuang
Griffin
Hippogriff
Mountain Giant
Kamaitachi
Mavka
Oread
Patupaiarehe
Rübezahl
Satyr
Tengu
Yeti
Sea
See also: Sea monster and Greek sea goddesses
Amikuk
Aspidochelone
Bishop-fish
Charybdis
Cai Cai-Vilu
Dragon King
Fish People
Hippocamp
Leviathan
Jormungand
Kraken
Mermaid / Merman
Nereid
Sea monk
Sea serpent
Selkie
Shen
Siren
Tritons
Umibōzu
Water Dragon
Yacuruna
Swamp and marsh
See also: Category:Swamp monsters
Błudnik
Bunyip
Grootslang
Lernaean Hydra
Honey Island Swamp monster
Mokele-mbembe

Swamp monster
Will-o'-the-wisp
Volcano and lava
Cherufe
Phoenix
Salamander
Polar, ice, and winter
Akhlut
Amarok
Hrimthurs
Ijiraq
Jotun
Qiqirn
Saumen Kar
Tizheruk
Wechuge
Wendigo
Yeti
Ymir
Yuki-onna
Frau Holle
Urban and house
Main article: Household deity
See also: Category:Household deities
Banshee
Boggart
Brownie
Domovoi – Slavic house spirit
Dvorovoi – Slavic yard spirit
Duende
Jinn
Kobold
Tomte
Vampire
Zashiki-warashi
Underworld and hell
See also: Category:Underworld deities

Cerberus
Ammit
Cerberus
Cyclopes
Demon
Devil
Earth Dragon
Garm

Hekatonkheires

Hellhound

Ifrit

Ox-Head and Horse-Face

Preta

Humanoids

See Mythic humanoids

Hybrids

See List of hybrid creatures

Astronomical objects, creatures associated with

Sun

Chalkydri beings from the Second Book of Enoch[6]

Kua Fu a giant in China

Three-legged bird in China, Korea, and Japan

Phoenix in Greek Mythology

Moon

Jade rabbit

Werewolf

Werejaguar

Alien

Constellation

Azure Dragon

Black Tortoise

Capricorn

Centaur

Heavenly Llama[4]

Ladon

Nemean Lion

Pegasus

Phoenix

Vermilion Bird

Yellow Dragon

White Tiger

World

See also: List of mythological places

World Elephant

World Tree

World Turtle

Creatures associated with plants

See also: Category:Trees in mythology

Alraune

Clickbok Tree- (American) An oak tree planted by a slave which later comes to life to protect his wife and son from a vengeful slave overseer.

Dryad

Ghillie Dhu

Green Man

Hamadryad
Jubokko
Kodama
Leshy
Mandrake
Penghou
Snake Tree- (Lakota) Tree brought to life by a witch. Lashes out at anything that comes close with branches covered in poisonous thorns that paralyze the victim.
Spriggan
Tree of life
Vampire pumpkins and watermelons (Romani)
Vegetable Lamb of Tartary
Zapam Zucum
Zaqqum
See Trees in mythology
Shapeshifters
Main article: List of shapeshifters
Creatures associated with times
Day and diurnal
Griffin
Jackalope
Unicorn (rather resembles the moon)
Wolpertinger
Night and nocturnal
Amarok
Bigfoot
Ennedi tiger
Ghoul
Owlman
Werewolf
Vampire
Undead
See also: Undead and Category:Ghosts
Aswang
Banshee – (Scottish, Gaelic, Irish)
Chindi - (Navajo) The dark side of the soul which has the ability to remain behind in the earth after death and become a sort of dark spirit.
Drekavac (Croatia) Name used for several distinct undead monsters.
Ghost – (Worldwide)
Inipi- (California Native) shapeshifting ghosts
Jikininki
Kuchisake-onna
Lugat (Albanian)
Poltergeist – (Worldwide)
Preta
Revenant

Sluagh

Spirit – (Worldwide)

Tei Pai Wanka - (Wampanoag) Term for swamp lights in Algonquian lore.

Enslaved souls of people taken by the Little People who are used to scare people who've done wrong or lure them to their deaths.

Wanagi- (Lakota) Lakota name for Siouan shadow people. Essentially ghosts.

Wewe Gombel

Wili

Will o' the wisp – Jack o lantern (English)

Wraith

Yurei

Ghosts in Hindu Mythology: Bhoot, Baital and Pishacha

Corporeal

See also: List of vampires in folklore and mythology and Category: Corporeal undead

Draugr

Fext

Ghoul

Jiangshi

Lich

Manananggal

Mullo (Romani) variation on a vampire.

Mummy (undead) (modern interpretation)

Myling

Nukekubi

Pontianak

Skeleton

Vampire

Zombie

Miscellaneous

Anaye - (Navajo) various monsters that take the forms of animals, living objects and other things. Derived from a time where men and women bet on who would last the longest without the other sex and the women pleasuring themselves with whatever random things they thought would do the job, which caused their chosen toys to father them monstrous, man-eating children.

Daimon

Demon

Fairy

Familiar

Genie – or Jinn, Djinn

Monster

Sprite

Yōkai

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Kalenjin mythology

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Main article: Mythologies of the indigenous peoples of the Americas

Further information: American Folklore

North America

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"Death-worship" redirects here. For the fictional ideology, see [Political geography of Nineteen Eighty-Four](#) § [Eastasia](#).

Yama, the Hindu god of death and justice, and Lord of Naraka (hell). He was subsequently adopted by Buddhist, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese mythology as the king of hell.

Maya death god "A" way as a hunter, Classic period

The mythology or religion of most cultures incorporate a god of death or, more frequently, a divine being closely associated with death, an afterlife, or an underworld. They are often amongst the most powerful and important entities in a given tradition, reflecting the fact that death, like birth, is central to the human experience. In religions where a single god is the primary object of worship, the representation of death is usually that god's antagonist, and the struggle between the two is central to the folklore of the culture. In such dualistic models, the primary deity usually represents good, and the death god embodies evil. Similarly, death worship is used as a derogatory term to accuse certain groups of morally abhorrent practices which set no value on human life. In monotheistic religions, death is commonly personified by an angel or demon standing in opposition to the god.

Occurrence

In polytheistic religions which have a complex system of deities governing various natural phenomena and aspects of human life, it is common to have a deity who is assigned the function of presiding over death. This deity may actually take the life of humans or, more commonly, simply rule over the afterlife in that particular belief system (a single religion may have separate deities performing both tasks). The deity in question may be good, evil, or neutral and simply doing their job, in sharp contrast to a lot of modern portrayals of death deities as all being inherently evil just because death is feared. Hades from Greek mythology is an especially common target. The inclusion of such a "departmental" deity of death in a religion's pantheon is not necessarily the same thing as the glorification of death.

A death deity has a good chance of being either male or female, unlike some functions that seem to steer towards one gender in particular, such as fertility and earth deities being female and storm deities being male. A single religion/mythology may have death gods of more than one gender existing at the same time and they may be envisioned as a married couple ruling over the afterlife together, as with the Aztecs, Greeks, and Romans.

In monotheistic religions, the one god governs both life and death (as well as everything else). However, in practice this manifests in different rituals and traditions and varies according to a number of factors including geography, politics, traditions, and the influence of other religions.

Africa and the Middle East

Section of the Book of the Dead for the scribe Hunefer, depicting the Weighing of the Heart in Duat, featuring the deities Anubis, Ammit and Thoth

Sub-Sahara Africa

Igbo

Ala (Igbo mythology)

Ogbunabali (Igbo mythology)

Yoruba

Eshu (Yoruba religion)

Iku (god) (Yoruba religion)

Akan

Owuo, Akan God of Death and Destruction, and the Personification of death.

Name means death in the Akan language.

Asase Yaa, one half of an Akan Goddess of the barren places on Earth, Truth and is Mother of the Dead

Amokye, Psychopomp in Akan religion who fishes the souls of the dead from the river leading to Asamando, the Akan underworld

Nkrabea, The deity of destiny and fate, believed to influence human fortunes and life paths, as well as their deaths.

Afroasiatic Africa

Somali

Huur, a messenger of Death who had the form of a large bird similar to Horus of ancient Egypt.

Afroasiatic Middle East

Canaanite

Mot

Egyptian

Aker (Egyptian mythology)

Andjety, an old Egyptian god

Anubis, guardian of the dead,[1] mummification, and the afterlife in ancient Egyptian religion

Aqen, a rarely mentioned deity in the Book of the Dead

Assessors of Maat, charged with judging the souls of the dead in the afterlife

Duamutef, one of the four sons of Horus

Hapi, one of the four sons of Horus

Imset, one of the four sons of Horus

Kherty Egyptian earth god

Medjed, an unusual looking god mentioned in the Book of the Dead

Nephthys (NebetHuet), Anubis' mother; sister of Osiris and Isis (Aset); also a guardian of the dead. She was believed to also escort dead souls to Osiris

Nehebkau, the primordial snake and funerary god associated with the afterlife, and one of the forty-two assessors of Maat

Osiris, lord of the Underworld[2]

Qebehsenuef, one of the four sons of Horus

Seker, a falcon god of the Memphite necropolis who was known as a patron of the living, as well as a god of the dead. He is known to be closely tied to Osiris

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria

Wepwawet, a wolf god of war, and brother of Anubis, being seen as one who opened the ways to, and through, Duat, for the spirits of the dead

Mesopotamian

Ereshkigal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian

mythology),[3][4] first lady of the Underworld

Namtar (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),
Ereshkigal's sukkal.

Nergal (Sumerian mythology, Akkadian mythology, Babylonian mythology),
second lord of the Underworld

Inshushinak (Elamite mythology; also present in the Mesopotamian An-Anum god
list.[5])

Nungal (Babylonian mythology), daughter of Ereshkigal

Erra (god)

Ugur (Hurrian religion;[6] also a sukkal of Nergal[7])

Ninazu

Ningishzida

Allani

Enmesharra, a primordial deity described as "lord of the underworld"

Kanisurra, a goddess whose name is derived from the term "ganzer," referring to
the underworld (Mesopotamian)

Shuwala, a goddess of Hurrian origin worshipped in Ur

Lagamal, minor underworld deity

Birtum, husband of Manungal

Western Eurasia

European

Albanian

Djall, symbolizes the devil. (Djaj(plural))

Mortja, personification of death. An equivalent of Grim Reaper.(Female)(Mortjet,
plural)

Vdekja, personification of death. (Female)

Balto-Finnic

Tuoni (Finnish mythology, Estonian mythology)

Balto-Slavic

Giltinė (Lithuanian mythology)

Māra (Latvian mythology)

Morana (Slavic mythology)

Peckols (Prussian mythology)

Peklenc

Veles

Chernobog (Slavic mythology)

Basque

Herio (Basque mythology)

Celtic

Ankou (Breton people)

Arawn

Cichol

Crom Cruach

Donn

Mannanan

The Morrigan

Scáthach Goddess of the dead
Germanic
See also: Death in Norse paganism

Rán uses her net to pull a seafarer into the depths in an illustration by Johannes Gehrts, 1901

Freyja, presides over Fólkvangr; chooses half of those who die in battle

Gefjon, a goddess who oversees those who die as virgins

Hel,[8][9] goddess of the dead and ruler of the land of the same name, Hel, Odin[8][9] presides over Valhalla and gets half of those who die in battle; there they train for Ragnarök

Rán, the sea goddess who collects the drowned in her net
Etruscan

Aita, god of the underworld

Culga, a female underworld spirit

Februus, god of purification, death, the underworld, and riches

Mani, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of the dead

Mantus, god of the underworld

Orcus, god of the underworld

Tuchulcha, an underworld spirit

Vanth, winged spirit of the underworld

Greek

Hades or Serapis with his dog Cerberus

Achlys, goddess who symbolizes the mist of death. Goddess of poisons, personification of misery and sadness.

Apollo, god of diseases

Atropos, one of the moirai, who cut the thread of life.

Charon, a daimon who acted as ferryman of the dead.

Erebus, the primordial god of darkness, his mists encircled the underworld and filled the hollows of the earth

Erinyes, chthonic deities of vengeance

Hades, king of the underworld and god of the dead[10]

Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, she helped Demeter in the search for Persephone and was allowed to live in the Underworld as her magic works best at night

Hermes, the messenger god who acted as psychopompos

Hypnos, personification of sleep, twin of Thanatos, his Roman counterpart is Somnus

Keres, goddesses of violent death, sisters of Thanatos

Lampades, torch-bearing underworld nymphs

Limos was the goddess of starvation in ancient Greek religion. She was opposed by Demeter, goddess of grain and the harvest with whom Ovid wrote Limos could never meet, and Plutus, the god of wealth and the bounty of rich harvests.[1]

Persephone, queen of the underworld; wife of Hades and goddess of spring growth[11]

Serapis, Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic deity, combining elements of Osiris, the Apis Bull, Hades, Demeter, and Dionysus. Also, patron of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Alexandria.

Tartarus, the darkest, deepest part of the underworld, often used for imprisoning enemies of the Olympians

Thanatos, personification of death, Roman counterpart is Mors[12]

Gods of the seven rivers of the underworld:

Acheron, god of the river Acheron

Alpheus, god of the river Alpheus

Cocytus, god of the river Cocytus

Eridanos, god of the river Eridanos

Lethe, goddess of the river Lethe

Phlegethon, god of the river Phlegethon

Styx, goddess of the river Styx, a river that formed a boundary between the living and the dead

Roman

Dea Tacita, goddess of the dead

Di inferi, ancient Roman deities associated with death and the Underworld

Dis Pater, god of the underworld

Laverna, goddess of thieves, cheats, and the underworld

Lemures, the malevolent dead

Libitina, goddess of funerals and burials

Manes, spirits of the dead

Mania, goddess of death

Mors, personification of death, Greek equivalent is Thanatos

Nenia Dea, goddess of funerals

Orcus, punisher of broken oaths; usually folded in with Pluto

Pluto, ruler of the Underworld

Proserpina, queen of the underworld

Soranus, underworld Sabine god adopted by the Romans

Viduus, god who separated the soul and body after death

Western Asia

Elamite

Inshushinak

Persian-Zoroastrian

Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, the destructive spirit (Persian mythology)[13]

Asto Vidatu or Astiwihad or Asto-widhatu, death deity (Persian mythology)[14]

Ossetian

Aminon, gatekeeper of the underworld.

Barastyr, ruler of the underworld.

Ishtar-Deela, lord of the underworld in Nakh.[15]

Uralic

Azyren (Mari people)

Kalma, Finnish goddess of death and decay, her name meaning "the stench of corpses"[16]

Nga (Nenets)
Tuoni (Finnish mythology), with his wife and children.[17]
Eastern Asia
Korean
Yeom-ra, or Great King Yeom-ra' (King Yama)
Chinese
Yanluo Wang

Yanluo Wang
Emperor(s) of Youdu (Capital City of the Underworld)

Di Guan Da Di
Dong Yue Da Di
Feng Du Da Di
Yanluo Wang (King Yama)
Meng Po
Judges of the Ten Underworld Courts

Jiang Ziwen
Bao Zheng
Dong Ji
Huang Xile
The rest only have surnames including Li, Yu, Lu, Bi, Lu and Xue.

Four Kings of the Underworld

Bao Zheng
Han Qinhu
Fan Zhongyan
Kou Zhun
Ghost Kings of the Five Regions

Cai Yulei
Zhao He
Zhang Heng
Duzi Ren
Zhou Qi
Ghost Kings of the Five Regions (Ver.2)

Shen Cha
Yang Yun
Yan Di (Shenlong)
Ji Kang
Immortal Wang
Governors of Fengdu

Deng Ai
Ji Ming
Imperial Censor of Fengdu

Han Yi
Zeng Yuanshan
Jiao Zhongqing
Ma Zhong
Song Youqing
Guan Yu (note: different from the famous general of three kingdoms)
Wu Lun
Tu Cha
Four Generals of the Direct Altar of Fengdu

Ma Sheng
Ma Chuanzhong
Chen Yuanbo
Guo Zhongyou
Eight Generals of the Inner Altar of Fengdu

Wei Tin, Ghost Capturing General
Liu Chu, Ghost Restraining General
Wang Jian, Ghost Flailing General
Meng E, Ghost Interrogating General
Che Zi, Guardian of the East Gate
Xia Dali, Guardian of the West Gate
Lie Weizhi, Guardian of the South Gate
Sang Tongguai, Guardian of the North Gate
Eight Generals of the Outer Altar of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanlian
Chen Yuanqing
Li Yuande
Fan YuanZhang
Du YuanZhen
Liu Yuanfu
Chang Yuan
Jia Taoyuan
Ten Masters of the Underworld

A Bang, Bull Head
Luo Cha, Horse Face
Xie Bi'an, Wondering God of the Day
Fan Wujiu, Wondering God of the Night
Hei Wuchang (Black Impermanence)
Bai Wuchang (White Impermanence)

Huangfeng (responsible for insects)
Paowei (responsible for animals)
Yusai (responsible for fishes)
Guaiwang (responsible for Hungry Ghosts)
(Note: in some versions, Xie Bi'an and Fanjiu are the Bai Wuchang and Hei Wuchang, respectively.)

Four Strongmen of Fengdu

Zhang Yuanzhen, Taiyi Strongman
Hu Wenzhong, Tri-day Strongman
Sun Zhongwu, Demon-smiting Strongman
Tang Bocheng, Ghost-smiting Strongman
Two Agents of Fengdu

Xun Gongda, Great God of the Black Sky
Liu Guangzhong, Great God of the Black Fog
Wardens of the Nine Prison of Fengdu

Wang Yuanzhen
Zhen Yan
Yao Quan
Shi Tong
Zhou Sheng
Diao Xiao
Kong Sheng
Wu Yan
Wang Tong
Administers of the Six Paths of Rebirth of Fengdu

Cao Qing, Administer of the Path of Heaven
Tien Yan, Administer of the Path of Ghosts
Cui Cong, Administer of the Path of Earth
Ji Bie, Administer of the Path of Gods
Chen De, Administer of the Path of Hungry Ghosts
Gao Ren, Administer of the Path of Beasts
Judges of Fengdu

Cui (Chief Judge)
Wang Fu
Ban Jian
Zi He
Jia Yuan
Zhao Sheng
Zhang Qi
Yang Tong

Fu Po
Zhu Shun
Li Gong
Xue Zhong
Rong Zhen
Lu Zhongce
Chen Xun
Huang Shou
Zhou Bi
Bian Shen
Cheng De
Liu Bao
Dong Jie
Guo Yuan
Japanese

Izanami, when she died she became queen of the underworld, Yomi, and goddess of the dead.

Enma, god and ruler of the dead in Japanese Buddhism

Shinigami, god of death

Susanoo

Ōkuninushi, an alternate ruler of the underworld

North and Central Asian mythology

Erlik (Turkic mythology)

Xargi (Siberian mythology)

Oceanian mythology

Wuluwaid (Australian Aboriginal mythology)

Degei (Fijian mythology)

Hine-nui-te-pō (Maori mythology)

Whiro (Maori mythology)

South Asian mythology

See also: Shmashana Adhipati

Hindu

Yama - the god of death & divine judge of afterlife

Chitragupta - Yama's record keeper, keeps account of the good & misdeeds of souls, on the basis of which the dead are judged.

Yamaduta - Spirits under control of Yama, who are responsible for bringing the dead souls into Yama's presence. However, from the anecdote of Satyavan & Savitri, it is shown that even Yama performs this role.

Kāla - the personification of time, also associated with death

Shiva - the god who is the destroyer of the world at the time of pralaya. As Kalantaka, he is also the conqueror of death. As Bhairava, he is strongly associated with death & destruction.

Kali - Shiva's spouse, strongly associated with death & destruction.

Chamunda - A related form of Kali, invoked for seeking death of enemies during wartime.

Tibetan Buddhist

Tibetan Buddhism, like all other Buddhist denominations, affirms the rejection of the existence of souls (anatta) & existence of a creator God (see the theory of dependent origination), while at the same time affirming in the existence of heaven and hell. The beings listed here aren't 'gods of death' in the traditional sense, they are rather beings that invoke a lot of funerary aspect with them.

Citipati - guardian spirits of charnel grounds

Dakini - Female spirits strongly associated with the imagery of death.

Heruka - Beings strongly associated with the imagery of death & charnel grounds

Wrathful deities - Meditational deities invoking the imagery of death.

Southeast Asian mythology

Magwayen

Batara Kala (Balinese mythology), god of the underworld in traditional Javanese and Balinese mythology, ruling over it in a cave along with Setesuyara. Batara Kala is also named the creator of light and the earth. He is also the god of time and destruction, who devours unlucky people. He is related to Hindu concept of Kāla. In mythology, he causes eclipses by trying to eat the Sun or the Moon.

Shingon (nat) (Burmese)

Thongalel (Manipuri mythology)

Pong Lalondong (Toraja), god of death

Philippines

Main article: List of Philippine mythological figures

Tagbayan (Ifugao mythology): divinities associated with death that feast on human souls that are guarded by two headed monsters called kikilan[18]

Fulor (Ifugao mythology): a wood carved into an image of a dead person seated on a death chair; an antique which a spirit in it, who bring sickness, death, and unsuccessful crops when sacrifices are not offered[19]

Kabunyan (Kalanguya mythology): the almighty creator; also referred to as Agmattebew, the spirit who could not be seen; the mabaki ritual is held in the deity's honor during planting, harvesting, birth and death of the people, and other activities for livelihood[20]

Binangewan (Aeta mythology): spirits who bring change, sickness, and death as punishment[21]

Aring Sinukûan (Kapampangan mythology): sun god of war and death, taught the

early inhabitants the industry of metallurgy, wood cutting, rice culture and even waging war[22]

Lakandánup (Kapampangan mythology): serpent goddess who comes during total eclipses; followed by famine; eats a person's shadow, which will result in withering and death; daughter of Áring Sínukuan and Dápu[23]

Sidapa (Bisaya mythology): the goddess of death; co-ruler of the middleworld called Kamaritaan, together with Makaptan[18]

Sidapa (Hiligaynon mythology): god who lives in the sacred Mount Madia-as; determines the day of a person's death by marking every newborn's lifespan on a very tall tree on Madya-as[24]

Hangin (Hiligaynon mythology): the spirits of the death wind; takes the life of the elderly[24]

Patag'aes (Suludnon mythology): awaits until midnight then enters the house to have a conversation with the living infant; if he discovers someone is eavesdropping, he will choke the child to death; their conversation creates the fate of the child, on how long the child wants to live and how the child will eventually die, where the child will always get to choose the answers; once done, Patag'aes takes out his measuring stick, computes the child's life span, and then departs, sealing the child's fate[25]

Pamulak Manobo (Bagobo mythology): supreme deity who controls good harvest, rain, wind, life, and death; in some myths, the chief deity is simply referred as the male deity, Diwata[18]

Malakal Maut (Maranao mythology): the angel of death; takes the souls of someone after three to seven days from the falling of the person's leaf from the sacred Sadiarathul Montaha tree in the realm called Sorga; appears either a handsome prince or a grotesque monsters, depending if the soul he is getting comes from a sinner or a virtuous person; punishes the souls of sinners until final judgment, while lifting up the souls of the good onto heaven[26]

Kumakatok - hooded and cloaked harbingers of death that would knock on doors of the dying in Tagalog mythology

Magwayen - the goddess of afterlife and the first ocean deity, according to Visayan mythology. Known for being the goddess who collects souls and takes them to Sulad with her boat. The souls are initially transferred to her via Pandaki, who gets the soul from Sidapa.

Sitan - god and caretaker of the underworld realm for evil souls known as Kasamaan in Tagalog mythology. Maca, the realm of the good dead, is jointly ruled by Sitan and Bathala.

Manduyapit - bring souls across a red river in Manobo mythology[27]

Mama Guayen - ferries souls to the end of the world in Ilonggo mythology[27]

Badadum - deity in Waray mythology that gathers family members at the mouth of a river to make a farewell to the deceased[27]

Vietnam

Diêm Vương (King Yama)

Mạnh Bà

Hắc Bạch Vô Thường, two spirits capture souls.

Đầu Trâu

Mặt Ngựa **American mythology**

Mictlāntēcutli

Mictēcacihuātl as depicted in the Codex Borgia

Aztec

Cihuateteo (Aztec mythology), Divine women. Spirits of women who died during labor.

Coatlicue (Aztec mythology), minor goddess of death, as well as the goddess of life and rebirth

Itztlacoliuhqui (Aztec mythology), personification of winter-as-death

Mictēcacihuatl (Aztec mythology),[28] the chief death goddess; Queen of Mictlan (underworld) or Lady of the Dead

Mictlantecuhtli (Aztec mythology), the chief death god; lord of the Underworld[29]

Tlaloc (Aztec mythology), water god and minor death god; ruler of Tlalocan, a separate underworld for those who died from drowning

Xipe Totec (Aztec mythology), hero god, death god; inventor of warfare and master of plagues

Xolotl (Aztec mythology), god of sunset, fire, lightning, and death

Cahuilla

Muut

Guarani

Luison, Guarani mythology

Haida

Ta'xet, Haida mythology

Tia (goddess)

Inca

Supay (Inca mythology)

Vichama (Inca mythology)

Inuit

Aipaloovik

Pana

Latin American Folk Catholicism

Santa Muerte, folk saint and goddess of death in Mexico

San La Muerte, folk saint and god of death in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil

San Pascualito, folk saint and god of death in Guatemala and Mexico

Maya

Camazotz, bat god who resides in the underworld

Cizin

Ixtab

Xtabay

Maya death gods known under various names (Hunhau, Uacmitun Ahau, Ah

Puch, Kisin, Yum Kimil)

Narragansett

Chepi

Taíno
Maquetauire Guayaba
Opiel Guabiron
Umbanda and Candomblé
Exu caveira
Exu Tranca-rua das almas
Haitian Vodou
Gede Iwa

Baron Samedi, Baron La Croix, Baron Cimetiere, Baron Kriminel

Ghede Nibo

Maman Brigitte

See also

Afterlife

Death (personification)

Liminal deity

List of deities

List of night deities

List of fictional demons

List of theological demons

List of ghosts

Psychopomp

Time and fate deities

Sailor Saturn

Veneration of the dead

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The dwelling one went to after death varied depending on where one died, at the battlefield or not. If not at the battlefield, one would go to Hel (not to be confused with the Christian Hell). Of the slain at the battlefield, some went to Fólkvangr, the dwelling of Freyja and some went to Valhalla, the dwelling of Odin (see Grímnismál). The ninth hall is Folkvang, where bright Freyja. Decides where the warriors shall sit. Some of the fallen belong to her. And some belong to Odin.

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vte

Death

vte

Lists of mythological figures

Categories: Death deitiesComparative mythologyLists of deities

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This section relies largely or entirely on a single source. (January 2023)

Artistic depiction of a Yeti, a mythical humanoid taller than an average human said to inhabit the Himalayan region of Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet.

Mythic humanoids are legendary, folkloric, or mythological creatures that are part human, or that resemble humans through appearance or character. Each culture has different mythical creatures that come from many different origins, and many of these creatures are humanoids. They are often able to talk and in many stories they guide the hero on their journey.

Africa

Jengu – (West African) Beautiful, mermaid–like creatures.

Mami Wata – Mermaid-like water-dwelling humanoids from West African mythology

Ogbanje – (Igbo) spirit who is born into the same family repeatedly and dies young on purpose to drive them into grief.

Werehyena – Hyaenidae therianthropic creature common in the folklore of North and East Africa, and West Asia.

Americas

Adlet – Dog-like humanoids in Inuit folklore.

Anung Ité – (Lakota) female spirit with two faces and spikes protruding from elbows. Variations from other tribes known as Sharp Legs and Sharp Elbows.

Asin – (Pacific Northwest) Often called the Basket Woman, this was an ogre-like monster who sneaked up on and captured naughty children, throwing them into a basket on her back to take home and eat.

Baykok – (Anishinaabeg) skeletal monster. Ghost of human cursed for horrific acts in life.

Biboon – (Anishinaabeg) Winter Spirit. Descends from Hudson Bay to cover everything in winter. Described as an old man.

Bigfoot – Large, hairy, and bipedal ape-like creature taller than a human and said to inhabit forests in North America.

Boo hag – (American) A shapeshifting witch in Gullah Geechee culture that feeds on the life force of people vampirically in the night. Has also absorbed aspects of elf and Night Mare beliefs from European culture.

Buffalo People – (Siouan) Race of shapeshifting witches who inhabited the earth before humans. The gods and the Buffalo People intermarry to create the first humans, who are initially rivals over control of the earth. Later, the Buffalo People make peace, gift earth to the humans and become the actual Buffalo. Several prominent mythological figures in Siouan mythology are Buffalo people- including Kakanjka, Wazija, Gnaski, Anung Ité, etc. Buffalo Witches also appear in some Ohio Native lore- particularly Wyandot and Shawnee.

Chindi – (Navajo) The dark side of the soul, which can often separate in death and remain behind in a place as a sort of dark spirit.

Ciguapa – Mythical women who live in the high mountains of the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean. Of human female form with brown or dark blue skin, backward facing feet, and very long manes of smooth, glossy hair covering their bodies; nocturnal, hostile, to be avoided.

El Cucuy – Boogeyman to scare children into being good in Spain, Portugal and South America. Name comes from the word for "head". Seen as shadowy figure prowling on rooftops, said to eat or kidnap children.

Encantado – Amazon river dolphins said to occasionally take human form in South American folklore.

Faceless Spirit – (Iroquois) appears as female maiden with no face. Collects life force of dead things in her basket and returns it to the Creator to be recycled into new life.

Fiura – Evil creature in Chilean mythology, a small, nasty woman with large breasts.

Headless Corpse – (Southeast) headless body that runs around on all fours with

gaping mouth where head should be.

Heyoka – (Lakota) People chosen by the Thunder Beings to be Medicine Men. Possessing supernatural abilities. A Heyoka must have a vision of a Thunder Being or be struck by lightning. May have visions of the future or other abilities. Appear to others as backwards. Acts in backwards behaviors. They are mysterious and move between worlds. thunderbirds.

Ijiraq – (Inuit) shapeshifting kidnapper with red eyes and a sideways face.

Inipi – (Southern California) Mostly known from the Kawaiisu people, this is the shapeshifting ghost of a human. It may take virtually any form, with given stories depicting it as looking normal, or as a skeleton with extremely long nails. Like modern western ghost lore, it may be aware of its surroundings, or just going through the motions obliviously. They say it starts walking once a person's death is assured, even before they actually die. To get rid of one, a person blows across one's open palm at it.

Kalku – A Chiloe and Mapuche mythological sorcerer who controls crows and contains dark magic and negative powers.

Kushtaka – Shape-shifting otter creature found in the folklore of the Tlingit and Tsimshian people.

Little People – various fairy/elf-like beings believed in across North America.

Some are a couple inches tall and look like humans, some a couple feet and are hairy or look ugly, some take the form of human children. Different types can be mischievous, evil or beneficial.

Mesingw – (Algonquian) Lenape name for the spirit of the forests. Hairy dwarf who wears a wooden mask to hide deformed face and rides on the back of a white stag.

Mothman – A winged, legendary man with the features of a moth.

Pombero – Mythical humanoid creature of small stature being from Guaraní mythology.

Qalupalik – (Inuit) female entities with green skin, webbed hands and claws that emit shrieks that paralyze men.

Sabuqwanilnu – (Algonquian) Migmaaq name for a mermaid like being believed in across Algonquian speaking peoples. Top half human, bottom half fish, able to control and predict the weather and travel between the human world and the underworld through water. Anishinaabeg myth refers to one trying to take a human husband, the act of bringing him to their world and going through with the marriage turning him into one of them.

Sasquatch – see Bigfoot.

Shade – Spirit or ghost of a dead person, residing in the underworld, believed to be a shadowy place. Common to beliefs in the Near East, e.g. Islamic Jinn and the Choctaw Nalusa Chito.

Shadow people – dark, nonspecific apparitions in folklore, often taken to be neutral, or harbingers of events.

Skin-walker – (Navajo) Type of witch with ability to disguise themselves as an animal or turn into one.

Squawkowtemus – (Abenaki) Female spirit that resides in swamps. Its cries lure people close. If it touches them, they die.

Stick Indians – (Pacific Northwest) monsters who materialize from out of the roots of trees and bushes and attack men.

Stikini - (Seminole) A witch that primarily transforms into a were-owl monster at night, after vomiting up its soul and organs and hanging them in a tree.

Tariaksuq – (Inuit) anthropomorphic caribou people who exist as their own separate society in a parallel universe. Only their shadows can be seen in this world, though sometimes glimpses of them can be caught out of the corner of the eye. Only become visible when killed.

Thunderbirds – (Eastern Woodlands) most tribes in Eastern Woodlands claim Thunderbirds often shapeshift into people. They live in secret villages atop mountains. Shawnee say they speak backwards.

Towiŋ – (Lakota) Female spirit who guards the road to the afterlife in Lakota lore. Souls stop at her lodge while she judges their worthiness to progress on to Wanagi Tamakoce (heaven). Said to mean Blue Woman, but can also translate as Aunt. Pronounced tow-wih

Trauco – Dwarf or goblin-like creature that inhabits the woods of Chiloé islands in Chile.

Tzitzimítl – (Aztec) female demons who worked for several deities and were worshipped by midwives. Attacked the sun during eclipses and were alleged to be the prophesied cause of the end of the world. Their queen, Itzapopolotl, was a skeletal obsidian butterfly demon. Several other Uto-Aztecan peoples as far north as the Shoshone had similar mythological creatures to her in their lore.

Wanaŋi/ Wanunŋchi – (Siouan) the spirits of the dead, almost always take form of shadow people. The word is also the word for soul and shadow. Sometimes referred to as the Night Spirits. Commonly seen at night around burial grounds/mounds. Pronounced wah-nah-khee/ wah-nuh-chee.

Water Babies – (American Southwest) evil spirit who resides near springs or ponds and takes the form of a crying baby, luring people to pick it up, after which, it becomes so heavy that it crushes them to death.

Wechuge – (Athabaskan) Cannibal said to be a person who has been possessed or overwhelmed by the monster, or a demonic presence. In return, the person becomes "too strong". Related to the regions of Canada.

Wendigo – (Algonquian) A human possessed by evil spirit to cannibalize humans and is never sated.

Werecoyote – A canine therianthrope creature.

Yacuruna – Hairy beings with deformed feet and their heads turned backwards.

Zombie – An undead human which preys on the living, originating in Haitian folklore.

Asia

Äbädä - (Turkic) protective forest spirit. Can take human form, but usually portrayed as having blue skin, green hair and horns.

Abasy – (Yakut) One eyed, one armed, one legged monsters. Souls who serve the underworld god, cause madness and disease and ride two headed, wingless dragons like horses.

Alyp Khara Aat Mogoidoon – (Yakut) chief of the Abasy. Described as a giant with three heads with six arms and legs and made of iron.

Angel – (Abrahamic religions) Divine messengers in Abrahamic religions, often depicted in humanoid form.

Anito – Ancestor spirits and heroic spirits and evil gods

Aswang – Shapeshifting Philippine human eating ghouls, vampires and demons.

Bak – Assamese aqueous creature that can take human form after killing them.

Diwata – Philippine fairies and celestial beings and deities/spirits.

Dokkaebi – A mythical being in Korean folklore or fairy tales. Although usually frightening, it could also represent a humorous, grotesque-looking ogre or goblin.

Ebu Gogo – Human-like creatures in Indonesian mythology.

Engkanto – Elf-like creatures in Philippine mythology most are slender fair skinned and fair hair, some are completely jet black

Garuda – Vishnu's bird-like mount.

Ghoul – (Arabian) Monstrous flesh-eating spirits, jinn, or shayatin associated with graveyards.

Gwisin – General term for a Korean ghost.

Hibagon – The Japanese equivalent of Bigfoot.

Hitotsume-kozou – A Yōkai that takes on the appearance of a bald, one-eyed child.

Jiangshi – A being in Chinese legends and folklore similar to zombie or vampire.

Jinn – (Arabian) Genie-like beings.

Jorōgumo – A spider that can change its appearance into that of a seductive woman.

Kappa – A turtle-like yōkai which is about the size of a child.

Kinari – Beautiful, slender and androgynous creatures with bird wings from Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

Kitsune, huli jing, kumiho, and hồ ly tinh – Fox spirits in Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese folklore respectively.

Manananggal – A self-segmenting humanoid which preys on humans in Philippine folklore.

Mandurugo – (Filipino) Harpy-like vampires with the body of birds of prey and the faces of beautiful women

Mangkukulam (kulam) – Tagalog for Filipino witch employing black magic or using hexes for revenge and punishment reasons.

Nāga – Divine, or semi-divine, race of half-human, half-serpent beings that reside in the netherworld (Patala), and can occasionally take human or part-human form. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism mythology.

Nukekubi – Rokurokubi whose heads come off and float about.

Nuno – Dwarf-like creature in Philippine mythology.

Oni – (Japanese) Yōkai which are similar to ogres or demons.

Pugot – (Philippines) Mythical fiend found in the Ilocos Region.

Rannamaari - (Maldives) Sea monster/demon with similar mythology to Orochi. Defeated entirely just by the existence of Islam and nothing else.

Rokurokubi – Yōkai with long necks or removable heads.

Tengu – Legendary creatures with human and bird features in Japanese folklore.

Tennin – Spiritual beings found in Japanese Buddhism that are similar to western

angels, nymphs or fairies.

Tikbalang – (Filipino) Tall, bony creatures with the features of a horse.

Tiyanak – Vampiric creature in Philippine mythology that imitates the form of a child.

Vanara – Man-ape species with human intelligence in Hindu scriptures.

Yama-uba – (Japanese) Monstrous crone with cannibalistic tendencies.

Yeren – Legendary creature said to be an as yet undiscovered hominid residing in the remote mountainous forested regions of western Hubei, China.

Yeti – An ape-like entity taller than an average human said to inhabit the Himalayan region of Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet.

Yuki-onna – Spirit or yōkai in Japanese folklore associated with snow.

Weretiger – Feline therianthropic creature, Asian version.

Europe

Abarimon – Savage race of people with backwards feet.

Ala – Female demon that brings bad weather to farms in Balkan folklore.

Alp – Nightmare creature from Germanic Mythology.

Anguane – (Germany, Austria) Female spirits with hooves and dangling breasts.

Associated with aiding lost persons and in female fertility.

Arkan sonney – Fairy creature resembling a pig in Manx folklore.

Astomi – Legendary race of people who had no mouths and no need to eat or drink anything at all, surviving by smelling apples, flowers, and perfumes.

Baba Yaga – Slavic witch, crone and liminal guardian to the Otherworld.

Bannik – Slavic bathhouse spirit.

Banshee – Female spirit in Irish folklore who heralds the death of a family member by screaming, shrieking, or keening.

Basajaun, Basandere – (Basque) hairy woodland spirit

Baumseele – (German) the personified spirits of sacred trees, which may or may not be elves. There are references in Scotland and Englands of recognizing sacred trees as "Tree Men," tasked to guard the realm, as well as using a similar tremann term in Scandinavia. It's difficult to know whether it's referring to elves, gods or a mix of both depending on the situation.

Blafard – Albinos long surmised by Europeans to be the result of some kind of simian crossbreeding.

Blemmyes (or akephaloi) – Legendary race of people with no heads and facial features on their chests.

Bluecap – (English) elf like beings of the mines, who sometimes appear as a floating blue flame or an elf in a blue cap. Seen as derivation to Redcap.

Boggart – Household spirits or genius loci.

Boogeyman – A featureless, androgynous creature used by adults to frighten children into good behavior.

Brownie – Scottish household spirit, performs tasks at night, independent, changeable.

Bugbear – Type of hobgoblin comparable to the bogeyman.

Centaur, Greek kentaurides – Men and women with the lower bodies of horses in Greek mythology.

Changeling – Fae child left in place of a human child stolen by the fae.

Clurichaun – Irish fairy resembling a leprechaun.

Crone – Old woman who may be characterized as disagreeable, malicious, or sinister, often magical or supernatural, making her either helpful or not.

Cyclops – Grotesque, one-eyed humanoids, sons of Uranus in Greek myth.

Cynocephalus – Dog-headed humans.

Dearg Due – (Irish) fairy Undead woman who committed suicide after unfair treatment by a cruel husband.

Demon – (Abrahamic religions) Malevolent beings associated with the devil in Christianity, often depicted in humanoid form.

Dhampir – (Albanian, Slavic) half human, half vampire, resulting from the mating of a male vampire and human woman exclusively.

Dökkálfar – Dark elves in Nordic mythology.

Domovoi – Protective house spirit in Slavic folklore.

Doppelgänger – Look-alike or double of a living person.

Drak – (German) elf partly shapeshifted into a lizard. Likely represents the Hazel Worm as the protective spirit motif in German culture. A French version called a Drac is said to be a type of Lutin or French elf.

Draugar – (Norse) Undead creatures that guard their burial mounds.

Dryad – Tree nymph or tree spirit from Greek mythology.

Dullahan – Irish fairy, the headless rider.

Dwarf – (Germanic) Human-shaped being often dwelling in mountains and in the earth.

Elf – Supernatural being in Germanic mythology and folklore.

Empusa (or empousa, pl. empousai) – A shape-shifting being with a copper leg in Greek mythology.

Erinyes – Greek female chthonic deities of vengeance.

Fairy – Mythical spirits or legendary creatures in European folklore, also known as fae or fair folk among many other names. Commonly depicted as having beautiful insectoid wings.

Faun – Humanoid beings with the horns and lower bodies of goats.

Fetch – (Irish) an exact, spectral double of a living human; can appear as an omen.

Fext – (Slavic) Undead warriors who can only be killed with bullets made of glass.

Finmen – (Scottish) Mermaid like beings from Orkney lore.

Fomorians – (Irish) Army of monstrous troll-like/goblin-like humanoid beings.

Furies – Greek goddesses of vengeance.

Gargoyle – (French) Carved or formed grotesques said to scare away demons.

German – (Slavic) a farm protective spirit. Mock burials of an effigy of it were held to summon rain or fair weather for their crops.

Giant, giantess – Large beings of human appearance but prodigious size and strength.

Gigantes – Race of great strength, aggression, and size in Greek and Roman mythology.

Gnome – (Alchemy) Typically said to be a small humanoid that lives underground, bearded and wears a Phrygian cap.

Goblin – (Medieval folklore) Small, grotesque humanoids.

Golem – (Jewish) artificial being of clay created by a Rabbi with a magic spell to defend his community.

Gorgons – (Greek) Three dread and monstrous sisters commonly depicted with snake hair and other beastly features. Two were immortal, Medusa was not. Turned anyone who looked at them to stone.

Green Man – (English) Folklore figure resembling old man covered in foliage that is carved often in old churches. Possibly the same as the Scottish Ghillie Dhu.

Gremlins – Grotesque humanoid creatures commonly depicted as mischievous and inclined to sabotage machinery.

Hag – a kind of fairy or goddess appearing as wizened elderly woman, neither totally malevolent and sometimes benevolent.

Haltija – A spirit, gnome, or elf-like creature in Finnish mythology that guards, helps, or protects something or somebody.

Harpy – (Greek) Female creatures with bird wings.

Hecatonchires – in Greek mythology, three sons of Uranus being hundred-handed giants with fifty heads.

Hobgoblins – Mischievous household spirits.

Hödekin – (German) elf like spirit who used to work for a bishop, but eventually came to do several horrific acts to the point that the bishop decided to exorcise him from his home.

Hulder – Seductive forest creature found in Scandinavian folklore.

Hyter – (English) a lesser known type of fairy who disguise themselves as birds. Also, hikry, hyty or hike.

Imp – (Medieval folklore) A mischievous mythological being of small size, similar to a fairy or goblin.

Iratxo – (Basque) protective, elf-like spirit of farms. Given similar sculptures from Britain hiding secret phalluses, the Romans may have related it to the Greco-Roman God Priapus, who would threaten to rape thieves from farmers' fields.

Jötunn (pl. jötnar) – A Norse mythological race that live in Jötunheimr.

Kabouter – A tiny human-like creatures in Dutch folklore similar to the German kobold or Irish leprechaun.

Kallikantzaroi – Malevolent goblin-like creatures in Southeast European folklore, believed to dwell underground but come to the surface during the twelve days of Christmas.

Karnabo – An elephant-trunked humanoid in Ardennes folklore.

Kikimora – Female house spirit in Slavic (especially Eastern) folklore.

Kilmoulis (English) – diminutive minster with no mouth and a giant nose that snorts all its food.

Klabautermann (or Klabautermannikin, Kaboutermannikin) – A water kobold or nix in German folklore.

Knocker (or knacker, tommyknocker) – Mischievous subterranean, gnome-like spirits associates with mines in Celtic folklore.

Kobalos – An ancient Greek equivalent to a goblin.

Kobold – Shapeshifting German spirits.

Korrigan – Breton dwarves or fairies.

Krsnik – Vampire hunter from Slavic Mythology.

Lamia – (Greek) Beautiful, child-eating demon with a woman's upper body and a snake tail.

Lamia 2 – (Basque) female water spirit with webbed bird feet. NOTE: There is also a Bulgarian Lamya and Albanian Llamja, which is described as a nature spirit similar to the Greek Lamia, ergo these may have originated from the same mythological creature of Basque and Illyrian origin.

Lares – Guardian deities of ancient Rome.

Leanan sídhe – Fairy-like being of Irish folklore.

Lemures – (Roman) Restless spirits of the dead.

Leprechaun – (Irish) Little bearded men dressed in green, associated with luck, gold at the end of a rainbow and wishes.

Lidérc – (Hungarian) Some sort of shapeshifting monster created through magical means which latches onto a person, bestowing upon them riches, but slowly drains them of their life force through sex and blood drinking until they die.

Ljósálfar – Light elves in Nordic mythology.

Lutin – A lutin is a type of hobgoblin in French folklore and fairy tales. Female lutins are called lutines.

Manticore – Creature with a man's head, a lion's body, bat wings, and a scorpion tail.

Mauro, Maura (Portugal, Spain) – Class of humanoid beings that appear to relate to ancient Celtic culture, but are quite varied in abilities, appearance and function. Stories seem to be a random mix of gods, druids, ghosts, nature spirits and the occasional actual Moor invader from Africa.

Mermaid, merman – Women and men with the lower bodies of fish.

Minotaur – (Greek) A human with the head and sometimes legs of a bull.

Moirai – Lesser trio of female deities assigned with deciding and weaving the fates of humans. Usually called the Fates, this is a pan European concept, with the Roman Parcae, the Scandinavian Norns, Shakespeare's Weird Sisters, the Bulgarian Orisnizi and Slavic Rozhanitsy easily identifiable.

Monaciello – Little men dressed as monks.

Monopod – One-legged mythical humanoids.

Moss people

Naiad – A type of water nymph.

Nereid – Female water spirits of Greece.

Nix – Germanic/ Scandinavian shape-shifting water spirit. Also Neck, Necken, Nixie, Nocken.

Nymph – (Greek) Female nature spirits.

Oceanid – Sea nymphs, the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys.

Ogre, ogress – (Medieval folklore) Large, grotesque humanoids.

Orcs – (Tolkien) Humanoids with grey or green skin and tusks.

Pixie – Benign fairy-like beings. Also Peskie.

Poltergeist – Ghosts known for causing physical disturbances.

Púca (or pookha, puck) – (Irish) Mischievous shape-changing creatures which can take human form.

Raedieguovlu – (Saami) Restless souls encountered in the wilderness. Place

people who pay attention to them into trances, convincing them to wander off and die alone.

Redcap – Malevolent, murderous dwarf, goblin, elf or fairy found in the folklore of the Anglo-Scottish border regions.

Revenant – (French, English, Irish) Medieval walking corpses which escape their Graves and supernaturally invade homes to attack the living

Roggenmuhme – (German) female demon who is the mother of the Feldgeisters, light and dark elves who haunt the household and farmer's fields.

Rusalka – Slavic water spirits.

Sandman – Man who puts people to sleep and brings good dreams by sprinkling magical sand onto the eyes of sleeping humans.

Satyr, satyress – Humanoid beings or nature spirits with goat-like features such as horns and hooves.

Seelie – Scottish term meaning "happy" or "blessed", used in several fairy names.

Selkie – Scottish mythical creature that resembles a seal in the water but assumes human form on land.

Sidhe – Irish race of fae that make their homes in mounds.

Siren – Beautiful yet dangerous creatures typically depicted as women-headed birds which lure sailors with their enchanting voices to shipwreck on rocky coasts.

Slavic fairies – Supernatural beings in Slavic folklore.

Sluagh – (Irish) flying hosts of the unforgiven dead in Irish and Scottish folklore

Sphinx – A creature with the body of a lion and the head of a human.

Spriggan – A grotesquely ugly mischievous fairy or forest spirit from Cornish folklore.

Sprite – Fairy, ghost, or elf-like creatures.

Stallo – (Saami) Large, man eating, dim witted, humanoid monster

Struthopodes – Humanoids whose males had enormous feet, but whose females had tiny feet

Succubus, incubus – (Judeo-Christian folklore) Seductive demons.

Svartalfar – Norse for "black elves".

Sylph – (Alchemy) Mythological air spirit.

Tantugou - (France/ Andorra) elderly hooded man who watches over land and animal holdings from predators and thieves. Sometimes also kidnaps bad children.

Taraxippus – (Greek) ghosts of those whose deaths involved horses in some sort of upsetting way. Dedicated altars existed in chariot racing arenas for riders to make offerings, so the ghosts would not upset their horses or try to get them killed.

Tartalo – (Basque) Cyclops like figure

Titans – Anthropomorphic pre-Olympian gods in ancient Greek and Roman mythology.

Tonttu – In Finnish mythology, a type of dwarf or goblin-like creature associated with households and farms; associated with the winter solstice and the Christmas season.

Troll – (Norse) Large, often grotesque humanoids.

Trow – (Scottish) Short, ugly spirits.

Tschäggättä – (Alps) race of hairy monsters that allegedly descend from the arrival of Celts to the region, thousands of years ago.

Undine – (Alchemy) Water nymph.

Vættir – Nature spirits in Scandinavian folklore.

Valkyrie – Female figure from Norse mythology, chooses who lives and who dies in battle.

Vâlvă – (Romanian) a sort of female fairy or elf like being who are protective over certain resources. Homage is paid to them in return for favors and gifts, but disrespect of either themselves or said gifts leads to retaliation.

Vampire – Being from Slavic folklore who subsists by feeding on the life essence of the living, generally in the form of blood.

Vila – Slavic version of nymphs or fairies, with the power of the wind.

Vioge – (English) emaciated scarecrow like monster from Jersey Isle. Grabs people, breaks their ankles and drags them home to eat.

Weiße Frauen

Werebear – Ursidae therianthropic creature.

Werecat – Feline therianthropic creature western version.

Werewolf – (Medieval folklore) Canine therianthropic creature.

Wraith – (British) Evil spirit who is said to haunt people through negative emotions.

Wulver – (Scottish) A type of dogman-like spirit from Scotland

Xana – Extraordinarily beautiful female creature in Asturian mythology.

Zmeu – (Romanian) Dragon-human hybrid monsters. Can fly and breathe fire, but also use weapons and ride horses.

Oceania/Polynesia

Australia

Bunyip – Large, waterhole-dwelling creature.

Junjudee – Small brown hairy man, roams the bush in South East Queensland; mischievous, even dangerous, impervious to weapons, strong.

Mumari – Hairy creature that lives in the bush, an evil spirit, that follows a person home in the night and tries to catch them.

Tall man – Malevolent being who comes out at night from cracks in the rocks or shadows of the rainforest in Queensland's North East tropics; nightmare creature, to be avoided at all costs, especially by Aboriginals.

Yara-ma-yha-who – Vampire-like/dwarf/frog-like creature said to live in fig trees and attack its unexpected prey.

Yowie – Hominid reputed to live in the Australian wilderness.

Hawaii

Menehune – Small people who live in hidden Hawaiian valleys.

Nawao – Savage humanoids

New Zealand

Maero – Savage, arboreal humanoids.

Patupaiarehe – Pale-skinned/white-skinned elf-like/fairy-like creatures.

Solomon Islands

Kakamora – Small people living in forests, who sometimes stab people with their claws.

Other

Black-eyed children – Appear as human children with solid black eyes. Appear and beg entry into buildings or vehicles. If people relent, they begin to feel extremely ill.

Ghost – A lost soul or spirit that can be good or evil. Ghosts are typically created by a dead person having been bound to this world by regrets or emotions like anger.

Hat Man – A living shadow, often depicted with glowing red eyes and wearing a distinctive type of hat- usually a top hat or bowler cap.

Homunculus – artificial diminutive humanlike being created through alchemy.

Mummy – Deceased human or animal whose skin and organs have been preserved by mummification.

See also

Related lists

List of cryptids

List of fictional apes

List of hybrid creatures in mythology

List of legendary creatures by type

References

Sources

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Apes

Category: Mythic humanoids

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by region or culture.

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Poster of a Mami Wata, "serpent priestess" painted ca. 1926 by German (Hamburg) artist Schleisinger, displayed in shrines as a popular image of Mami Wata in Africa and in the Diaspora.[1][2]

North Africa

Berber deities

Guanche deities

Egyptian deities

Osiris, lord of the dead. His green skin symbolizes rebirth

Sub-Saharan Africa

African deities

Alusi

Yoruba deities

Afro-American religion

Loa

Orisha

Americas

Central America

Aztec deities

Maya deities

North America

Inuit deities

Native (North and South) American deities

South America

Incan deities

Guarani deities

Mapuche deities
Muisca deities
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Turkic deities
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The image illustrates the Hindu belief that each part of the cow embodies a particular deity
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Greek deities (see also Greek mythological figures, Twelve Olympians, Ancient Greek religion, Mycenaean deities)
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Rapa Nui deities of Easter Island
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Jell-Bahlsen 1997, p. 105

Chesi 1997, p. 255)

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List of deities by classification

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This is an index to deities of the different religions, cultures and mythologies of the world, listed by type of deity.

Motif-index

A basic classification of the types of gods as based on the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, by Stith Thompson:[1]

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A100—A199. The gods in general

A101. Supreme God

A104. The Making of the Gods

A107. Gods of Darkness and Light (darkness thought of as evil and light as good).

A109.1. Triple deity

A116. Triplet gods

A111.1. Mother of the gods

A111.2. Father of the Gods

A117.5. Gods as spirits of the deified dead

A131. Gods with animal features

A132.3. Equine god / goddess

A132.5. Bear god / goddess

A132.9. Cattle god / goddess

A161.2. King of the Gods

A177.1. Gods as Dupe or Tricksters

A192. Death or departure of the gods

A193. Gods of Dying-and-rising

A200—A299. Gods of the Upper World

A210. Gods of the Sky

A220. Gods of the Sun

A240. Gods of the Moon

A250. Gods of the Stars

A260. Gods of Light

A270. Gods of the Dawn

A280. Gods of the Weather

A281. Gods of Storms

A282. Gods of the Wind

A284. Gods of Thunder

A287. Gods of Rain

A300—A399. Gods of the Underworld

A310. God of the World of the Dead
A311. Conductor of the Dead
A400—A499. Gods of the Earth (The Human Sphere)
A400. Gods of the Earth
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A451. Artisan Gods
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A487. Gods of Death
A490. Miscellaneous Gods of the Earth
A491. God of Travellers
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A500—A599. Demigods and Culture Heroes
A502. Heroes or demigods as fourth race of men.
A510. Origin of the culture hero (demigod).
A515.1.1. Twin culture heroes.
A521. Culture hero as dupe or trickster.
A531. Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.
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Legendary creatures
Names of God
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List of people who have been considered deities; see also apotheosis, Imperial cult and Sacred king

Names of God, names of deities of monotheistic religions

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Religion

Disambiguation icon

This article includes a religion-related list of lists.

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Dādestān ī Dēnīg (Middle Persian pronunciation: [daːdestaːn iː deːniːg] "Religious Judgments") or Pursišn-Nāmag ([pursiʃnaːmag] "Book of Questions") is a 9th-century Middle Persian work written by Manuščihr, who was high priest of the Persian Zoroastrian community of Pārs and Kermān, son of Juvānjam and brother of Zādspram. The work consists of an introduction and ninety-two questions along with Manuščihr's answers. His questions varies from religious to social, ethical, legal, philosophical, cosmological, etc. The style of his work is abstruse, dense, and is heavily influenced by New Persian.[1]

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Zoroastrian literature

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Persian literature

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Zoroastrianism

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The Damdad nask is one of the lost nasks (volumes) of the Sasanian Avesta. Although no texts in the extant Avesta can be clearly identified as having belonged to it, its content can be reconstructed to some degree from references in later Zoroastrian writings.[1]

Sources

The nask itself is no longer extant. A short summary of its content is given in the Denkard (8.5), a 9th-10th century compendium of Zoroastrianism.[2] In addition, the Rivayats by Kamah Bahram, Nareman Hoshang and Dastur Barzu Qiyamu-D-Din, a series of epistles from the 15th - 17th century, give a short overview on the content of the Damdad nask.[3]

Name

MacKenzie provides two possible derivations of the name. First, it may be derived from a hypothetical Avestan *dāmi.dāti, meaning "the creating of the creation". Alternatively, it may be derived from Middle Persian dām dād, meaning "he (Ohrmazd) created the creation".[1] Regardless, the meaning of the name has been connected to the meaning of the name of the Chihrdad nask.[4]

In the Sasanian Avesta

Main article: Sasanian Avesta

The Sasanian Avesta was organized into 21 nasks, i.e., volumes, which were grouped into 3 divisions; the Gāhānīg (Gathic nasks), Hada Mānsrīg (manthras connected with the ritual), and Dādīg (legal nasks).[5] Within this scheme, the Damdad nask was part of the ritual nasks and its content has been described as concerning matters of Zoroastrian cosmogony and eschatology.[6]

Amid the Damdad are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the beneficial creatures. First, as to the spiritual existence, and how much and how is the maintenance in the spiritual existence; and the production of the worldly existence therefrom, qualified and constructed for descending (fitodano) into the combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention (garang) of destructiveness.

—Denkard 8.5 (translated by Edward William West).[7]

According to the Denkard, the Damdad nask was the fourth of the nasks of the Sasanian Avesta.[1] However, the Rivayats place it as the fifth. They also state that it consisted of 32 chapters.[4] According to the estimate by Edward William West, the Damdad nask consisted of ca. 8,900 words of Avestan text, accompanied by ca. 29,300 words of commentary in Middle Persian.[7]

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Summary of the Damdad nask according to Book 8 of the Denkard by Edward William West

Summary of the Damdad nask in the Rivayats by Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar

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Zoroastrian literature

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MIDDLE PERSIAN LITERATURE

i. PAHLAVI LITERATURE

Pahlavi literature traditionally defines the writings of the Zoroastrians in the

Middle Persian language and Book Pahlavi script which were compiled in the 9th and the 10th centuries CE. These books safeguard, in the vast majority of cases, older material, going back to the Sasanian period and, in some cases, even earlier. The surviving Pahlavi literature preserves part of the literary heritage of the late Sasanian period, with a great prevalence of religious books. Quite clearly, this is due to the fact that the compilers and copyists of these books all belonged to the clergy. Quite important in the development of Pahlavi literature, and extremely relevant in the compilation of two works which stand out for the wealth of information they transmit and for the antiquity of the contents, the *Dēnkard* and the *Bundahišn*, is the Middle Persian *Zand* (commentary) to the *Avesta*. In fact, a passage found at the end of the 3rd book of the *Dēnkard* (chap. 420; cf. de Menasce, 1973, pp. 379-80), explicitly states this continuity, describing the *Dēnkard* as an ideal synthesis and continuation of the Sasanian *Avesta* of the 21 nasks (see *AVESTA*), which are described in some detail in the 8th book of the *Dēnkard*.

Several different literary genres are represented in Pahlavi literature, the vast majority of which relates to religious themes, with the exception of some glossaries, the very important legal book *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān*, and the texts contained in the miscellaneous codex MK, which preserve a sample of what must have been a very rich and qualitative secular literature known to have blossomed under the Parthians and the Sasanians; it reached full maturity in the late Sasanian period, at the court of Husraw I and his successors, but was only very sparsely preserved by later Islamic authors (cf. Gutas, 1998, pp. 25-27). Not all Pahlavi books can be strictly assigned to a specific literary genre. Since some are due to a work of compilation, their contents can differ markedly. The clearest example is provided by the *Dēnkard*, still only partly published (see below); its contents were described in some details by J. de Menasce (1958).

Pahlavi literature has been the subject of a number of studies, more or less detailed. The earliest analytical work is due to the pen of E. W. West, the person best versed in Pahlavi literature in those days, and appeared in the second volume of the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (West, 1896-1904). Very useful information on a number of texts can also be found in West's five volumes on *Pahlavi Books*, which appeared in the series *Sacred Books of the East* (1880-1897). Though now outdated, these volumes still constitute the largest selection of Pahlavi texts ever published. Other wide-ranging studies, covering Pahlavi literature as a whole, include works by J. C. Tavadia (1956), M. Boyce (1968a), A. Pagliaro (1968a), and the two long chapters on Pahlavi literature contained in the 3rd and 4th volumes of the *Cambridge History of Iran*, both written by de Menasce (1975 and 1983 respectively). More recent are an important work by A. Tafazzoli (1997), covering the entire pre-Islamic literature of the Iranians, and the exhaustive volume on Pahlavi literature written by C. G. Cereti (2001). A further survey is by M. Macuch (2009). Other contributions, such as those by J. Duchesne-Guillemin (1962, pp. 52 ff.) and O. Klíma (1959, pp. 33 ff.), are also valuable, though less exhaustive.

The more extensive Pahlavi work is the Dēnkard. Unfortunately, only seven of the original nine books have survived the perils of time, and only one manuscript, codex B (Dresden, 1966), contains the text almost in its entirety. Moreover, this manuscript does not count among the best examples of Middle Persian calligraphy, presenting many errors and ambiguous spellings. The manuscript tradition of the Dēnkard consists of: (1) Codex B, which was copied in Torkābād, Yazd, in 1659 (Dresden, 1996, pp. 12-13) and is the only complete manuscript of what is left of the Zoroastrian summa; (2) mss. K43 (a and b), in which the folios that contain part of the Dēnkard were completed in 1594 in Torkābād; and (3) codex DH, better known for its version of the Iranian Bundahišn and the Zand ī Wahman Yasn (1597 CE). Two codices preserved in the University Library, Cambridge (Add. 328 and 529), also contain the final part of the Dēnkard.

As yet, no complete edition of the Dēnkard has been published, apart from the monumental work initiated by Dastur P. B. Sanjana and completed by his son, D. P. Sanjana (Sanjana and Sanjana, 1874-1928). Early translations were done by West of Books III, IV, V (all only partially), VII, VIII, and IX (West, 1892, pp. 1-397 and 406-18; 1897, pp. 1-130). However, several individual books of the Dēnkard have been published according to modern philological criteria. Today one may refer to de Menasce's translation of Book III (1973), Sh. Shaked's edition of Book VI (1979), M. Molé's edition of Book VII and parts of Book V (1967, pp. 2-115), and the recent edition of Book V by J. Amouzgar and Tafazzoli (2000). In 1991 Amouzgar and Tafazzoli translated in Persian a selection of passages taken from books V, VII and IX. Ms. B was published in facsimile by M. J. Dresden in 1966; K43a and K43b were published in 1936 in the series of the Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis (see CODICES HAFNIENSES), while DH was published by the Iranian Culture Foundation (P. K. Anklesaria, 1970a). A printed edition of the Pahlavi text of the Dēnkard was completed in 1911 by D. M. Madan, and a lithograph of the 7th Book of the Dēnkard was published by M. R. Unvala (1904).

The first three books of the Dēnkard (books III, IV, and V) all share a common apologetic nature, expounding the precepts of the Good Religion and polemicizing with other religions of the time, mainly Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, though a few chapters are directed also against the dualistic religion founded by Mani. The material found in these books seems to be a re-writing of the precepts found in the Pahlavi commentary to the Avesta, inspired by it, but not directly deriving from it. The 3rd book of the Dēnkard was written, at least in its final version, by Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān, while the other two are more archaic, and go back to Ādurfarrbay ī Farroxzadān, as overtly stated both in the 4th (B 514.5-7) and in the 5th book (B 494.1-4).

The 6th book contains the largest preserved collection of gnomic literature in Middle Persian, partially drawing on other attested collections, as is shown by Sh. Shaked in his edition (1979). This literary genre must have been widely current in

the Sasanian world; and ethical, political, and moral sayings may well have constituted the essential part of one of the Hāda-mānsarīg (ritual) nasks of the Sasanian Avesta: the Bariš Nask. The 7th, 8th, and 9th books of the Dēnkard, though differing deeply one from the other, share the common character of being exegetical books, aimed at preserving the memory of the Sasanian Avesta, making its contents—or rather those found in its Zand—available to a public which had by then lost any profound knowledge of the Avestan language. The 7th book is entirely devoted to the legend of Zoroaster, in the form that it had taken in Sasanian times. Though deeply rooted in the Avesta and Zand, it should not be considered as a mere translation, but rather as a Middle Persian composition, rich in passages taken from the Avesta and its Zand. The 8th book is a summary of the Sasanian Avesta as it was preserved in the 9th century. It contains a description of nineteen of the twenty-one nasks; of the other two, the Waštag was by then completely lost, and only the Avestan text of the Nāxtar was still preserved, for teaching, studying, and worship (pad čāšišn ud ōšmurišn ud ēzišn [Dk. VIII.6.1; West, 1892, p. 15]). However, not all parts of the Zand Avesta were described in equal detail. The greater part of Book eight was devoted to four legal nasks: the Nigādōm, the Duzd-sar-nizad, the Huspārām, and the Sagādōm; all sections (brīnag) of these are listed. Finally, book nine contains a detailed description of three gathic nasks, each of them containing different commentary to the Gāthās: the Sūdgar, the Warštmansar, and the Bay.

An important book, similar in style and genre to the first three surviving books of the Dēnkard, is the Škand Gumānīg Wizār. It was written by Mardānfarrox ī Ohrmazd-dādān in the 9th century CE, and it mentions the name of Ādurfarrbay ī Farroxzādān, the first compiler of the Dēnkard, but not that of Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān, the scholar-priest who was responsible for the final version of this work. Mardānfarrox aimed at expounding the main doctrines of the Zoroastrian creed, criticizing at the same time the contradictions of the three great monotheistic religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, as well as the beliefs of the Manicheans. In this connection it should be remembered that, due to the fact that all three Abrahamic religions are monotheistic, and thus share a set of theological beliefs, criticizing certain aspects of Judaism and Christianity amounts to indirectly criticizing Islamic beliefs. Thus the chapters on Christianity (chap. XV) and Judaism (chaps. XIII and XIV) may have been meant to target Islam as well, a religion which is directly addressed only in chapters XI and XII. It should be also kept in mind that the author, whenever possible, might have avoided directly attacking Islam, since criticizing the dominant religion might have endangered his own safety.

The book can be divided into two main parts, excluding the initial eulogy. Chapters II-X, affirm, describe, and uphold the main tenets of the Zoroastrian religion, while chapters XI-XVI are polemical attacks against the four abovementioned religions. Identifiable sources of Mardānfarrox are Ādurbād ī *Yāwandān, a book called Rōšn Nibēg, written by Rōšn son of Ādurfarrbay, who was identified by West with a commentator known from the (Mādayān ī) Hazār

Dādestān. The apologetic chapters show a detailed knowledge of the other religions, but no specific source can be identified. The most ancient manuscripts of the Škand Gumānīg Wizār transmit its Pāzand and Sanskrit text, while the codices which contain a Pahlavi version of its first part are all secondary. The manuscript tradition is complex and not completely studied (cf. Jāmāsp-Asānā and West, 1887, pp. xix-xxvii, and de Menasce, 1945, pp. 14-15). The standard edition is still the one by de Menasce (1945), though D. Taillieu (2004) has studied the last chapter of this text in his Ph.D. dissertation on the Zoroastrian polemic against Manicheism.

Two texts expound the cosmological theories of the Zoroastrians. One, whose contents seem to be more ancient, is the Bundahišn, the other, marked by the personality of its author, is known as the Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram. The Bundahišn is a cosmological work, written directly in Middle Persian, but based on a detailed knowledge of the Avestan corpus. Main sources of the Bundahišn are the Dāmdād and Čihrdād nasks of the Sasanian Avesta. Two versions of this work have come down to us: the Iranian or Greater Bundahišn and the Indian Bundahišn. The first to be known to Western Iranists was the Indian Bundahišn, transmitted mainly through codices K20 of Copenhagen and M51 of München. An approximate calculation of the original length of the text, as contained in K20, gives a result of about 13,000 words. The Iranian Bundahišn, contained in mss. TD1 and DH, counts, according to West, 30,000 words. It became known to the Western public at the end of the 19th century, once T. D. Anklesaria had obtained the codex TD1 from Yazd; it was followed, about ten years later, by TD2. Ms. DH was discovered in the private library of Dastur H. Jamasp. Both the name Bundahišn and the name Zand-āgāhīh are conventional, deriving from the first paragraph of the text, following the doxology, which also describes the subject matter of the Bundahišn (TD1 1v.7-11), which can be shortly summarized as follows: (1) the primordial creation; (2) the nature of the world and its creatures, from the beginning to the end of time; (3) the mythical history of the world. Though we know little about the history of the Bundahišn itself, most scholars agree on considering the first thirty chapters of the Iranian version as a product of the culture of late Sasanian times, and the final six as a later addition. The final compilation of the Bundahišn is probably due to Farrbay, son of Ašawahišt, surnamed Jādagīh, who in chapter 35a.8 speaks of himself in the first person. He was a contemporary, perhaps slightly younger, of Zādspram, son of Juwānjam, author of the Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram, who was active towards the end of the 9th century.

The text has been handed down to us in six independent manuscripts: the three manuscripts containing the text of the Iranian Bundahišn all date to the 16th century. More specifically, TD1 was dated by West to about 900 Y./1531 while DH is slightly more recent (1597), but written by a more accurate copyist, though it presents two large lacunas. The very last part of the Iranian Bundahišn is also preserved in Codex K43, where it is followed by a colophon dated 1587. Finally, the Iranian version is also preserved in codex TD2, often cited, but secondary.

The three codices which transmit the Indian version are much more ancient. K20 contains three different colophons dated 690 Y./1321, 720 Y./1351, and 700 Y./1331. K20b contains 19 folios, of which one, clearly more ancient, was assigned by West to the pen of Mihrābān, son of Kayhusraw, who wrote K2 and K5 in 1323-24. The remaining ones are relatively more recent, probably copied from the manuscript to which the older folio belongs. Though largely incomplete, this codex is very important, being independent from both K20 and M51. M51 was written in 766 Y./1397, by Pišotan Rām, and derives ultimately from a copy written by Mihrpānāg Srōšayār, Hērbad of Nēšābur. The order of chapters found in M51 differs radically from that of K20. Codices K43, K20, and K20b were all published in the Copenhagen series; TD and DH were published in facsimile by the Iranian Culture Foundation (P. K. Anklesaria, 1970a, 1970b), while M51 remains unpublished. TD2 was published in 1908 in facsimile by B. T. Anklesaria from the Nachlass of his father, T. D. Anklesaria.

The earliest translation of the Indian Bundahišn was made by A. H. Anquetil Duperron and published in 1771. Fifty years later Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) acquired the mss. K20 and K20b for the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and N. L. Westergaard published them in facsimile in 1851. The partial translations by M. Haug (1854) and F. Spiegel (1860), as well as the complete translation by Windischmann (1863), are all based on this text. F. Justi (1868) prepared a critical edition, though his work is devalued by the fact that he was never able to see M51. In his 1880 translation, West chose to mainly follow the Indian version, limiting the use of TD1 to chapters XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII in his numbering, though openly recognizing its value, which he had earlier guessed from Andreas's publication (1882) of a fragment taken from K43a. In 1933 H. W. Bailey obtained his Ph.D. with a thesis on the Bundahišn, which was unfortunately never published. In 1956 B. T. Anklesaria's edition and translation of the Iranian Bundahišn, already completed by 1935 and based on TD2, was finally printed. R. Behzādi (1989) published an edition of the Indian Bundahišn compared with mss. TD1, TD2, and DH; and M. Bahār (1990) printed his Persian translation of the Bundahišn. In 2005 F. Pakzad published a critical edition of the Iranian Bundahišn, taking into account mss. TD1, TD2, DH, and K43, as well as the Indian Bundahišn mss. K20, K20b, and M51.

The Selections of Zādspram (Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram) are a cosmological work written by Zādspram, son of Juwānjam and brother of Manuščihr, the head of the Zoroastrian community of Fārs and Kērmān in the second half of the 9th century. The Epistles of Manuščihr show us that Zādspram was a reform-minded priest, head of the community of Sirjān. Though similar in many aspects to the Bundahišn, the Selections are more unitary and coherent than that text. The structure of this work, as well described by Tavadia, can be ranged under three subjects: (1) the past is narrated in chapters I-III, which describe the creation of the world, the assault by Ahriman, and the consequent corruption; (2) the present is represented by the life of a Zoroaster (chaps. IV-XXV); (3) the future is described in the two important final chapters, dedicated to eschatology. Four chapters

cannot be assigned to any of these groups: XXVII on the characteristics of the clergy, XXVIII on the structure of the Avesta, and XXIX and XXX on Zoroastrian medical science, which, in the same way as parallel paragraphs in the Bundahišn, show the influence of Greek knowledge. The value of this book resides in his originality, since it seems to be independent both from the Bundahišn and from the 7th book of Dēnkard, the latter with reference to the chapters directly concerned with Zoroaster's life. The Dāmdād Nask is twice mentioned as a source; and Zādspram was probably the author of a lost work on a subject discussed (as far as we know) in the Dāmdād nask: Nibēg ī tōhmag-ōšmārišnīh "Book of the enumeration of the races." The most recent edition of the Selections of Zādspram (Gignoux and Tafazzoli, 1993) is based on three different manuscripts, all of which are incomplete, as can be seen from the sudden end of chap. XXXV. Mss. TD and K35b are independent, though both derive from a common archetype (cf. P. K. Anklesaria, 1958, pp. 38-48), while BK is an ancient copy of K35. According to a colophon found in BK, K35b was copied in Kermān in 941 Y./1562. TD was acquired by Anklesaria from Iran ca. 1867. On the ground of the genealogy contained in its undated colophon, West estimated the copyist of TD to be older by two generations than the copyist of K35. The common heritage of the three codices is also shown by the fact that they all contain the same texts: the Dādestān ī Dēnīg and the Epistles of Manuščihr, both written by Manuščihr, brother of Zādspram, the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, and the Selections of Zādspram. In 1880 West translated the first chapters of the Selections of Zādspram in the Sacred Books of the East, in 1934 codex K35 was printed in the series Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, and in 1943 B. T. Anklesaria published an edition based on mss. K35b, TD, and BK: unfortunately most of its copies perished in the fire which destroyed the Fort Printing Press in Bombay. A second edition appeared posthumously in 1964. Bahār (1972) published a useful glossary, and Rašēd Mohassel (1987) published a Persian translation. F. W. Sohn (1980) printed a detailed but debatable book on the medical chapters of the Selections of Zādspram. What is now considered to be the standard edition of this text was published by Ph. Gignoux and Tafazzoli (1993).

Three texts can be assigned to the eschatological and apocalyptic genre. These are the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, the Zand ī Wahman Yasn, and the Jāmāsp Nāmag. The Ardā Wirāz Nāmag describes a voyage in the afterlife, and Ardā Wirāz's vision of heaven and hell. In former times some saw in this work a source to Dante's Divina Commedia, but this seems not to be the case, at least not directly. More profitable is to compare this work with Kartīr's vision, analyzed by P. O. Skjærvø (1983). The redaction of this text, and its many repetitions, tell us a story of many revisions and re-telling, as should be expected in the case of such a popular work. This is not the place to dwell on the centrality of individual eschatology in Zoroastrianism, nor should too much be made out of the mention of the name of Wirāz in the Frawardīn Yašt (Yt. 13.101), since the latter is a very repetitive composition. Nonetheless, the theme discussed, its similarity to Kerdīr's vision, and the parallels with other religious traditions all suggest the original nucleus to

be ancient. Mss. K20 and M51, the two more ancient codices of the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, have already been described above. K26 is an independent manuscript, possibly belonging to the 2nd half of the 17th century and contains both the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag and the Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Friyān. M51a preserves a further fragment, corresponding to the first thirty eight paragraphs of chapter one. M63 contains the Pāzand and Sanskrit version of the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag. Both K26 and M63 belong to the branch of K20. Many later manuscripts were employed by Haug and West in their edition (1872), but they all seem to derive from M51a, or to anyhow be late and secondary. The popularity of the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag through the ages is shown by its many translations, the first English one being that from Persian by J. A. Pope in 1816. In 1872 Haug and West, with the decisive collaboration of H. JamaspAsa, published the first critical edition. Five years later Barthélemy published a French translation (1877). Leaving aside the many popular translations, one should remember the study by M. Mo'in (1946), G. Gobrecht's Ph.D. thesis (1965, 1967), the detailed philological and linguistic study by W. Belardi (1979) limited to its first two chapters, and the complete editions by Gignoux (1984) and F. Vahman (1986), who had earlier published a glossary of this work.

More properly apocalyptic are the Zand ī Wahman Yasn and the Jāmāsp Nāmag, the second representing a part of the very widespread tradition of Zoroastrian Jāmāspi texts, gathered by J. J. Modi (1903) and edited by G. Messina (1939). Both contain a prophetic element, represented in the first work by Zoroaster himself and in the second by Jāmāsp. Passages and chapters relative to the end of times, some of which eschatological and other apocalyptic, are contained in many other works, such as the final chapters of Dk. 7, chaps. XXXIV and XXXV of Selections of Zādspram, XLVIII and XLIX of the Pahlavi Rivāyat, and XXXIII and XXXIV of the Bundahišn. This genre seems to have remained alive in the following centuries, and echoes of it can be found in the famous episode of Rustam Farroxxād in Ferdowsi's Šāh-nāma (Krasnowolska, 1978; Cereti, 2007). The Zand ī Wahman Yasn is divided in nine chapters, the first two somehow foreign to the text (cf. Cereti, 2001, pp. 127-28). Just as the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, also the Zand ī Wahman Yasn was to know literary fortune, attested among others by a Pāzand version, a Sanskrit one, and a Persian re-telling composed probably by Rustām Esfandiyār in Yazd in 1496. It is preserved in mss. K20, K20b (a fragment), K43 (only up to the middle of the 7th chapter), and DH (all described above, among the Bundahišn codices). The text of the Zand ī Wahman Yasn was edited at the end of the 19th century by K. A. Noshervan (1899), who accepted the division into three chapters proposed by West in his 1880 translation. Some years later B. T. Anklesaria prepared a new edition, based on mss. K20 and DH, and divided the work into nine chapters. Unfortunately the printed copies of the book were lost in the 1945 fire which destroyed the Fort Printing Press, but the work was finally made available in 1957. In 1944, S. Hedāyat translated the text into Persian (publ. 1963); more recent is the Persian translation by M. T. Rāšed Mohassel (Tehran, 1991), based on Anklesaria's edition. In 1961 G. Widengren translated the text into German. In 1995, Cereti published a new edition, based on

the four manuscripts. In the same year A. Hultgård published a detailed study on the Zand ī Wahman Yasn.

Noteworthy is the fact that both Ardā Wirāz Nāmag and Zand ī Wahman Yasn are found in manuscripts which also contain the Bundahišn. This is certain for Zand ī Wahman Yasn, contained in codices presenting both the Indian (K20, K20b, and M51) and the Iranian (DH) redaction of Bundahišn, but also for the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, whose more ancient manuscript are K20 and M51. The Jāmāspi belongs to a totally different tradition. The text, which is now known as Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg, derives from the collation of various manuscripts, accomplished by Messina (1939). Notwithstanding the efforts by the author, the impression is that of a heterogeneous text, incorporating different traditions. The Pārsi text is the most complete, followed by the Pāzand versions. The Pahlavi fragments, conventionally known as Jāmāsp Nāmag, preserve only a smaller fraction of the text (chaps. 10.2-12.2, 13.5-14.5, 16). The narrative structure is that of a series of questions that King Wištāsp asks his bīdaxš, Jāmāsp, and of the answers given by this character, who is known in the Iranian tradition as the seer par excellence. The language is late, as should be expected in such a popular text, which must have undergone many revisions, but the existence of a more ancient nucleus should not be excluded. The manuscripts belonging to the Jāmāspi tradition are late, the most ancient being MU, written by Dastur Dārāb Pāhālān, who lived in Navsari between 1668 and 1735. Codices MU, DE (second half of the 19th century) and the modern copies MU2, M3, and M4 all contain the Pahlavi text and were edited by Modi (1903); West (1904) published Codex DP, an important and old manuscript. The Pāzand text is contained in DE and in a manuscript called RJ by Modi. The more complete Pārsi version is contained in M52, which also offers an interlinear Persian translation. The sixteenth chapter, entirely preserved in Pahlavi, was published by Bailey (1930-32) and was the subject of an important study by E. Benveniste (1932). Messina published his edition of the Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg in 1939. In 2012 D. Agostini produced a recent an up-to-date edition of the Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg.

Normative and didactic treaties represent a compact group of texts meant to guard the faith of the dwindling Zoroastrian community, and to reaffirm the tenets of this faith in its daily practice. These books thus discuss and present aspects of religious or ritual law internal to the community, which were particularly important in a period when secular power no longer was held by Zoroastrianism. They also contain chapters devoted to theological, eschatological, and cosmological subjects such as those found in the Dēnkard and the Bundahišn, explained at a more elementary level. Nonetheless, at times these texts preserve ancient concepts and traditions which otherwise would have been lost. In many respects, the Persian Rivāyats of the Zoroastrians continue this literary genre. Among the books belonging to this genre one finds two works composed by Manuščihr ī Juwānjam, brother of Zādspram, who was active in the second half of the 9th century. One is the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, which contains Manuščihr's answers to ninety-two questions on miscellaneous subjects formulated by

Mihrxwaršēd son of Ādurmāh. Some of the questions are about the role and function of priests (*mard ī ahlaw*), others deal with good and bad, others still with the destiny of the soul in the afterlife. Another subject discussed is ritual and religious law. This concern is expressed, on the one hand, by questions dealing with specific ceremonies and customs, and about duties and rights of the priest, including their fees; and on the other, by questions regarding everyday life and commerce, legal aspects such as inheritance and family law, sexual attitudes such as adultery or homosexuality, etc. Finally, a number of questions discuss theological and cosmologic subjects. No doubt, the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* is the most important of the works by Manuščihr, and it was most probably written earlier than the Epistles (see below). The volume is extremely interesting on account of the great learning of its author, but it is also extremely difficult because of the convoluted style. It still lacks a complete critical edition. In 1882 West translated the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* in the *Sacred Books of the East* (1882, pp. 1-276), and in 1897 D. P. Sanjana published its first fifteen questions. In 1911 B. T. Anklesaria published the first 40 questions from his father's *Nachlass* (T. D. Anklesaria, n.d.); and in 1926, together with S. D. Bharucha, he published a Gujarati translation of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. In 1958 P. K. Anklesaria obtained his Ph.D. with an edition of the second part of *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*; it was translated by R. P. Peer (1980, unpubl.). M. Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998) published a new edition of the first part of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*.

The second work by Manuščihr is his Epistles, written in all probability in 250 Y./881, though the date only appears at the end of the third letter. The subject matter is a typical example of the ritualistic debate current at the time. Manuščihr reproached his brother Zādspram for his simplification of the Baršnum ritual, which the latter had introduced on the basis of a personal interpretation of the Avesta, Vd. 8.99-103. The Epistles of Manuščihr are addressed, one to the community of Sirjān, one to Zādspram himself, and one to the entire community of the faithful. The Epistles were first translated by West (1882, pp. 277-366) and then edited by B. N. Dhabhar (1912).

Another important work belongs to this same literary genre: the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*; the name was created by West (1896-1904, pp. II, pp. 104) because its two parts precede and follow the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. The structure of the Pahlavi Rivāyat resembles that of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, since it treats miscellaneous subjects on the ground of a detailed knowledge of other religious texts. Stylistically, however, it presents a more varied picture, since it does not follow the rigid question and answer schema of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. It consists of sixty-five chapters, the last three of which follow Manuščihr's book. In contrast to the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, the subject matter of the chapters of the Pahlavi Rivāyat cannot be resumed under a few general headlines, since the author touches on many different matters. However, a general eschatological concern is shown by the many chapters touching on sins, merits, and the afterlife. The text was edited by Dhabhar (1913), followed by H. K. Mirza (1942), in a doctoral thesis limited to the sixty-two chapters that precede the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, and by A. V.

Williams (1990), who founded his authoritative translation on Dhabhar's text.

The Epistles of Manuščih, Dādestān ī Dēnīg, and Pahlavi Rivāyat share a manuscript tradition, in common with the Selections of Zādspram. This is divided into an Iranian branch, represented by K35, TD, and BK, and an Indian branch represented by manuscripts deriving from a codex lent to T. D. Anklesaria by Dastur Nāmdār Šahryār, who had also brought TD2. Unfortunately, that manuscript went back to Iran, never to surface again (cf. Williams, 1990, pp. 1, 20 ff., and Jaafari-Dehaghi, 1998, pp. 26 ff.).

Codex TD2 containing the Iranian Bundahišn also preserves three rivāyats and an Avesta-Pahlavi work known as the Pursišnīhā. Of these, the Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān, which bears the name of a 10th-century head of the believers, was edited by B. T. Anklesaria in 1928 (publ. 1962; re-ed. Safa-Isfahani, 1980). He submitted the work for an award of the University of Bombay. In 1938 he similarly submitted his edition of the other two rivāyats in a two-volume work entitled Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbagsrōš (publ. 1969). The work contains: (1) Rivāyat of Ādurfarrbay (re-ed. Rezai Baghbidi, 2005); (2) Rivāyat of Farrbaysrōš; and (3) a text of thirty questions and answers. The text of the Pursišnīhā was first edited by J. Darmesteter (1892-93, III, pp. 53 ff.); B. T. Anklesaria (1925, pp. 331-44) published the Avestan text of the first 44 questions, and K. M. Jamasp-Asa and H. Humbach (1971) edited the complete text. The Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān, the Rivāyats of Ādurfarrbay and Farrbaysrōš, the thirty questions, the Pursišnīhā, and another text called Zand ī fragard ī Wīdēwdād, are all found in TD2, written in Kermān ca. 995-98 Y./1626-29. The three rivāyats are also found in a manuscript called G by B. T. Anklesaria and written by Gōbedšāh Rustam Bundār, author of the ms. TD1 of the Bundahišn and TD of the Dādestān ī dēnīg. The Pursišnīhā are also found in ms. R242 of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute.

The Šāyast nē-šāyast is a text which belongs, according to Boyce (1968a, pp. 39) to the same circle which produced the last commentary to the Wīdēwdād and the Nērangistān. We cannot date it precisely, but the lack of references to Islam, as well as the freedom with which the author discusses subjects which could offend a Muslim ear, may justify a date in the late Sasanian period. The first to translate the Šāyast nē-šāyast, together with the so-called Supplementary texts, was West (1880, pp. 237-406). In his introduction he correctly remarked that these should be considered different texts, since in the most ancient codices they were separated by other works, such as the Frahang ī Ōīm (see below). Moreover, he suggested considering them as treatises dealing with the same subject matter but compiled by different authors. In his opinion, the first ten chapters constitute the Šāyast nē-šāyast, while the Supplementary Texts should be divided into two parts, the first comprising chaps. XI-XIV, the second, XV-XXIII. Its author mentions eleven nasks by name, and in the Šāyast nē-šāyast proper he also cites various commentators. In the Supplementary texts only one commentator, Windohrmazd, is mentioned (cf. West, 1880a, p. lxiii). In about 1912 M. B. Davar (n.d.) published

an edition of the Šāyast nē-šāyast. Tavadia (1930) published the ten chapters which constitute the Šāyast nē-šāyast proper; the Supplementary texts were published by M. F. Kotwal (1969). The Šāyast nē-šāyast and the Supplementary texts are transmitted in three independent codices. Two, K20 and M51, were described among the Bundahišn manuscripts, the third, F33, belonging to the Meherji-Rana Library of Naosari, was identified by Kotwal.

The border between the didactic and the andarz genres is not always easy to fix. The andarz genre has been extensively discussed by Sh. Shaked (s.v. ANDARZ), though here a more restrictive definition of this genre (closer to that used by Boyce, 1968a, pp. 51-55) has been adopted, limiting it to those texts presenting collections of gnomes and to riddle literature such as found in the Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Friyān and in the Draxt ī Asūrīg, or again to those “mirrors of princes” preserved in Arab or Persian texts of Sasanian origins. The Dādestān ī mēnōg ī xrad is a perfectly fit example of this contiguity, so much so that many scholars have classified it under the andarz genre. The interest of this book resides especially in its first two chapters; the first is written in a complex and refined style, the second describes in many details the journey of the soul in the afterlife. The text, with the exception of its first chapter, is characterized by fluent language and direct style meant to reach the heart and mind of the laity. Its language, far from the complex baroque of later Pahlavi texts, may suggest an early composition, perhaps in the late Sasanian period. It is composed of sixty-three chapters that, with the exception of the first two, consist mainly, but not exclusively, of moral advice. Dādestān ī mēnōg ī xrad was first translated by West in his Pahlavi Texts (III, 1885, pp. 1-113), then by T. D. Anklesaria (1913), in an edition of which only few copies circulated. A. Bonšāhi (1938) prepared a Persian translation, A. Bausani (1957) translated it into Italian, and Tafazzoli published both a glossary (1969) and a Persian translation (1975). The Pahlavi version is preserved in codex K43 and in a manuscript belonging to the T. D. Anklesaria collection, both of Iranian origin. Before the 19th century, the Pārsis of India only preserved, as far as we know, the Pāzand and Sanskrit versions; the oldest codex including these versions is L19, kept in the India Office Library, London.

The largest collection of wise sayings is found in the 6th book of the Dēnkard, but a wide selection of andarz texts is found also in codex MK, which contains a number of important texts; some of them are to be ranged under the andarz genre, while others are nearer to court literature. Among the main ones are: the Ayādgār ī Zarērān, the Šāhrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr, the Abdīh ud sahiḡīh ī Sagestān, the Husraw ī Kawādān ud rēdak-ēw, the Čīdag andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān, the Andarz ī dānāgān ō Mazdēsnañ, the Andarz ī Husraw ī Kawādān, the Andarz ī Anōšagruwān Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, the Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān, the Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr, the Draxt ī Asūrīg, the Wizārišn ī Čatrang, and the Abar ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsišnīh; for a complete list see B. T. Anklesaria, 1913, pp. 3-4. Only a few known works are found in other codices: (1) Pus ī dānišn-kāmag (M67, TD3, H3, and CI 29); (2) Andarz ī dānāg mard (L7 and L22); (3) Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Friyān, found in the manuscripts containing the Ardā Wirāz Nāmag (esp. K20, M51

and K26); (4) Andarz ī Ōšnar ī dānāg, which follows the Zand ī Wahman Yasn in K20; and (5) Gizistag Abāliš together with another short text, both following Andarz ī Ōšnar ī dānāg in K20. The later Arabic and Persian literature contains some andarz texts which most probably go back to pre-Islamic times, showing that this genre must have been very popular in Sasanian Iran. The manuscript tradition is based essentially on one codex, MK, copied in 691 Y./1322 by the well-known scribe Mihrābān ī Kayhusraw, who also wrote the Pahlavi Yasna codex K5 and the Pahlavi Widēwdād L4, both in 692 Y./1323. Other important codices are JJ (1136 Y./1767), presenting a copy of MK, which is useful to fill some lacunae; Pt, an old codex containing the Jāmāsp-nāmag, the Andarz ī Anōšagruwān Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, the Mādayān ī Sīh Yazadān, consisting of chap. XXIII of the Supplementary Texts to the Šāyast ne-Šāyast, texts 25-28 of MK, a short Āfrīn, the Mādayān ī Sīh Rōzag, and texts 30-37 of MK. The modern codex TD, incomplete at both ends, derives from the same archetype as MK, but seems to be independent.

Among the more important andarz texts is Husraw ī Kawādān ud rēdak-ēw (Unvala, 1917 and 1921), which narrates the history of a young noble at the court of Husraw I who replies to a number of questions about princely education. The text is particularly valuable because it contains a rich and refined lexicon. A narrative similar to its first part is preserved in Ta‘ālebī’s Ġorar (Zotenberg, 1900, pp. 705 ff.). The second part, preserved only in the Pahlavi version, narrates the adventure of the youth, who was sent by Husraw I to kill two dangerous lions. Though late, the language of this part is extremely pleasing, providing some of the most readable passages in Pahlavi literature. Other secular andarz texts are: the Andarz ī Kawādān, the Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān, of which an Arab version is preserved in the Jāvidān kerad of Meskawayh, the Xwēškārīh ī rēdakān, and the Andarz ī kōdagān (two almost identical versions of the same work), the Sūr saxwan and the Abar ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsīšnīh. A number of religious andarz are known, many of them attributed to religious authorities, particularly Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, model of the virtues of the Zoroastrian priest. Ten counsels of Ādurbād, opposed to ten sayings of Mani, are preserved in the 3rd book of the Dēnkard (Dk. 3.199-200), and two texts attributed to this author are found in MK: the Andarz ī Anōšagruwān Ādurbād ī Māraspandān and the Wāzag ēw-čand ī Ādurbād ī Māraspandān. A place of its own can be assigned to the Čīdag andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān, also known as Pandnāmag ī Zarduxšt (Kanga, 1960) a post-Sasanian text pseudoepigraphically assigned to Zarduxšt son of Ādurbād ī Māraspand, which gathers the sayings of the Ancient Teachers. Also interesting is the Andarz ī Ōšnar ī dānāg, pseudoepigraphically assigned to Ōšnar, a sage mentioned in Yt. 13.131. (For further texts of this genre see Cereti, 2001, pp. 181-84.)

A specific style attested in Pahlavi literature is the tenson, witnessed by three texts. The first is the Draxt ī Asūrīg, of probable Parthian origin (cf. Benveniste, 1930; Henning, 1950; Lazard, 1985; Brunner, 1980; Shaked, 1970). It reports a verbal duel between a goat and a date palm, finally won by the goat, representing

Iranian Zoroastrian values. A short poem, stylistically similar, called *Raz o miš* (the grapevine and the ram) survives in Judeo-Persian and in Persian. Another similar work, superficially religious, is the *Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Fryān*, in which a verbal dispute between *Jōšt ī Fryān* and the wizard *Axt* is narrated (Haug and West, 1872, pp. 205-66); the episode is alluded to in the *Ābān Yašt* (Yt. 5.81-82). The third work of this kind is the *Gizistag Abāliš*, reporting a dispute between *Ādurfarrbay ī Farroxzādān* and *Abāliš*, a Zoroastrian convert to Islam, at the court of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-33). Finally, mention should be made of two works, which only survive in later books. One is the *Letter of Tansar* (Boyce, 1968b), contained in the *Tāriḫ-e Tabarestān* by Ebn Esfandiār, who translated it from an Arab translation from Middle Persian by Ebn al-Moqaffa'. It certainly preserves an original Sasanian nucleus. The other is the *Testament of Ardašīr*, preserved in its longer form in the *Tajārreb al-ummam* of Meskawayh, as well as in ms. Köprülü 1608 (Grignaschi, 1966 and 1973). Both works should probably be assigned to the late Sasanian period.

Another important area of Sasanian literature was that of court literature, including epics and poetry, but also works on scientific subjects such as astronomy, astrology, geography, and medicine (cf. Cereti, 2004; Pingree, 1987; Panaino, 1998; Sohn, 1980). Boyce (1955, 1956, and 1957) has traced Iranian epics to Parthian times, and this tradition was continued in the Islamic period in many epic works that magnify the pre-Islamic kingly tradition. Historical traditions known to be derived from a Sasanian book of kings, the *Xwadāy nāmag*, are reflected also in the works of early Islamic historiographers (cf. Christensen, 1931, 1932, 1944; Yarshater, 1983). The Arab invasion, although traumatic in many respects, did not cause a sudden break in tradition, but rather resulted in two separate channels of transmission: one for the religious texts, the other, mainly for secular and scientific literature. The religious literature continued to be copied within the religious families, but with growing difficulty, which over time led to the loss of many books. In the other case, adaptation to the new social and political realities led to the translation of secular and scientific books into Arabic and then, at times, from Arabic into Persian.

Therefore little is left of secular Sasanian literature in Pahlavi. Codex MK contains two epic treatises. One is the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pabāgān*, narrating the history of *Ardašīr*, son of *Sāsān* later adopted by *Pābag*, heir to the line of the Achaemenids, who overthrew *Ardawān IV* and rose to imperial power. This work is characterized by a late language, but goes back to an ancient scheme, which is contained already in the legends about the birth of *Cyrus*. Pagliaro (1927, pp. 23 ff.) has correctly underlined that, though radically different, the account of the rise of *Ardašīr* to the throne given by *Ṭabarī* agrees with the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pabāgān* in a few details, such as the marriage between *Ardašīr* and *Ardawān's* daughter. This work has often been edited and translated, most recently by F. Grenet (2003). The other epic book is the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, of Parthian origin, describing an episode of the battle of the Faith between *Wištāsp* and *Arjāsp*. This war is also described in *Ferdowsi's Šāh-nāma*, where it appears profoundly

modified. Both the Pahlavi and the Persian translations have been published by D. Monchi-Zadeh (1981).

Two geographical treatises are also contained in codex MK: one, the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, (Markwart, 1931; Daryaei, 2002) describes the cities of the four quarters of the Empire, though it seems to be based, as R. Gyselen (1988) correctly argues, on literary sources rather than on geographical reality; the other, the *Abdīh ud sahiḡīh ī Sēstān*, (West, 1917) enumerates the reasons for which this region is superior to all others. These include: the presence in the region of several Zoroastrian holy places; the future birth in the region of the saviors Ušēdar, Ušēdarmāh, and Sōšāns (see *ESCHATOLOGY* i), and especially the fact that religion was first spread in Sīstan and only later in other lands. Another text contained in MK is the *Wizārišn ī čatrang ud nihišn ī nēw-ardaxšīr*, also known as *Mādayān ī čatrang* or *Čatrang-nāmag*. This short text, extremely important for the history of the diffusion of board games, narrates of an envoy of the Indian King Dēwišarm, Tātarītos, who come to the court of Husraw, challenging him to discover the secrets of chess or else to pay tribute. Eventually Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān understood and explained the rules, going on to thrice defeat the Indian envoy. He was then sent to the court of the Indian King with the game of backgammon (*taxt-e nard*), which none of the Indian sages could explain, and he returned with abundant tribute and gifts. Among many editions of this texts one should mention those by Pagliaro (1951) and Panaino (1999), as well as two articles by F. de Blois (1990 and 1991).

The book known as *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān*, whose title was probably simply *Hazār Dādestān*, as shown by M. Macuch (1993, p. ii), is the most important source for Sasanian law that has reached us. Though no date is contained in the text, it should most probably be assigned to the late 7th century. The terminus post quem is year 26 of Husraw II (591-628 CE), to which is dated a protocol reproduced in the first part of the *Hazār Dādestān*. The text collects real-life cases, much as Anglo-Saxon common law does. Most of the cases relate to family law, estates (see *INHERITANCE*), and legal procedure; thus the text differs from the 9th-century Zoroastrian works—the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* and other texts reviewed above—which discuss religious or ritual law and community law side by side. This characteristic reinforces the internal evidence in further suggesting a date for the *Hazār Dādestān* and the material it contains to a period when the Sasanian king was still in power. The *Hazār Dādestān* is preserved in one single codex. In 1872 Anklesaria bought in Iran twenty-two folios of this codex, while M. L. Hataria obtained a further fifty-five folios at about the same time. The codex that we possess was probably written in Iran in the 17th century. A marginal annotation found dated 1006 Y./1637 provides the date ante quem. The Hataria folios were published by Modi in 1901, while the Anklesaria ones were published in 1912. S. J. Bulsara published a pioneering translation in 1937. The first critical edition is that by A. G. Perikhanian, who published it with a Russian translation in 1973. In 1998 she published an improved edition and complete English translation. M. Macuch, today's best specialist of Sasanian law, edited the

Anklesaria folios in 1981 and the Hataria folios in 1993, both in German.

Some fragmentary word-lists found in Central Asia reveal the existence of a rich Middle Iranian lexical tradition, particularly important for the Manichean community, which must have assisted the translation of their religious literature into the various languages of the adepts. In the Zoroastrian manuscript tradition a number of glossaries are found, the most important being the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg* and the *Frahang ī Ōīm-ēk*. The first is a glossary which contains about four hundred heterograms, together with their respective phonetic spellings. It has come down to us in two different redactions, one ordered orthographically, the other by subject, the latter being most probably the older one. Of the four hundred heterograms, only about two hundred are found in Pahlavi books, the other being suspect: often they are false heterograms derived from Arabic words. The *Frahang ī Pahlawīg* was first made known in Europe by Anquetil Duperron. Almost a century later, H. J. JāmāspAsānā, together with Haug, published an edition of this text, ordered according to subject (*Jamaspi Asa*, 1870). In a paper read at the 3rd International Congress of Orientalists, in 1876, C. Salemann (1878) illustrated codex 99 of the Dolgorukii collection of St. Petersburg, containing both versions of the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg*. In 1912 H. F. J. Junker edited the text, followed in 1941 by E. Ebeling, an assyriologist, who tried, without much success, to show that most heterograms derive from Akkadian or Sumerian. Finally in 1988, B. Utas published the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg* from the Nachlass of H. S. Nyberg. The manuscript tradition is very rich, ten codices being used by Junker in 1912 and three others added by Nyberg (cf. Junker, 1912, pp. VI and 2 ff., and Utas, 1988, pp. XI-XV). Strangely enough, neither of the two scholars took into account the incomplete text found in TD2, an important codex, already described, dated to 1629 CE. Though no other manuscript is dated, it seems certain that none of them predates the 17th century. A peculiar version of this glossary, written using the Arabo-Persian alphabet, is found in an appendix to the *Farhang-e Jehāngir* (dated 1608-09, on which see Guizzo, 2005).

The other lexicon, conventionally known as the *Frahang ī Ōīm-ēk*, from its first entry, is an Avestan and Pahlavi glossary preserved in the two codices of the Indian *Bundahišn*, K20 and M51. Like the *Frahang ī Pahlawīg*, it was made known to the Western public by Anquetil Duperron. At the beginning of the 20th century H. Reichelt edited the text in two important articles, which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* in 1900 and 1901. G. Klingenschmitt (1968) made an exhaustive study of this glossary and proposed for the two copies of the text a common ancestor, written ca. 1269 by Rustam Mihrābān.

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The Damdad nask is one of the lost nasks (volumes) of the Sasanian Avesta. Although no texts in the extant Avesta can be clearly identified as having belonged to it, its content can be reconstructed to some degree from references in later Zoroastrian writings.[1]

Sources

The nask itself is no longer extant. A short summary of its content is given in the Denkard (8.5), a 9th-10th century compendium of Zoroastrianism.[2] In addition, the Rivayats by Kamah Bahram, Nareman Hoshang and Dastur Barzu Qiyamu-D-Din, a series of epistles from the 15th - 17th century, give a short overview on the content of the Damdad nask.[3]

Name

MacKenzie provides two possible derivations of the name. First, it may be derived from a hypothetical Avestan *dāmi.dāti, meaning "the creating of the creation". Alternatively, it may be derived from Middle Persian dām dād, meaning "he (Ohrmazd) created the creation".[1] Regardless, the meaning of the name has been connected to the meaning of the name of the Chihrdad nask.[4]

In the Sasanian Avesta

Main article: Sasanian Avesta

The Sasanian Avesta was organized into 21 nasks, i.e., volumes, which were grouped into 3 divisions; the Gāhānīg (Gathic nasks), Hada Mānsrīg (manthras connected with the ritual), and Dādīg (legal nasks).[5] Within this scheme, the Damdad nask was part of the ritual nasks and its content has been described as concerning matters of Zoroastrian cosmogony and eschatology.[6]

Amid the Damdad are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the beneficial creatures. First, as to the spiritual existence, and how much and how is the maintenance in the spiritual existence; and the production of the worldly existence therefrom, qualified and constructed for descending (fitodano) into the combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention (garang) of destructiveness.

—Denkard 8.5 (translated by Edward William West).[7]

According to the Denkard, the Damdad nask was the fourth of the nasks of the Sasanian Avesta.[1] However, the Rivayats place it as the fifth. They also state that it consisted of 32 chapters.[4] According to the estimate by Edward William West, the Damdad nask consisted of ca. 8,900 words of Avestan text, accompanied by ca. 29,300 words of commentary in Middle Persian.[7]

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Summary of the Damdad nask according to Book 8 of the Denkard by Edward William West

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THE ZEND-AVESTA

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PART I

THE VENDÎDÂD

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty¹, and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God², or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, nearly all the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat³. There they thrived and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away⁴.

As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their

¹ At the battle of Nihâvand (642 A. C.)

² Ahura Mazda.

³ They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 150,000 souls.

⁴ A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but there now remain no more than 8000 or 9000 souls, scattered in Yezd and the surrounding villages (Dosabhoy Framjee, The Parsees).

sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologian, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old foe of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle¹, Hermippus², and many others³ wrote of it in books of which, unfortunately, nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it, scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotus down to Agathias and Procopius. It was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era; but that study had no longer anything of the disinterested and almost scientific character it had in earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster. As Xanthus the Lydian, who is said to have lived before Herodotus, had mentioned Zoroastrian *Λόγια*⁴, there came to light, in those later times, scores of oracles, styled *Λόγια τοῦ Ζωροάστ-*

¹ Diogenes Laertius, Prooemium 8.

² Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2. Cf. *infra*, III, 11, 4.

³ Dinon, Theopompus, Hermodorus, Heraclides Cumanus.

⁴ See Nicolaus Damascenus, Didot, *Fragm. Hist.* III, 409.

τρον, or 'Oracula Chaldaica sive Magica,' the work of Neo-Platonists who were but very remote disciples of the Median sage. As his name had become the very emblem of wisdom, they would cover with it the latest inventions of their ever-deepening theosophy. Zoroaster and Plato were treated as if they had been philosophers of the same school, and Hierocles expounded their doctrines in the same book. Proclus collected seventy Tétrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them¹; but we need hardly say that Zoroaster commented on by Proclus was nothing more or less than Proclus commented on by Proclus. Prodicus the Gnostic had secret books of Zoroaster²; and upon the whole it may be said that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

Throughout the Middle Ages nothing was known of Mazdeism but the name of its founder, who from a Magus was converted into a magician and master of the hidden sciences. It was not until the Renaissance that real inquiry was resumed. The first step was to collect all the information that could be gathered from Greek and Roman writers. That task was undertaken and successfully completed by Barnabé Brisson³. A nearer approach to the original source was made in the following century by Italian, English, and French travellers in Asia. Pietro della Valle, Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon, and Tavernier found Zoroaster's last followers in Persia and India, and made known their existence, their manners, and the main features of their belief to Europe. Gabriel du Chinon saw their books and recognised that they were not all written in the same language, their original holy writ being no longer understood except

¹ Fabricius, *Graeca Bibliotheca*, fourth ed. p. 309 seq.

² Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* I. Cf. *infra*, III, 11, and Porphyrius, *de vita Plotini*, § 16.

³ 'De regio Persarum principatu libri tres,' Paris, 1590. The second book is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians.

by means of translations and commentaries in another tongue.

In the year 1700, a professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, the greatest Orientalist of his time in Europe, made the first systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian religion by combining the accounts of the Moham-medan writers with 'the true and genuine monuments of ancient Persia¹.' Unfortunately the so-called genuine monuments of ancient Persia were nothing more than recent compilations referring to the last stage of Parsiism. But notwithstanding this defect, which could hardly be avoided then, and notwithstanding its still worse fault, a strange want of critical acumen², the book of Thomas Hyde was the first complete and true picture of modern Parsiism, and it made inquiry into its history the order of the day. A warm appeal made by him to the zeal of travellers, to seek for and procure at any price the sacred books of the Parsis, did not remain ineffectual, and from that time scholars bethought themselves of studying Parsiism in its own home.

Eighteen years later, a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the Vendîdâd Sâdah, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe. But the old manuscript was a sealed book, and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library, as a curiosity to be shown to foreigners. A few years later, a Scotchman, named Fraser, went to Surat, with the view of obtaining from the Parsis, not only their books, but also a knowledge of their contents. He was not very successful in the first undertaking, and utterly failed in the second.

In 1754 a young man, twenty years old, Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the Ecole des Langues Orientales in Paris, happened to see a facsimile of four leaves of the

¹ 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia,' Oxford, 1700.

² Thus he recognised in Abraham the first lawgiver of ancient Persia, in Magism a Sabeian corruption of the primeval faith, and in Zoroaster a reformer, who had learnt the forgotten truth from the exiled Jews in Babylon.

Oxford Vendîdâd, which had been sent from England, a few years before, to Etienne Fourmont, the Orientalist. He determined at once to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them. Impatient to set off, without waiting for a mission from the government which had been promised to him, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company; he embarked at Lorient on the 24th of February 1755, and after three years of endless adventures and dangers through the whole breadth of Hindustan, at the very time when war was raging between France and England, he arrived at last in Surat, where he stayed among the Parsis for three years more. Here began another struggle, not less hard, but more decisive, against that mistrust and ill-will of the Parsis which had disheartened Fraser; but he came out of it victorious, and succeeded at last in winning from the Parsis both their books and their knowledge. He came back to Paris on the 14th of March 1764, and deposited on the following day at the Bibliothèque Royale the whole of the Zend-Avesta and copies of most of the traditional books. He spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta¹.

A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil. In a pamphlet written in French², with a verve and in a style which showed him to be a good disciple of Voltaire, W. Jones pointed out, and dwelt upon, the oddities and

¹ 'Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur. . . . Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

² 'Lettre à M. A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre.'

absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted : he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing Zend and Persian in French ; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them. Yet it was less the style than the ideas that shocked the contemporary of Voltaire¹. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, of descriptions of gods and demons so grotesque, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, nor the code of a religion so much celebrated for its simplicity, wisdom, and purity. His conclusion was that the Avesta was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. In fact the only thing in which Jones succeeded was to prove in a decisive manner that the ancient Persians were not equal to the lumières of the eighteenth century, and that the authors of the Avesta had not read the Encyclopédie.

Jones's censure was echoed in England by Sir John Chardin and Richardson, in Germany by Meiners. Richardson tried to give a scientific character to the attacks of Jones by founding them on philological grounds². That the Avesta was a fabrication of modern times was shown, he argued, by the number of Arabic words he fancied he found both in the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, as no Arabic element was introduced into the Persian idioms earlier than the seventh century ; also by the harsh texture of the Zend, contrasted with the rare euphony of the Persian ; and, lastly, by the radical difference between the Zend and Persian, both in words and grammar. To these objections, drawn from the form, he added another derived from the uncommon stupidity of the matter.

In Germany, Meiners, to the charges brought against the new found books, added another of a new and unexpected kind, namely, that they spoke of ideas unheard of before, and made known new things. 'Pray, who would dare

¹ Cf. the article on Zoroaster in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*.

² 'A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations,' Oxford, 1777.

ascribe to Zoroaster books in which are found numberless names of trees, animals, men, and demons unknown to the ancient Persians; in which are invoked an incredible number of pure animals and other things, which, as appears from the silence of ancient writers, were never known, or at least never worshipped, in Persia? What Greek ever spoke of Hom, of Jemshid, and of such other personages as the fabricators of that rhapsody exalt with every kind of praise, as divine heroes¹? Yet, in the midst of his Cicconian nonsense, Meiners inadvertently made a remark which, if correctly interpreted, might have led to important discoveries. He noticed that many points of resemblance are to be found between the ideas of the Parsis and those of the Brahmans and Musulmans. He saw in this a proof that Parsiism is a medley of Brahmanical and Musulman tales. Modern scholarship, starting from the same point, came to that twofold conclusion, that, on the one hand, Parsiism was one of the elements out of which Mohammed formed his religion, and, on the other hand, that the old religions of India and Persia flowed from a common source. 'Not only does the author of that rubbish tell the same tales of numberless demons of either sex as the Indian priests do, but he also prescribes the same remedies in order to drive them away, and to balk their attempts.' In these words there was something like the germ of comparative mythology; seldom has a man approached the truth so closely and then departed from it so widely.

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker, professor in the University of Riga. As soon as the French version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also of Anquetil's historical dissertations². Then, in a series of dissertations of his own³, he vindicated the authenticity of the Zend books. Anquetil had already tried to show, in a memoir

¹ 'De Zoroastris vita, institutis, doctrina et libris,' in the *Novi Commentarii Societatis Regiae*, Goettingen, 1778-1779.

² 'Zend-Avesta . . . nach dem Franzoesischen des Herrn Anquetil Du Perron,' 3 vols. in 4°, 1776.

³ 'Anhang zum Zend-Avesta,' 2 vols. in 4°, 1781.

on Plutarch, that the data of the Avesta fully agree with the account of the Magian religion given in the treatise on 'Isis and Osiris.' Kleuker enlarged the circle of comparison to the whole of ancient literature. He tried also to appeal to internal evidence, an attempt in which he was less successful. The strength of his defence was seldom greater than the strength of the attack. Meiners had pointed out the mythical identity of the Mount Alborg of the Parsis with the Mount Meru of the Hindus, as a proof that the Parsis had borrowed their mythology from the Hindus: the conclusion was incorrect, but the remark itself was not so. Kleuker fancied that he could remove the difficulty by stating that Mount Alborg is a real mountain, nay, a doubly real mountain, since there are two mountains of that name, the one in Persia, the other in Armenia, whereas Mount Meru is only to be found in Fairyland. Seldom were worse arguments used in the service of a good cause. Meiners had said that the name of the Parsi demons was of Indian origin, as both languages knew them by the Latin name 'Deus.' This was an incorrect statement, and yet an important observation. The word which means 'a demon' in Persia means quite the contrary in India, and that radical difference is just a proof of the two systems being independent of one another. Kleuker pointed out the incorrectness of the statement; but, being unable to account for the identity of the words, he flatly denied it.

Kleuker was more successful in the field of philology: he showed, as Anquetil had done, that Zend has no Arabic elements in it, and that Pahlavi itself, which is more modern than Zend, does not contain any Arabic, but only Semitic words of the Aramean dialect, which are easily accounted for by the close relations of Persia with Aramean lands in the time of the Sassanian kings. He showed, lastly, that Arabic words appear only in the very books which Parsi tradition itself considers modern.

Another staunch upholder of the Avesta was the numismatologist Tychsen, who, having begun to read the book with a prejudice against its authenticity, quitted it with a conviction to the contrary. 'There is nothing in it,' he

writes, 'but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising in the infancy of the world. Such traces of a recent period as they fancy to have found in it, are either due to misunderstandings, or belong to its later portions. On the whole there is a marvellous accordance between the Zend-Avesta and the accounts of the ancients with regard to the doctrine and institutions of Zoroaster. Plutarch agrees so well with the Zend books that I think no one will deny the close resemblance of doctrines and identity of origin. Add to all this the incontrovertible argument to be drawn from the language, the antiquity of which is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books, which were, through centuries, the groundwork of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand¹.'

Two years afterwards, in 1793, was published in Paris a book which, without directly dealing with the Avesta, was the first step taken to make its authenticity incontrovertible. It was the masterly memoir by Sylvestre de Sacy, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. De Sacy, in his researches, had chiefly relied on the Pahlavi lexicon published by Anquetil, whose work vindicated itself thus—better than by heaping up arguments—by promoting discoveries. The Pahlavi inscriptions gave the key, as is well known, to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which were in return to put beyond all doubt the genuineness of the Zend language.

Tychsen, in an appendix to his *Commentaries*, pointed

¹ 'Commentatio prior observationes historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens.' Goettingen, in the *Novi Comment. Soc. Reg.* 1791.

to the importance of the new discovery : ' This,' he writes, ' is a proof that the Pahlavi was used during the reign of the Sassanides, for it was from them that these inscriptions emanated, as it was by them—nay, by the first of them, Ardeschîr Bâbagân—that the doctrine of Zoroaster was revived. One can now understand why the Zend books were translated into Pahlavi. Here, too, everything agrees, and speaks loudly for their antiquity and genuineness.'

About the same time Sir William Jones, then president of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse delivered before that Society the same question he had solved in such an off-hand manner twenty years before. He was no longer the man to say, '*Sièd-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s'infatuer de fables indiennes?*' and although he had still a spite against Anquetil, he spoke of him with more reserve than in 1771. However, his judgment on the Avesta itself was not altered on the whole, although, as he himself declared, he had not thought it necessary to study the text. But a glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him a remark which makes Sir William Jones, in spite of himself, the creator of the comparative grammar of Sanskrit and Zend. ' When I perused the Zend glossary,' he writes, ' I was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Vyâcaran¹, as yushmâcam, the genitive plural of yushmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words ; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words, which has been preserved in books or by tradition ; it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prâcrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago². ' This conclusion, that Zend is a Sanskrit dialect, was incorrect, the connection assumed being too close ; but it was a great

¹ The Sanskrit Grammar.

² Asiatic Researches, II, § 3.

thing that the near relationship of the two languages should have been brought to light.

In 1798 Father Paulo de St. Barthélemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language¹. He showed its affinity with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to be borrowed, viz. those that designate the degrees of relationship, the limbs of the body, and the most general and essential ideas. Another list, intended to show, on a special topic, how closely connected the two languages are, contains eighteen words taken from the liturgic language used in India and Persia. This list was not very happily drawn up, as out of the eighteen instances there is not a single one that stands inquiry; yet it was a happy idea, and one which has not even yet yielded all that it promised. His conclusions were that in a far remote antiquity Sanskrit was spoken in Persia and Media, that it gave birth to the Zend language, and that the Zend-Avesta is authentic: 'Were it but a recent compilation,' he writes, 'as Jones asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the old inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and, lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian?' This amounted, in fact, to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but that both are derived from another and older language. The Carmelite had a dim notion of that truth, but, as he failed to express it distinctly, it was lost for years, and had to be re-discovered.

The first twenty-five years of this century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England. In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali; Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect and Zend with the

¹ 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguæ samscredamicæ et germanicæ,' Rome, 1798.

Sauraseni¹. In the eyes of Erskine Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia². His main argument was that Zend is not mentioned among the seven dialects which were current in ancient Persia according to the Farhang-i Jehangiri³, and that Pahlavi and Persian exhibit no close relationship with Zend.

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers. The theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics⁴, and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil⁵.

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer⁶ from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being a precursor of both Grimm and Burnouf. He showed that the list of the Jehangiri referred to an epoch later than that to which Zend must have belonged, and to parts of Persia different from those where it must have been spoken; he showed further that modern Persian is not derived from Zend, but from a dialect closely connected with it; and, lastly, he showed what was still more important, that Zend was not derived from Sanskrit. As to the system of its sounds, Zend approaches Persian rather than Sanskrit; and as to its grammatical forms, if they often remind one of Sanskrit, they also often remind one of Greek and Latin, and frequently have a special character of their own. Rask also gave the paradigm of three Zend nouns, belonging to different declensions, as well as the right pronunciation of the Zend letters, several of which had been incorrectly given by Anquetil. This was the first essay on Zend grammar, and it was a masterly one.

¹ Asiatic Researches, X.

² Ibid. X.

³ A large Persian dictionary compiled in India in the reign of Jehangir.

⁴ 'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten Morgenländischen Quelle, *Ἰδοὺ λόγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν*,' Riga, 1775.

⁵ 'Die Heilige Sage . . . des Zend-Volks,' Francfort, 1820.

⁶ 'Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta' (übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen), Berlin, 1826. Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta (Transactions of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, 524).

The essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter forty years back. According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine. His mistake consisted in taking Anquetil's transcriptions of the words, which are often so incorrect as to make them look like corrupted forms when compared with Sanskrit. And, what was worse, he took the proper names in their modern Parsi forms, which often led him to comparisons that would have appalled Ménage. Thus Ahriman became a Sanskrit word *ariman*, which would have meant 'the fiend;' yet Bohlen might have seen in Anquetil's work itself that Ahriman is nothing but the modern form of *Angra Mainyu*, words which hardly remind one of the Sanskrit *ariman*. Again, the angel *Vohu-manô*, or 'good thought,' was reduced, by means of the Parsi form *Bahman*, to the Sanskrit *bâhuman*, 'a long-armed god.'

At last came Burnouf. From the time when Anquetil had published his translation, that is to say, during seventy years, no real progress had been made in knowledge of the Avesta texts. The notion that Zend and Sanskrit are two kindred languages was the only new idea that had been acquired, but no practical advantage for the interpretation of the texts had resulted from it. Anquetil's translation was still the only guide, and as the doubts about the authenticity of the texts grew fainter, the authority of the translation became greater, the trust reposed in the Avesta being reflected on to the work of its interpreter. The Parsis had been the teachers of Anquetil; and who could ever understand the holy writ of the Parsis better than the Parsis themselves? There was no one who even tried to read the texts by the light of Anquetil's translation, to obtain a direct understanding of them.

About 1825 Eugène Burnouf was engaged in a course of researches on the geographical extent of the Aryan languages in India. After he had defined the limits which divide the races speaking Aryan languages from the native non-brahmanical tribes in the south, he wanted to know if a similar boundary had ever existed in the north-west; and

if it is outside of India that the origin of the Indian languages and civilisation is to be sought for. He was thus led to study the languages of Persia, and, first of all, the oldest of them, the Zend. But as he tried to read the texts by help of Anquetil's translation, he was surprised to find that this was not the clue he had expected. He saw that two causes had misled Anquetil: on the one hand, his teachers, the Parsi dasturs, either knew little themselves or taught him imperfectly, not only the Zend, but even the Pahlavi intended to explain the meaning of the Zend; so that the tradition on which his work rested, being incorrect in itself, corrupted it from the very beginning; on the other hand, as Sanskrit was unknown to him and comparative grammar did not as yet exist, he could not supply the defects of tradition by their aid. Burnouf, laying aside tradition as found in Anquetil's translation, consulted it as found in a much older and purer form, in a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna made in the fifteenth century by the Parsi Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi version. The information given by Neriosengh he tested, and either confirmed or corrected, by a comparison of parallel passages and by the help of comparative grammar, which had just been founded by Bopp, and applied by him successfully to the explanation of Zend forms. Thus he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and in fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta. He also gave the first notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitâna with Thraëtaona and Ferîdûn. Thus he made his 'Commentaire sur le Yasna' a marvellous and unparalleled model of critical insight and steady good sense, equally opposed to the narrowness of mind which clings to matters of fact without rising to their cause and connecting them with the series of associated phenomena, and to the wild and uncontrolled spirit of comparison, which, by comparing everything, confounds everything. Never sacrificing either tradition to comparison or comparison to tradition, he knew how to pass from the one

to the other, and was so enabled both to discover facts and to explain them.

At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achæmenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were at length removed. It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language, of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achæmenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died away unheeded¹.

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE peace did not last long, and a year after the death of Burnouf a new controversy broke out, which still continues, the battle of the methods, that is, the dispute between those who, to interpret the Avesta, rely chiefly or exclusively on tradition, and those who rely only on comparison with the Vedas. The cause of the rupture was the rapid progress made in the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature: the deeper one penetrated into that oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the Avesta words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the

¹ The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an Original Language?' London, 1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibai Framji, 'On the Origin and the Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Huzvarash,' 1861).

Avesta received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian *Rîshis*, and the long-forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the Vedas. Emboldened by its bright discoveries, the comparative method took pity on its slower and less brilliant rival, which was then making its first attempts to unravel the Pahlavi traditional books. Is it worth while, said the Vedic scholars¹, to try slowly and painfully to extract the secret of the old book from that uncouth literature? Nay, is there any hope that its secret is there? Translating the Avesta in accordance with the Pahlavi is not translating the Avesta, but only translating the Pahlavi version, which, wherever it has been deciphered, is found to wander strangely from the true meaning of the original text. Tradition, as a rule, is wont to enforce the ideas of its own ages into the books of past ages. From the time when the Avesta was written to the time when it was translated, many ideas had undergone great changes: such ideas, tradition must needs either misunderstand or not understand at all, and tradition is always either new sense or nonsense. The key to the Avesta is not the Pahlavi, but the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought: the Vedas, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta.

The traditional school² replied that translating Zend by means of Sanskrit and the Avesta by means of the Vedas, because Zend and the Avesta are closely related to Sanskrit and the Vedas, is forgetting that relationship is not identity, and that what interests the Zend scholar is not to know how far Zend agrees with Sanskrit, but what it is in itself: what he seeks for in the Avesta, is the Avesta, not the Veda. Both the Vedic language and the Vedas are quite unable to teach us what became in Persia of those elements, which are common to the two systems, a thing which tradition alone can teach us. By the comparative

¹ Roth, Benfey, Haug. Cf. *Revue Critique*, 1877, II, 81. ² Spiegel, Justi.

method, the Zend meregha, which means 'a bird,' would assume the meaning of 'gazelle' to accord with the Sanskrit *mriga*; *ratu*, 'a part of the day,' would be extended to 'a season' out of regard for *ritu*; *mainyu*, 'a spirit,' and *dahyu*, 'a province,' would be degraded to 'anger' and to 'a set of thieves,' and 'the demons,' the *Daêvas*, would ascend from their dwelling in hell up to heaven, to meet their philological brothers, the Indian *Devas*. The traditional method, as it starts from matters of facts, moves always in the field of reality; the comparative method starts from an hypothesis, moves in a vacuum, and builds up a fanciful religion and a fanciful language.

Such being the methods of the two schools, it often happened that a passage, translated by two scholars, one of each school, took so different an aspect that a layman would have been quite unable to suspect that it was one and the same passage he had read twice. Yet the divergence between the two methods is more apparent than real, and proceeds from an imperfect notion of the field in which each of them ought to work. They ought not to oppose, but assist one another, as they are not intended to instruct us about the same kind of facts, but about two kinds of facts quite different and independent. No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it became afterwards, and what it was before. The language and religion of the Avesta record but a moment in the long life of the Iranian language and thought, so that we are unable to understand them, unless we know what they became and whence they came. What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the Avesta expresses; whence they came we learn indirectly from the Vedas, because the Vedas come from the same source as the Avesta. Therefore it cannot happen that the tradition and the Veda will really contradict one another, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, from one the present, and the past from the other. Each method is equally right and equally efficacious, at its proper time and in its right

place. The first place belongs to tradition, as it comes straight from the Avesta. The second inquiry, to be successful, requires infinite prudence and care: the Veda is not the past of the Avesta, as the Avesta is the past of tradition; the Avesta and Veda are not derived from one another, but from one and the same original, diversely altered in each, and, therefore, there are two stages of variation between them, whereas from the Avesta to tradition there is only one. The Veda, if first interrogated, gives no valuable evidence, as the words and gods, common to the two systems, may not have retained in both the same meaning they had in the Indo-Iranian period: they may have preserved it in one and lost it in the other, or they may have both altered it, but each in a different way. The Veda, generally speaking, cannot help in discovering matters of fact in the Avesta, but only in explaining them when discovered by tradition. If we review the discoveries made by the masters of the comparative school, it will be seen that they have in reality started, without noticing it, from facts formerly established by tradition. In fact tradition gives the materials, and comparison puts them in order. It is not possible, either to know the Avesta without the former, or to understand it without the latter.

The traditional school, and especially its indefatigable and well-deserving leader, Spiegel, made us acquainted with the nature of the old Iranian religion by gathering together all its materials; the comparative school tried to explain its growth. The traditional school published the text and the traditional translations, and produced the first Parsi grammar, the first Pahlavi grammar, and the first translation of the Avesta which had been made since Anquetil. The danger with it is that it shows itself too apt to stop at tradition, instead of going from it to comparison. When it undertakes to expound the history of the religion, it cannot but be misled by tradition. Any living people, although its existing state of mind is but the result of various and changing states through many successive ages, yet, at any particular moment of its life, keeps the remains of its former stages of thought in order, under the control of the

principle that is then predominant. Thus it happens that their ideas are connected together in a way which seldom agrees with their historical sequence: chronological order is lost to sight and replaced by logical order, and the past is read into the present. Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper place, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is a shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance.

The comparative school developed Indo-Iranian mythology. Roth showed after Burnouf how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme god of the Vedic age. In the same direction Windischmann, in his 'Zoroastrian Essays' and in his studies on Mithra and Anâhita, displayed singular sagacity. But the dangers of the method came to light in the works of Haug, who, giving a definite form to a system still fluctuating, converted Mazdeism into a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism, found historical allusions to that schism both in the Avesta and in the Veda, pointed out curses against Zoroaster in the Vedas, and, in short, transformed, as it were, the two books into historical pamphlets¹.

In the contest about the authenticity of the Avesta, one party must necessarily have been right and the other wrong; but in the present struggle the issue is not so clear, as both parties are partly right and partly wrong. Both of them, by following their principles, have rendered such services to science as seem to give each a right to cling to its own method more firmly than ever. Yet it is to be hoped that they will see at last that they must be allies, not enemies, and that their common work must be begun by the one and completed by the other.

¹ It would be unjust, when speaking of Haug, not to recall the invaluable services he rendered in the second part of his career, as a Pahlavi scholar. He was the first who thought of illustrating the Pahlavi in the books by the Pahlavi in the inscriptions, and thus determined the reading of the principal elements in the manuscript Pahlavi.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

§ 1. The collection of Zend fragments, known as the Zend-Avesta¹, is divided, in its usual form, into two parts.

The first part, or the Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendîdâd, the Vispêrad, and the Yasna. The Vendîdâd is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales; the Vispêrad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice; and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same kind and of five hymns or Gâthas written in a special dialect, older than the general language of the Avesta.

These three books are found in manuscripts in two different forms: either each by itself, in which case they are generally accompanied by a Pahlavi translation; or the three mingled together according to the requirements of the liturgy, as they are not each recited separately in their entirety, but the chapters of the different books are intermingled; and in this case the collection is called the Vendîdâd Sâdah or 'Vendîdâd pure,' as it exhibits the original text alone, without a translation.

The second part, generally known as the Khorda Avesta or 'Small Avesta,' is composed of short prayers which are recited not only by the priests, but by all the faithful, at certain moments of the day, month, or year, and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gâh, the thirty formulas of the Sîrôzah, the three Âfrigân, and the six Nyâyis. But it is also usual to include in the Khorda Avesta, although forming no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns of praise and glorification to the several

¹ A very improper designation, as Zend means 'a commentary or explanation,' and was applied only to explanatory texts, to the translations of the Avesta. Avesta (from the old Persian âbastâ, 'the law'; see Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, Mars) is the proper name of the original texts. What it is customary to call 'the Zend language' ought to be named 'the Avesta language;' the Zend being no language at all; and, if the word be used as the designation of one, it can be rightly applied only to the Pahlavi. The expression 'Avesta and Zend' is often used in the Pahlavi commentary to designate 'the law with its traditional and revealed explanation.'

Izads, and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the *Hadhôkht Nosk*.

§ 2. That the extent of the sacred literature of Mazdeism was formerly much greater than it is now, appears not only from internal evidence, that is, from the fragmentary character of the book, but is also proved by historical evidence. In the first place, the Arab conquest proved fatal to the religious literature of the Sassanian ages, a great part of which was either destroyed by the fanaticism of the conquerors and the new converts, or lost during the long exodus of the Parsis. Thus the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendîdâd*, which was not finished before the latter end of the Sassanian dynasty, contains not a few Zend quotations from books which are no longer in existence; other quotations, as remarkable in their importance as in their contents, are to be found in Pahlavi and Parsi tracts, like the *Nîrangistân* and the *Aogemaidê*. The *Bundahis* contains much matter which is not spoken of in the existing *Avesta*, but which is very likely to have been taken from Zend books which were still in the hands of its compiler. It is a tradition with the Parsis, that the *Yasts* were originally thirty in number, there having been one for each of the thirty *Izads* who preside over the thirty days of the month; yet there are only eighteen still extant.

The cause that preserved the *Avesta* is obvious; taken as a whole, it does not profess to be a religious encyclopedia, but only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible. It can be readily conceived that the *Vendîdâd Sâdah*, which had to be recited every day, would be more carefully preserved than the *Yasts*, which are generally recited once a month; and these again more carefully than other books, which, however sacred they might be, were not used in the performance of worship. Many texts, no doubt, were lost in consequence of the Arab conquest, but mostly such as would have more importance in the eyes of the theologian than in those of the priest. We have a fair specimen of what these lost texts may have been in the few non-liturgical fragments which we still possess, such as the *Vistâsp Yast* and

the blessing of Zoroaster upon King Vistâsp, which belong to the old epic cycle of Iran, and the Hadhôkht Nosk, which treats of the fate of the soul after death.

§ 3. But if we have lost much of the Sassanian sacred literature, Sassanian Persia herself, if we may trust Parsi tradition, had lost still more of the original books. The primitive Avesta, as revealed by Ormazd to Zoroaster and by Zoroaster to Vistâsp, king of Bactria, was supposed to have been composed of twenty-one Nosks or Books, the greater part of which was burnt by Iskander the Rûmi (Alexander the Great). After his death the priests of the Zoroastrian religion met together, and by collecting the various fragments that had escaped the ravages of the war and others that they knew by heart, they formed the present collection, which is a very small part of the original book, as out of the twenty-one Nosks there was only one that was preserved in its entirety, the Vendîdâd ¹.

This tradition is very old, and may be traced back from the present period even to Sassanian times ². It involves the assumption that the Avesta is the remnant of the sacred literature of Persia under the last Achæmenian kings. To ascertain whether this inference is correct, and to what extent it may be so, we must first try to define, as accurately as we can, the exact time at which the collection, now in existence, was formed.

§ 4. The Ravâet quoted above states that it was formed 'after the death of Iskander,' which expression is rather vague, and may as well mean 'centuries' after his death' as 'immediately after his death.' It is, in fact, hardly to be doubted that the latter was really what the writer meant; yet, as the date of that Ravâet is very recent, we had better look for older and more precise traditions. We find such a one in the Dînkart, a Pahlavi book which enjoys great authority with the Parsis of our days, and which, although it contains many things of late origin ³, also comprises many

¹ Ravâet ap. Anquetil, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres XXXVIII, 216; Spiegel, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft IX, 174.

² J. Darmesteter, La légende d'Alexandre chez les Parses.

³ We find in it a description of the four classes, which strikingly reminds

old and valuable traditions. According to a proclamation, ascribed to Khosrav Anôsharvân (531-579), the collection of the Avesta fragments was begun in the reign of the last Arsacides, and was finished under Shapûr II (309-380). King Valkash (Vologeses), it is said, first ordered all the fragments of the Avesta which might have escaped the ravages of Iskander, or been preserved by oral tradition, to be searched for and collected together. The first Sassanian king, Ardeshr Bâbagân, made the Avesta the sacred book of Iran, and Mazdeism the state religion: at last, Âdarbâd Mahraspand, under Shapûr II, purified the Avesta and fixed the number of the Nasks, and Shapûr proclaimed to the heterodox¹: 'Now that we have recognised the law of the world here below, they shall not allow the infidelity of any one whatever², as I shall strive that it may be so³.'

§ 5. The authenticity of this record has been called in question, chiefly, I think, on account of the part that it ascribes to an Arsacide prince, which seems hardly to agree with the ideas generally entertained about the character of the Sassanian revolution⁴. Most Parsi and Muhammedan writers agree that it was the Sassanian dynasty which raised the Zoroastrian religion from the state of humiliation into which the Greek invasion had made it sink, and, while it gave the signal for a revival of the old national spirit, made Mazdeism one of the corner stones of the new establishment⁵. Therefore it seems strange to hear that the first step taken to make Mazdeism a state religion was taken by one of those very Philhellenic Parthian princes, who were so fully imbued with Greek ideas and manners. Yet this is the

one of the Brahmanical account of the origin of the castes (Chap. XLII; cf. the first pages of the *Shikhan Gumânî*), and which was certainly borrowed from India; whether at the time of the last Sassanians, when Persia learnt so much from India, or since the settlement of the Parsis in India, we are unable to decide: yet the former seems more probable.

¹ *Gvêr rastakân*. We are indebted to Mr. West for the right translation of this word.

² Thus translated by West (Glossary of the Book of *Ardâ Virâf*, p. 27).

³ Haug, *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 145 seq., 149 seq.

⁴ Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* III, 782, n. 1.

⁵ S. de Sacy, *Mémoires sur quelques antiquités de la Perse*. Cf. Masudi, II, 125.

very reason why we ought to feel some hesitation in rejecting this document, and its being at variance with the general Parsi view speaks rather for its authenticity; for as it was the general post-Sassanian tradition that the restoration of Mazdeism was the work of the first Sassanian kings, no Parsi would ever have thought of making them share what was in his eyes their first and best title of honour with any of the despised princes of the Parthian dynasty.

§ 6. It is difficult, of course, to prove directly the authenticity of this record, the more so as we do not even know who was the king alluded to. There were, in fact, four kings at least¹ who bore the name of Valkhash: the most celebrated and best known of the four was Vologses I, the contemporary of Nero. Now that Zoroastrianism prevailed with him, or at least with members of his family, we see from the conduct of his brother Tiridates, who was a Magian (Magus)²; and by this term we must not understand a magician³, but a priest, and one of the Zoroastrian religion. That he was a priest appears from Tacitus' testimony⁴; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the worship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he wanted not to come by sea, but rode along the coasts⁵, because the Magi were forbidden to defile the sea⁶. This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologses himself shared the religious scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero,

¹ Perhaps five (see de Longpérier, *Mémoire sur la Numismatique des Arsacides*, p. 111).

² 'Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXX, 6).

³ Pliny very often confounds Magism and Magia, Magians and Magicians. We know from Pliny, too, that Tiridates refused to initiate Nero into his art: but the cause was not, as he assumes, that it was 'a detestable, frivolous, and vain art,' but because Mazdean law forbids the holy knowledge to be revealed to laymen, much more to foreigners (*Vast* IV, 10; cf. *Philostrati Vita Soph.* I, 10).

⁴ 'Nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendi diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur' (*Ann.* XV, 24).

⁵ He crossed only the Hellespont.

⁶ 'Navigare noluerat, quoniam inspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant' (Pliny, *L.L.* Cf. *Introd.* V, 8 seq.)

who insisted upon his coming to Rome also : ' Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea ¹.'

§ 7. Thus we hear on one hand from the Parsis that the first collection of the Avesta was made by an Arsacide named Vologeses ; and we hear, on the other hand, from a quite independent source, that an Arsacide named Vologeses behaved himself as a follower of the Avesta might have done. In all this there is no evidence that it is Vologeses I who is mentioned in the *Dinkart*, much less that he was really the first editor of the Avesta ; but it shows at all events that the first attempt to recover the sacred literature of Iran might very well have been made by an Arsacide, and that we may trust, in this matter, to a document which has been written perhaps by a Sassanian king, but, at any rate, in a Sassanian spirit. In fact, in the struggle between Ardavan and Ardashîr, there was no religious interest at stake, but only a political one ; and we are expressly told by Hamza that between Ardashîr and his adversaries there was perfect accordance in religious matters². It can, therefore, be fairly admitted that even in the time and at the court of the Philhellenic Parthians a Zoroastrian movement may have originated, and that there came a time when they perceived that a national religion is a part of national life. It was the merit of the Sassanides that they saw the drift of this idea which they had the good fortune to carry out ; and this would not be the only instance, in the history of the world, of an idea being sown by one party and its advantages reaped by their adversaries.

¹ Dio Cassius, LXIII, 4. The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and, as it seems, by Dio himself. In fact Vologeses remained to the last faithful to the memory of Nero (Suet. Nero, 57). What we know moreover of his personal character qualifies him for taking the initiative in a religious work. He seems to have been a man of contemplative mind rather than a man of action, which often excited the anger or scorn of his people against him ; and he had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings (Tacitus, *Annales*, XV, 1, 2). It was under his reign that the first interference of religion with politics, of which the history of Persia speaks, took place, as he was called by the people of Adiabene against their king Izates, who had become a Jew (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX, 4, 2).

² Hamzac Ispahensis *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31 (in the translation).

§ 8. Another presumptive evidence of the groundwork of the Avesta being anterior to the age of the Sassanians is given by the language in which it is written. That language not only was not, but had never been, the national language of Persia. It is indeed closely connected with the ancient Persian, as found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, from which modern Persian is derived; but the relations between ancient Persian and Zend are of such a kind that neither language can be conceived as being derived from the other; they are not one and the same language in two different stages of its development, but two independent dialects in nearly the same stage, which is a proof that they did not belong to the same country, and, therefore, that Zend was not the language of Persia. Now the language used in Persia after the death of Alexander, under the Arsacides and Sassanides, that is, during the period in which the Avesta must have been edited, was Pahlavi, which is not derived from Zend, but from ancient Persian, being the middle dialect between ancient and modern Persian. Therefore, if the Sassanian kings had conceived the project of having religious books of their own written and composed, it is not likely that they would have had them written in an old foreign dialect, but in the old national language, the more so, because, owing both to their origin and their policy, they were bound to be the representatives of the genuine old Persian tradition. Therefore, if they adopted Zend as the language of religion, it must have been because it was already so when they appeared, that is to say, because the only remnants of sacred literature then extant were written in Zend, and the editors of the Avesta had Zend writings before them.

This does not, of course, prove that all we find in the Avesta is pre-Sassanian, and that the editors did not compose new Zend texts. Although Zend was not only a dead language, but also a foreign one, it was not an unknown language: that it was well understood by the learned class, the priests, appears from the Pahlavi translation, which was made by them, and which, the deeper

one enters into the meaning of the text, has the fuller justice done to its merits. The earliest date that can be ascribed to that translation, in its present form, is the last century of the Sassanian dynasty, as it contains an allusion to the death of the heresiarch Mazdak, the son of Bâmdâd¹, who was put to death in the beginning of the reign of Khosrav Anôsharvân (about 531). Now the ability to translate a dead language is a good test of the ability to write in it, and in the question of the age of the Zend texts the possibility of new ones having been composed by the editors cannot be excluded *a priori*. Nay, we shall see further on that there are passages in these texts which look very modern, and may have been written at the time when the book took its last and definitive form. But whatever may be the proportion of the new texts to the old ones (which I believe to be very small), it is quite certain that the bulk of the Avesta is pre-Sassanian.

§ 9. The date assigned by the Dînkart to the final edition of the Avesta and to its promulgation as the sacred law of the nation, agrees with what we know of the religious state of Iran in the times of Shapûr II. Mazdeism had just been threatened with destruction by a new religion sprung from itself, the religion of Mânî, which for a while numbered a king amongst its followers (Shapûr I, 240-270). Mazdeism was shaken for a long time, and when Mânî was put to death, his work did not perish with him. In the Kissah-i Sangâh, Zoroaster is introduced prophesying that the holy religion will be overthrown three times and restored three times; overthrown the first time by Iskander, it will be restored by Ardeshr; overthrown again, it will be restored by Shapûr II and Âdarbâd Mahraspand; and, lastly, it will be overthrown by the Arabs and restored at the end of time by Soshyos. The Parsi traditions about Âdarbâd, although they are mixed with much fable, allow some historical truth to show itself. He was a holy man under Shapûr II, who, as there were many religions and heresies in Iran and the true religion

¹ Vide infra, p. xli, note 3.

was falling into oblivion, restored it through a miracle, as he gave a sign of its truth by allowing melted brass to be poured on his breast, without his being injured. Setting aside the miracle, which is most probably borrowed from the legend of Zoroaster, this account receives its true interpretation from the passages in the *Kissah-i Sangâh* and the *Dînkart*, which imply that Âdarbâd restored Mazdeism, which had been shaken by the Manichean heresy, and that in order to settle it upon a solid and lasting base, he gave a definitive form to the religious book of Iran and closed the Holy Writ. And even nowadays the Parsi, while reciting the *Patet*, acknowledges Âdarbâd as the third founder of the Avesta; the first being Zoroaster, who received it from Ormazd; the second *Gâmâsp*, who received it from Zoroaster; and the third Âdarbâd, who taught it and restored it to its purity.

Therefore, so far as we can trust to inferences that rest upon such scanty and vague testimonies, it seems likely that the Avesta took its definitive form from the hands of Âdarbâd Mahraspand, under King Shapûr II, in consequence of the dangers with which Mânî's heresy had threatened the national religion. As the death of Mânî and the first persecution of his followers took place some thirty years before Shapûr's accession to the throne, it may be presumed that the last revision of the Avesta was made in the first years of the new reign, when the agitation aroused by Mânî's doctrines and imperfectly allayed by the persecution of his disciples had not yet subsided, and the old religion was still shaking on its base¹.

§ 10. It follows hence that Zend texts may have been composed even as late as the fourth century A. D. This is, of course, a mere theoretical possibility, for although the liturgical parts of the *Yasna*, the *Vispêrad*, the *Sîrôzah*, and

¹ Shapûr II ascended the throne about 309 (before being born, as the tradition goes): and as he appears from the *Dînkart* to have taken a personal part in the work of Âdarbâd, the promulgation of the Avesta can hardly have taken place at an earlier date than 325-330. Âdarbâd and the Fathers at Nicaea lived and worked in the same age, and the Zoroastrian threats of the king of Iran and the Catholic anathemas of the Kaiser of Rûm may have been issued on the same day.

the Khorda Avesta must be ascribed to a later time than the Gâthas, the Vendîdâd, and the Yasts, and may belong to some period of revision, they certainly do not belong to the period of this last revision. Âdarbâd was only the last editor of the Avesta, and it is likely, nay, it is beyond all question, that the doctors of the law, before his time, had tried to put the fragments in order, to connect them, and to fill up the gaps as far as the practical purposes of liturgy required it. Therefore instead of saying that there are parts of the Avesta that may belong to so late a period as the fourth century, it is more correct to say that no part of it can belong to a later date.

There are two passages in the Vendîdâd which seem to contain internal evidence of their date, and in both cases it points to Sassanian times, nay, the second of them points to the age of Manicheism. The first is found in the eighteenth Fargard (§ 10): Ahura Mazda, while cursing those who teach a wrong law, exclaims:

‘And he who would set that man at liberty, when bound in prison, does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive and cut off his head.’

This anathema indicates a time when Mazdeism was a state religion and had to fight against heresy; it must, therefore, belong to Sassanian times. These lines are fully illustrated by a Parsi book of the same period¹, the Mainyô-i-Khard:

‘Good government is that which maintains and orders the true law and custom of the city people and poor untroubled, and thrusts out improper law and custom; . . . and keeps in progress the worship of God, and duties, and good works; . . . and will resign the body, and that also which [is] its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. And if [there] be any one who shall stay [away] from the way of God, then it orders him to return thereto, and makes him a prisoner, and brings [him] back to the way of God; and will bestow, from the wealth that is his, the share of God, and the worthy, and good works,

See the book of the Mainyô-i-Khard, ed. West; Introduction, p. x seq.

and the poor ; and will deliver up the body on account of the soul. A good king who [is] of that sort, is called like the Yazads and the Ameshâspeñds¹.

What doctrines are alluded to by the Vendîdâd is not explained : it appears from the context that it had in view such sects as released the faithful from the yoke of religious practices, as it anathematizes, at the same time, those who have continued for three years without wearing the sacred girdle. We know too little of the Manichean liturgy to guess if the Manicheans are here alluded to : that Mânî should have rejected many Zoroastrian practices is not unlikely, as his aim was to found a universal religion. While he pushed to extremes several of the Zoroastrian tenets, especially those which had taken, or might receive, a moral or metaphysical meaning, he must have been very regardless of practices which could not be ennobled into moral symbolism. However it may be with regard to the foregoing passage, it is difficult not to see a direct allusion to Manicheism in lines like the following (IV, 47 seq.):

‘ Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons ; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none ; he who has children is far above the childless man ; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

‘ And of two men, he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit much more than he who does not so ; the latter is all but dead ; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.

‘ It is this man that can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu ; that can strive against the self-moving arrow ; that can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on ; that can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head ; it is this man that can strive against the ungodly Ashemaogha² who does not eat³.

¹ Chap. XV, 16 seq. as translated by West.

² Ashemaogha, ‘ the confounder of Asha ’ (see IV, 37), is the name of the fiends and of the heretics. The Parsis distinguish two sorts of Ashemaoghas, the deceiver and the deceived ; the deceiver, while alive, is mar-

That this is a bit of religious polemics, and that it refers to definite doctrines and tenets which were held at the time when it was written, can hardly be doubted. It may remind one of the Christian doctrines; and, in fact, it was nearly in the same tone, and with the same expressions, that in the fifth century King Yazdgard branded the Christians in Armenia⁴. But however eager the Christian propaganda may have been for a time in Persia, they never endangered the state religion. The real enemy was the heresy sprung from Mazdeism itself; and Christianity, coming from abroad, was more of a political than a religious foe. And, in point of fact, the description in the above passage agrees better with the Manichean doctrines than with the Christian⁵. Like Mânî, Christian teachers held the single life holier than the state of matrimony, yet they had not forbidden marriage, which Mânî did; they put poor Lazarus above Dives, but they never forbade trade and husbandry, which Mânî did; and, lastly, they never prohibited the eating of flesh, which was one of the chief precepts of Mânî⁶. We find, therefore, in this passage, an illustration, from the Avesta itself, of the celebrated doctrine of the three seals with which Mânî had sealed the bosom, the hand, and the mouth of his disciples (*signaculum sinus, manus, oris*)⁶.

garzân, 'worthy of death,' and after death is a *darvand* (a fiend, or one of the damned); the deceived one is only *margarzân*.

³ The Pahlavi translation illustrates the words 'who does not eat' by the gloss, 'like Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd,' which proves that this part of the commentary is posterior to, or contemporary with the crushing of the Mazdakian sect (in the first years of Khosrav Anôsharvân, about 531). The words 'against the wicked tyrant' are explained by the gloss, 'like Zarvândâd;' may it not be Kobâd, the heretic king, or 'Yazdgard the sinner,' the scorner of the Magi?

⁴ *Elisacus*, pp. 29, 52, in the French translation by Gambel.

⁵ At least with orthodox Christianity, which seems to have alone prevailed in Persia till the arrival of the Nestorians. The description would apply very well to certain gnostic sects, especially that of Cerdo and Marcio, which is no wonder, as it was through that channel that Christianity became known to Mânî. Masudi makes Mânî a disciple of Kardûn (ed. B. de Meynard, II, 167), and the care which his biographer (ap. Flügel, *Mânî*, pp. 51, 85) takes to determine the length of time which intervened between Marcio and Mânî seems to betray some dim recollection of an historical connection between the two doctrines.

⁶ The patriarch of Alexandria, Timotheus, allowed the other patriarchs,

§ 11. We must now go a step farther back, and try to solve the question whence came the original texts out of which the editors of the Avesta formed their collection. Setting aside the Dinkart, we have no oriental document to help us in tracing them through the age of the Arsacides, a complete historical desert, and we are driven for information to the classical writers who are, on this point, neither very clear nor always credible. The mention of books ascribed to Zoroaster occurs not seldom during that period, but very often it applies to Alexandrian and Gnostic apocrypha¹. Yet there are a few passages which make it pretty certain that there was a Mazdean literature in existence in those times. Pausanias, travelling through Lydia in the second century of our era, saw and heard Magian priests singing hymns from a book²; whether these hymns were the same as the Gâthas, still extant, we cannot ascertain, but this shows that there were Gâthas. The existence of a Zoroastrian literature might be traced back as far as the third century before Christ, if Pliny could be credited when he says that Hermippus³ had given an analysis of the books of Zoroaster, which are said to have amounted to 2,000,000 lines⁴. For want of external evidence for ascertaining whether the original texts were already in existence in the later years of the Achæmenian dynasty, we must seek for internal evidence. A comparison between the ideas expressed in our texts and what we know of the ideas of Achæmenian Persia may perhaps lead to safer inferences.

§ 12. That all the Avesta ideas were already fully developed in the time, or, at least, at the end of the

bishops, and monks to eat meat on Sundays, in order to recognise those who belonged to the Manichean sect (Flügel, *Mânî*, p. 279).

¹ 'Those who follow the heresy of Prodicus boast of possessing secret books of Zoroaster,' Clemens Alex. *Stromata* I. Cf. the *ἀποκαλύψεις Ζωροάστρου* forged by Adelphius or Aquilinus (ap. Porphy. *Vita Plotini*, § 16).

² Ἐπαίδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου (V, 27, 3).

³ See Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 288.

⁴ 'Hermippus, qui de tota arte ea (magia) diligentissime scripsit et viceni centiens milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum ejus positis explanavit.' . . . (*Hist. Nat.* XXX, 1, 2). He had written a book *περὶ μάγων* (Diog. Laert. *Proem.* 8).

Achæmenian dynasty, appears from the perfect accordance of the account of Mazdeism in Theopompos¹ with the data of the Zend books. All the main features of Mazdean belief, namely, the existence of two principles, a good and an evil one, Ormazd and Ahriman, the antithetical creations of the two supreme powers, the division of all the beings in nature into two corresponding classes, the limited duration of the world, the end of the struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman by the defeat and destruction of the evil principle, the resurrection of the dead, and the everlasting life, all these tenets of the Avesta had already been established at the time of Philip and Aristotle. Therefore we must admit that the religious literature then in existence, if there were any, must have differed but little, so far as its contents were concerned, from the Avesta; its extent was greater of course, and we have a proof of this in this very account of Theopompos, which gives us details nowhere to be found in the present texts, and yet the authenticity of which is made quite certain by comparative mythology². Therefore there is nothing that forbids us to believe, with the Parsis, that the fragments of which the Avesta is composed were already in existence before the Greek invasion³.

§ 13. But it does not follow hence that the Achæmenian Avesta was the sacred book of the Achæmenians and of Persia, and it must not be forgotten that the account in Plutarch is not about the religion of Persia, but about the belief of the Magi and the lore of Zoroaster. Now if we consider that the two characteristic features of Avestean Magism are, so far as belief goes, the admission of two principles, and so far as practice is concerned, the prohibition of burying the dead, we find that there is no evidence

¹ In Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, §§ 46-47.

² Men, when raised from the dead, shall have no shadow any longer (*μήτε σκιάν ποιούντας*). In India, gods have no shadows (Nalus); in Persia, Râshidaddin was recognised to be a god from his producing no shadow (Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, I, 392); the plant of eternal life, Haoma, has no shadow (Henry Lord).

³ Persian tradition cannot be much relied on, when it tries to go back beyond Alexander, and on that special point it seems to be more an inference of later ages, than a real tradition; but the inference happens to be right.

that Achæmenian Persia admitted the former, and there is evidence that she did not admit the latter. But, at the same time, it appears that both the belief and the practice were already in existence, though peculiar to one class, the sacerdotal class, the Magi.

The question whether the Achæmenian kings believed in dualism and knew of Ahriman, is not yet settled. Much stress has often been laid on the absence of the name of Ahriman in the religious formulæ engraved by Darius and Xerxes on the rocks at Persepolis and Naqs-i Rostam¹. But it is never safe to draw wide conclusions from negative facts: Darius and Xerxes speak of Auramazda quite in the style of the Avesta, and their not speaking of Ahriman is no sufficient proof of their not knowing him; they did not intend to publish a complete creed, nor had they to inscribe articles of faith.

The account of the Persian religion in Herodotus also leaves, or seems to leave, Ahriman unnoticed. But it must be borne in mind that he does not expound the religious conceptions of the Persians, but only their religious customs; he describes their worship more than their dogmas, and not a single tenet is mentioned. He seems even not to know anything of Ormazd, who was, however, most certainly the supreme god of Persia in his days; yet, in fact, he clearly alludes to Ormazd, when he states that the Persians worship Zeus on the summits of mountains, and call by the name of Zeus the whole circle of the heavens, which exactly agrees with the character of Ormazd². In the same way the existence of Ahriman is indirectly pointed to by the duty enforced upon the faithful to persecute and kill noxious animals, as it was only on account of

¹ Professor Oppert thinks he has found in Darius' inscriptions an express mention of Ahriman (*Le peuple et le langage des Mèdes*, p. 199); yet the philological interpretation of the passage seems to me still too obscure to allow of any decisive opinion. Plutarch introduces Artaxerxes I speaking of Ἀρειμάνιος, but whether the king is made to speak the language of his own time, or that of Plutarch's time, is left doubtful. As to the allusions in Isaiah (xlv), they do not necessarily refer to dualism in particular, but to all religions not monotheistic. (Cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 241.)

² Vide *infra*, IV, 5.

their being creatures of the evil principle and incarnations of it, that this custom was enjoined as a religious duty¹. It appears, it is true, from the words of Herodotus, that it was only a custom peculiar to the Magi²; but it shows, at least, that the belief in Ahriman was already then in existence, and that dualism was constituted, at least, as a Magian article of faith.

If we pass now from dogma to practice, we find that the most important practice of the Avesta law was either disregarded by the Achæmenian kings, or unknown to them. According to the Avesta burying corpses in the earth is one of the most heinous sins that can be committed³; we know that under the Sassanians a prime minister, Scoses, paid with his life for an infraction of that law⁴. Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains, there to be devoured by birds and dogs; the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of Mazdean profession, and its adoption was the sign of conversion⁵. Now under the Achæmenian rule, not only the burial of the dead was not forbidden, but it was the general practice. Persians, says Herodotus, bury their dead in the earth, after having coated them with wax⁶. But Herodotus, immediately after stating that the Persians inter their dead, adds that the Magi do not follow the general practice, but lay the corpses down on the ground, to be devoured by birds. So what became a law for all people, whether laymen or priests, under the rule of the Sassanians, was only the custom of the Magi, under the Achæmenians.

The obvious conclusion is that the ideas and customs which are found in the Avesta were already in existence under the Achæmenian kings; but that taken as a whole, they were not the general ideas and customs of the whole of Persia, but only of the sacerdotal caste⁷. There were

¹ Vide infra, IV, 35; cf. Fargard XIII, 5 seq.; XIV, 5.

² Herod. I, 140.

³ Vide infra, V, 9.

⁴ Procopius, De Bello Persico, I, 11.

⁵ Ibid. I, 12.

⁶ Herod. I, 140.

⁷ There are other features of the Avesta religion which appear to have been foreign to Persia, but are attributed to the Magi. The *hvaêtvôdatha*, the holiness of marriage between next of kin, even to incest, was unknown to

therefore, practically, two religions in Iran, the one for laymen and the other for priests. The Avesta was originally the sacred book only of the Magi, and the progress of the religious evolution was to extend to laymen what was the custom of the priests.

§ 14. We are now able to understand how it was that the sacred book of Persia was written in a non-Persian dialect: it had been written in the language of its composers, the Magi, who were not Persians. Between the priests and the people there was not only a difference of calling, but also a difference of race, as the sacerdotal caste came from a non-Persian province. What that province was we know both from Greek historians and from Parsi traditions.

All classical writers, from Herodotus down to Ammianus, agree in pointing to Media as the seat and native place of the Magi. 'In Media,' says Marcellinus (XXIII, 6), 'are the fertile fields of the Magi . . . (having been taught in the magic science by King Hystaspes) they handed it down to their posterity, and thus from Hystaspes to the present age an immense family was developed, hereditarily devoted to the worship of the gods. . . . In former times their number was very scanty . . . , but they grew up by and by into the number and name of a nation, and inhabiting towns without walls they were allowed to live according to their own laws, protected by religious awe.' Putting aside the legendary account of their origin, one sees from this passage that in the time of Marcellinus¹ (fourth cent. A.D.) there was in Media a tribe, called Magi, which had the hereditary privilege of providing Iran with priests. Strabo, writing three centuries before Marcellinus, considered the Magi as a sacerdotal tribe spread over the land². Lastly, we see in Herodotus (III, 65) that the usurpation of the Magian Smerdis was interpreted

Persia under Cambyses (Herod. III, 31), but it is highly praised in the Avesta, and was practised under the Sassanians (Agathias II, 31); in the times before the Sassanians it is mentioned only as a law of the Magi (Diog. Laert. Prooem. 6; Catullus, Carm. XC).

¹ Or of the historians from whom he copies. Still he seems to speak from contemporary evidence. Sozomenus (Hist. Eccles. II, 9) states that the care of worship belonged hereditarily to the Magi 'as to a sacerdotal race,' ὡς περ τι φύλον ἱερατικόν.

² Τὸ τῶν Μάγων φύλον (XV, 14).

by Cambyses as an attempt of the Medes to recover the hegemony they had lost, and when we learn from Herodotus (I, 101) that the Medes were divided into several tribes, Busae, Paraetakeni, Strouchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi, without his making any remark on the last name, we can hardly have any doubt that the priests known as Magi belonged to the tribe of the Magi, that they were named after their origin, and that the account of Marcellinus may be correct even for so early a period as that of Herodotus.

§ 15. Parsi traditions agree with Greek testimonies.

That the priesthood was hereditary, we see from the statement in the Bundahis, that all the Maubeds are descendants from King Minochihr¹, and even nowadays the priesthood cannot extend beyond the priestly families; the son of a Dastur is not obliged to be a Dastur, but no one that is not the son of a Dastur can become one².

That they came from Media, we see from the traditions about the native place of Zoroaster, their chief and the founder of their religion. Although epic legends place the cradle of Mazdean power in Bactria, at the court of King Vistâsp, Bactria was only the first conquest of Zoroaster, it was neither his native place, nor the cradle of his religion. Although there are two different traditions on this point, both agree in pointing to Media; according to the one he was born in Rai, that is in Media, properly so called; according to the other he was born in Shîz, that is in Media Atropatene.

The former tradition seems to be the older; it is expressed directly in the Pahlavi Commentary to Vendidad I, 16³; and there is in the Avesta itself (Yasna XIX, 18 (50)) a passage that either alludes to it or shows how it originated.

‘How many masters are there?’

¹ Bundahis 79, 13.

² Dosabhoj Framjee, *The Parsees*, &c. p. 277.

³ ‘Ragha of the three races,’ that is to say, Atropatene (vide infra); some say it is ‘Rai.’ It is ‘of the three races’ because the three classes, priests, warriors, husbandmen, ‘were well organized there. Some say that Zartust was born there . . . , those three classes were born from him.’ Cf. Bundahis 79, 15, and Farg. II, 43, n. 2. Rai is the Greek *Ῥαῖ*.

'There are the master of the house, the lord of the borough, the lord of the town, the lord of the province, and the Zarathustra (the high-priest) as the fifth. So is it in all lands, except in the Zarathustrian realm; for there are there only four masters, in Ragha, the Zarathustrian city¹.'

'Who are they?'

'They are the master of the house, the lord of the borough, the lord of the town, and Zarathustra is the fourth².'

This amounts to saying that the high-priest, the Maubedân Maubed, held in Rai the position of the *daḥvyuma*, or lord of the land, and was the chief magistrate. It may be suspected that this was the independent sacerdotal state which is spoken of in Marcellinus, and this suspicion is raised to a certain degree of probability by the following lines in Yaḡūt:

'Ustûnâwand, a celebrated fortress in the district of Danbawand, in the province of Rai. It is very old, and was strongly fortified. It is said to have been in existence for more than 3000 years, and to have been the stronghold of the Masmoghân of the land during the times of paganism. This word, which designates the high-priest of the Zoroastrian religion, is composed of *mas*, "great," and *moghân*, which means "magian." Khaled besieged it, and destroyed the power of the last of them³.'

According to another tradition Zarathustra was born in Atropatene. The very same commentary which describes Ragha as being identical with Rai, and the native place of Zartust, also informs us that Ragha was thought by others

¹ Or possibly, 'in the Zarathustrian Ragha.'

² The Commentary has here: 'that is to say, he was the fourth master in his own land.'

Their spreading and wandering over Mazdean lands appears from Yasna XLII, 6 (XLI, 34): 'We bless the coming of the Athravans, who come from afar to bring holiness to countries;' cf. *infra*, p. lii, note 1, and Farg. XIII, 22.

³ Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, p. 33. Cf. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* III, 565. A dim recollection of this Magian dynasty seems to survive in the account ap. Diog. Laert. (Proem. 2) that Zoroaster was followed by a long series of Magi, Osthanae Astrampsychi, and Pazatae, till the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander.

to be Atropatene. Traditions, of which unfortunately we have only late records, make him a native of Shîz, the capital of Atropatene¹: 'In Shîz is the fire temple of Azerckhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyraea of the Magi; in the days of the fire worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage. The temple of Azerckhsh is ascribed to Zeratusht, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shîz to the mountain of Sebîlân, and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the Zend-Avesta, which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet².'

Now we read in the Bundahis that Zartust founded his religion by offering a sacrifice in Irân Vêg (Airyanem Vaêgô)³. Although this detail referred originally to the mythical character of Zoroaster, and Irân Vêg was primitively no real country, yet as it was afterwards identified with the basin of the Aras (Vanguhi Dâitya)⁴, this identification is a proof that the cradle of the new religion was looked for on the banks of the Aras. In the Avesta itself we read that Zoroaster was born and received the law from Ormazd on a mountain, by the river Darega⁵, a name which strikingly reminds one of the modern Darah river, which falls from the Sebîlân mount into the Aras.

To decide which of the two places, Rai or Atropatene, had the better claim to be called the native place of Zoroaster is of course impossible. The conflict of the two traditions must be interpreted as an indication that both places were important seats of the Magian worship. That both traditions may rely on the Avesta is perhaps a sign that the Avesta contains two series of documents, the one emanating from the Magi of Ragha, and the other from the

¹ The Persian Gazn, the Byzantine Gaza. Ganzaka, the site of which was identified by Sir Henry Rawlinson with Takht i Suleiman (Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, X, 65).

² Kazwini, apud Rawlinson l. c. p. 69.

³ Bund. 79, 12.

⁴ See Farg. I, p. 3.

⁵ See Farg. XIX, 4, 11.

Magi of Atropatene¹. Which of the two places had the older claim is also a question hardly to be settled in the present state of our knowledge².

Whether Magism came from Ragha to Atropatene, or from Atropatene to Ragha, in either case it had its origin in Media³. That Persia should have submitted in religious matters to a foreign tribe will surprise no one who thinks of the influence of the Etruscan augurs in Rome. The Magi might be hated as Medes, but they were respected and feared as priests. When political revolutions gave vent to national hate, the Persian might willingly indulge it, and revel in the blood of the foreign priest⁴; yet whenever he had to invoke the favour of the gods, he was obliged to acknowledge that he could not do without the detested tribe, and that they alone knew how to make themselves heard by heaven⁵. When and how the religious hegemony of Media arose we cannot say: it is but natural that Media⁶,

¹ This would be a principle of classification which unfortunately applies only to a small part of the Avesta.

² Still, if we follow the direction of the Zoroastrian legend, Magism must have spread from west to east, from Atropatene to Ragha, from Ragha to Bactria; and Atropatene must thus have been the first cradle of Mazdeism. Its very name points to its sacred character; oriental writers, starting from the modern form of the name, *Adarbîgân*, interpret it as 'the seed of fire,' with an allusion to the numerous fire springs to be found there. Modern scholars have generally followed the historical etymology given by Strabo, who states that, after the death of Alexander, the satrap Atropates made himself an independent sovereign in his satrapy, which was named after him Atropatene. This looks like a Greek etymology (scarcely more to be trusted than the etymology of *'Pargai*, from *πῆγνυμι*), and it is hardly to be believed that the land should have lost its former name to take a new one from its king; it was not a new-fangled geographical division, like Lotharingia, and had lived a life of its own for a long time before. Its name *Âtarpatakân* seems to mean 'the land of the descent of fire,' as it was there that fire came down from heaven (cf. Ammianus l. c.)

³ The Pahlavi names of the cardinal points show that Media was the centre of orientation in Magian geography (Garrez, *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, II).

⁴ Magophonia (Herod. III, 79).

⁵ *ὅς αὐτοὺς μόνους δεινόμενος* (Diog. Laert. Prooem.); cf. Herod. I, 132; Ammian. l. l.

⁶ An echo of the old political history of Media seems to linger in Yast V, 29, which shows Azi Dahâka reigning in Babylon (Bawru); as Azi, in his legendary character, represents the foreign invader, this passage can hardly be anything but a far remote echo of the struggles between Media and the Mesopotamian empires. The legend of Azi is localised only in Media

having risen sooner to a high degree of civilisation, should have given to religion and worship a more systematic and elaborate form, and in religion, as in politics, the best organised power must sooner or later get the upper hand. It is likely that it began with the conquest of Media by Cyrus: Media capta ferum victorem cepit. . . . Cyrus is said to have introduced the Magian priesthood into Persia (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII, 1, 23), which agrees with the legend mentioned by Nikolaus that it was on the occasion of the miraculous escape of Cræsus that the Persians remembered the old *λογία* of Zoroaster forbidding the dead to be burnt.

The Medic origin of the Magi accounts for a fact which perplexes at first sight, namely, the absence of the name of the Magi from the book written by themselves¹; which is natural enough if the word Magu was not the name of the priest as a priest, but as a member of the tribe of the Magi. The proper word for a priest in the Avesta is *Âthravan*, literally, 'fire-man,' and that this was his name with the Persians too appears from the statement in Strabo (XV, 733) that the Magi are also called *Πύραιθοι*. It is easy to conceive that the Persians, especially in ordinary parlance, would rather designate their priests after their origin than after their functions²; but the Magi themselves had no reason to follow the Persian custom, which was not always free from an implication of spite or scorn. The only passage into which the word found its way is just one that betrays the existence of this feeling: the enemy of the priests is

lands: he addresses his prayers to Ahriman by the banks of the *Sipîr rût* (*Bundahis* 52, 11), his adversary *Ferîdûn* is born in *Ghilân*, he is bound to *Mount Damâvand* (near *Rai*).

¹ In their own language, the Zend; of which the modern representatives, if there be any left, should therefore be looked for in *Atropatene* or on the banks of the *Caspian sea*. The research is complicated by the growing intrusion of Persian words into the modern dialects, but as far as I can see from a very inadequate study of the matter, the dialect which exhibits most Zend features is the *Talis* dialect, on the southern bank of the *Aras*.

² The *Pahlavi* has 'one who hates the Magu-men.' In the passage *LIII* (*LI*), 7, *magéus* is not a Magian, and it is translated by *magt*, 'holiness, godliness,' related to the Vedic *magha*. Afterwards the two words were confounded, whence came the Greek statement that *μάγος* means at the same time 'a priest' and 'a god' (*Apollon. Tyan. Ep.* XVII).

not called, as would be expected, an *Âthrava-zbis*, 'a hater of the *Âthravans*' (cf. the Indian *Brahma-dvish*), but a *Moghu-zbis*, 'a hater of the Magi¹.' The name, it is true, became current in Pahlavi and modern Persian, but it was at a time when the old national quarrels between Media and Persia were quenched, and the word could no longer carry any offensive idea with it.

§ 16. The results of the foregoing research may be summed up as follows :—

The original texts of the Avesta were not written by Persians, as they are in a language which was not used in Persia, they prescribe certain customs which were unknown to Persia, and proscribe others which were current in Persia. They were written in Media, by the priests of Ragha and Atropatene, in the language of Media, and they exhibit the ideas of the sacerdotal class under the Achæmenian dynasty.

It does not necessarily follow from this, that the original fragments were already written at the time of Herodotus².

¹ A further echo of the anti-Magian feelings may be heard in Yasna IX, 24 (75): 'Haoma overthrew Keresâni, who rose up to seize royalty, and he said, "No longer shall henceforth the *Âthravans* go through the lands and teach at their will.'" This is a curious instance of how easily legendary history may turn myths to its advantage. The struggle of Haoma against Keresâni is an old Indo-European myth, Keresâni being the same as the Vedic *Krisânu*, who wants to keep away Soma from the hands of men. His name becomes in the Avesta the name of an anti-Magian king [it may be Darius, the usurper (?)], and ten centuries later it was turned into an appellation of the Christian Kaisars of Rûm (Kalasyâk = *ἐκκλησια[κός]; Tarsâka).

² If the interpretation of the end of the Behistun inscription (preserved only in the Scythian version) as given by Professor Oppert be correct, Darius must have made a collection of religious texts known as Avesta, whence it would follow, with great probability, that the present Avesta proceeded from Darius. The translation of the celebrated scholar is as follows: 'J'ai fait une collection de textes (dippimas) ailleurs en langue arienne qui autrefois n'existait pas. Et j'ai fait un texte de la Loi (de l'Avesta; Haduk ukku) et un commentaire de la Loi, et la Bénédiction (la prière, le Zend) et les Traductions.' (Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes, pp. 155, 186.) The authority of Oppert is so great, and at the same time the passage is so obscure, that I hardly know if there be more temerity in rejecting his interpretation or in adopting it. Yet I beg to observe that the word dippimas is the usual Scythian transliteration of the Persian *dipi*, 'an inscription,' and there is no apparent reason for departing from that meaning in this passage; if the word translated 'la Loi,' ukku, really represents here a Persian word *Abasta*, it need not denote the Avesta, the religious book,

But as the Magi of that time sang songs of their gods during sacrifice, it is very likely that there was already a sacred literature in existence. The very fact that no sacrifice could be performed without the assistance of the Magi makes it highly probable that they were in possession of rites, prayers, and hymns very well composed and arranged, and not unlike those of the Brahmans; their authority can only be accounted for by the power of a strongly defined ritual and liturgy. There must, therefore, have been a collection of formulae and hymns, and it is quite possible that Herodotus may have heard the Magi sing, in the fifth century B. C., the very same Gâthas which are sung nowadays by the Mobeds in Bombay. A part of the Avesta, the liturgical part, would therefore have been, in fact, a sacred book for the Persians. It had not been written by them, but it was sung for their benefit. That Zend hymns should have been sung before a Persian-speaking people is not stranger than Latin words being sung by Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians; the only difference being that, owing to the close affinity of Zend to Persian, the Persians may have been able to understand the prayers of their priests.

§ 17. It may, therefore, be fairly admitted that, on the whole, the present texts are derived from texts already existing under the Achæmenian kings. Some parts of the collection are undoubtedly older than others; thus, the Gâthas are certainly older than the rest of the Avesta, as they are often quoted and praised in the Yasna and the Vendîdâd; but it is scarcely possible to go farther than a logical chronology. One might feel inclined, at first sight, to assign to a very recent date, perhaps to the last revision of the Avesta, those long enumerations of gods so symmetrically elaborated in the Yasna, Vispêrad, and Vendîdâd. But the account of Mazdeism given by Plutarch shows that the

as in that case the word would most certainly not have been translated in the Scythian version, but only transliterated; the ideogram for 'Bénédiction, prière,' may refer to religious inscriptions like Persepolis I; the import of the whole passage would therefore be that Darius caused other inscriptions to be engraved, and wrote other edicts and religious formulae (the word 'translations' is only a guess).

work of co-ordination was already terminated at the end of the Achæmenian period, and there is no part of the Avesta which, so far as the matter is concerned, may not have been written in those times. Nay, the Greek accounts of that period present us, in some measure, with a later stage of thought, and are pervaded with a stronger sense of symmetry, than the Avesta itself. Such passages as the latter end of the Zamyâd Yast and Vendîdâd X, 9 seq. prove that, when they were composed, the seven Arch-Dêvs were not yet pointedly contrasted with the seven Amshaspands, and therefore those passages might have been written long before the time of Philip. The theory of time and space as first principles of the world, of which only the germs are found in the Avesta, was fully developed in the time of Eudemos, a disciple of Aristotle.

§ 18. To what extent the Magian dogmatical conceptions were admitted by the whole of the Iranian population, or how and by what process they spread among it, we cannot ascertain for want of documentary evidence. As regards their observances we are better instructed, and can form an idea of how far and in what particulars they differed from the other Iranians. The new principle they introduced, or, rather, developed into new consequences, was that of the purity of the elements. Fire, earth, and water had always been considered sacred things, and had received worship¹: the Magi drew from that principle the conclusion that burying the dead or burning the dead was defiling a god: as early as Herodotus they had already succeeded in preserving fire from that pollution, and cremation was a capital crime. The earth still continued to be defiled, notwithstanding the example they set; and it was only under the Sassanians, when Mazdeism became the religion of the state, that they won this point also.

The religious difference between the Persians and their Medic priests was therefore chiefly in observances. Out of the principles upon which the popular religion rested, the sacerdotal class drew by dint of logic, in a puritan spirit,

¹ Cf. V, 8.

the necessity of strict observances, the yoke of which was not willingly endured by the mass of the people. Many acts, insignificant in the eyes of the people, became repugnant to their consciences and their more refined logic. The people resisted, and for a time Magian observances were observed only by the Magi. The slow triumph of Magism can be dimly traced through the Achæmenian period. Introduced by Cyrus, it reigned supreme for a time with the Pseudo-Smerdis, and was checked by Darius¹. It seems to have resumed its progress under Xerxes ; at least, it was reported that it was to carry out Magian principles that he destroyed the Greek temples, and that the first who wrote on the Zoroastrian lore was a Magian, named Osthanes, who had accompanied him to Greece². New progress marked the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The epic history of Iran, as preserved in the *Shah Nâmah*, passes suddenly from the field of mythology to that of history with the reign of that king, which makes it likely that it was in his time that the legends of Media became national in Persia, and that his reign was an epoch in the political history of Magism³. But the real victory was not won till six centuries later, when national interest required a national religion. Then, as happens in every revolution, the ultra party, that had pushed to the extreme the principles common to all, took the lead ; the Magi ascended the throne with Ardeschîr, one of their pupils⁴, and the Magian

¹ Darius rebuilt the temples which the Magus Gaumata had destroyed (*Behistun I*, 63). The Magi, it is said, wanted the gods not to be imprisoned within four walls (*Cic. de Legibus II*, 10) : Xerxes behaved himself as their disciple, at least in Greece. Still the Magi seem to have at last given way on that point to the Perso-Assyrian customs, and there were temples even under the Sassanians.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXX, 1, 8.

³ Cf. Westergaard, *Preface to the Zend-Avesta*, p. 17. This agrees with what we know of the fondness of Artaxerxes for religious novelties. It was he who blended the worship of the Assyrian Anat-Mylitta with that of the Iranian Anâhita (the ascription of that innovation to Artaxerxes Mnemon by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata I*) must rest on a clerical error, as in the time of Herodotus, who wrote under Longimanus, the worship of Mylitta had already been introduced into Persia (*I*, 131)).

⁴ Agathias II, 26.

observances became the law of all Iran. But their triumph was not to be a long one; their principles required an effort too continuous and too severe to be ever made by any but priests, who might concentrate all their faculties in watching whether they had not dropped a hair upon the ground. A working people could not be imprisoned in such a religion, though it might be pure and high in its ethics. The triumph of Islam was a deliverance for the consciences of many¹, and Magism, by enforcing its observances upon the nation, brought about the ruin of its dogmas, which were swept away at the same time: its triumph was the cause and signal of its fall².

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE AVESTA RELIGION.

§ 1. What was the religion of the Magi which we find reflected in the Avesta? and whence did it arise?

Magism, in its general form, may be summed up as follows:—

The world, such as it is now, is twofold, being the work of two hostile beings, Ahura Mazda, the good principle, and Angra Mainyu, the evil principle; all that is good in the world comes from the former, all that is bad in it comes from the latter. The history of the world is the history of their conflict, how Angra Mainyu invaded the world of Ahura Mazda and marred it, and how he shall be expelled from it at last. Man is active in the conflict, his duty in it being laid before him in the law revealed by Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra. When the appointed time is come, a son of the lawgiver, still unborn, named Saoshyant, will appear, Angra Mainyu and hell will be destroyed, men will rise from the dead, and everlasting happiness will reign over the world.

¹ De Gobineau, *Histoire des Perses*, II, 632 seq.

² We ought to discuss here the Scythian theory of Magism; but thus far we have been unable to find anywhere a clear and consistent account of its thesis and of its arguments. Nothing is known of any Scythian religion, and what is ascribed to a so-called Scythian influence, the worship of the elements, is one of the oldest and most essential features of the Aryan religions.

We have tried in another book¹ to show that the religion of the Magi is derived from the same source as that of the Indian *Rishis*, that is, from the religion followed by the common forefathers of the Iranians and Indians, the Indo-Iranian religion. The Mazdean belief is, therefore, composed of two different strata; the one comprises all the gods, myths, and ideas which were already in existence during the Indo-Iranian period, whatever changes they may have undergone during the actual Iranian period; the other comprises the gods, myths, and ideas which were only developed after the separation of the two religions.

§ 2. There were two general ideas at the bottom of the Indo-Iranian religion; first, that there is a law in nature, and, secondly, that there is a war in nature.

There is a law in nature, because everything goes on in a serene and mighty order. Days after days, seasons after seasons, years after years come and come again; there is a marvellous friendship between the sun and the moon, the dawn has never missed its appointed time and place, and the stars that shine in the night know where to go when the day is breaking. There is a God who fixed that never-failing law, and on whom it rests for ever².

There is a war in nature, because it contains powers that work for good and powers that work for evil: there are such beings as benefit man, and such beings as injure him: there are gods and fiends. They struggle on, never and nowhere more apparent than in the storm, in which, under our very eyes, the fiend that carries off the light and streams of heaven fights with the god that gives them back to man and the thirsty earth.

There were, therefore, in the Indo-Iranian religion a latent monotheism and an unconscious dualism³; both of which, in the further development of Indian thought, slowly disappeared; but Mazdeism lost neither of these two notions,

¹ Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, 1877. We beg, for the sake of brevity, to refer to that book for further demonstration.

² Cf. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 249.

³ J. Darmesteter, *The Supreme God in the Indo-European Mythology*, in the *Contemporary Review*, October, 1879, p. 283.

nor did it add a new one, and its original action was to cling strongly and equally to both ideas and push them to an extreme.

§ 3. The God that has established the laws in nature is the Heaven God. He is the greatest of gods, since there is nothing above him nor outside of him; he has made everything, since everything is produced or takes place in him; he is the wisest of all gods, since with his eyes, the sun, moon, and stars, he sees everything¹.

This god was named either after his bodily nature Varana, 'the all-embracing sky²,' or after his spiritual attributes Asura, 'the Lord,' Asura visvavedas, 'the all-knowing Lord,' Asura Mazdhâ, 'the Lord of high knowledge³.'

§ 4. The supreme Asura of the Indo-Iranian religion, the Heaven god, is called in the Avesta Ahura Mazda, 'the all-knowing Lord⁴;' his concrete name Varana, which became his usual name in India (Varuna), was lost in Iran, and remained only as the name of the material heaven, and then of a mythical region, the Varena, which was the seat of the mythical fight between a storm god and a storm fiend⁵.

§ 5. The spiritual attributes of the Heaven god were daily more and more strongly defined, and his material attributes were thrown farther into the background. Yet many features, though ever dimmer and dimmer, betray his former bodily or, rather, his sky nature. He is white, bright, seen afar, and his body is the greatest and fairest of all bodies; he has the sun for his eye, the rivers above for his spouses, the fire of lightning for his son; he wears the heaven as a star-spangled garment, he puts on the hard stone of heaven, he is the hardest of all gods⁶. He dwells in the infinite luminous space, and the infinite luminous space is his place,

¹ Ibid.

² *Ὠβανός*; or Dyaus, 'the shining sky' [*Zeús*, *Jup-iter*], or Svar.

³ Or perhaps 'the Lord who bestows intelligence' (Bensley, 'Asura Medhâ and Ahura Mazdâo').

⁴ This is, at least, the meaning that attached to the name in the consciences of the composers of the Avesta.

⁵ Vide infra, § 12.

⁶ Orm. Ahr. §§ 27-36.

his body¹. In the time of Herodotus, Persians, while invoking Aurâmazda, the creator of earth and heaven, still knew who he was, and called the whole vault of the sky Zeus, that is to say, called it the supreme god².

§ 6. In the Indo-Iranian religion, the supreme Asura, although he was the supreme god, was not the only god. There were near him and within him many mighty beings, the sun, wind, lightning, thunder, rain, prayer, sacrifice, which as soon as they struck the eye or the fancy of man, were at once turned into gods. If the Heaven Asura, greater in time and space, eternal and universal, everlasting and ever present, was without effort raised to the supreme rank by his twofold infinitude, there were other gods, of shorter but mightier life, who maintained against him their right to independence. The progress of religious thought might as well have gone on to transfer power from him to any of these gods, as to make his authority unrivalled. The former was the case in India: in the middle of the Vedic period, Indra, the dazzling god of storm, rose to supremacy in the Indian Pantheon, and outshines Varuṇa with the roar and splendour of his feats; but soon to give way to a new and mystic king, Prayer or Brahman³.

Not so did Mazdeism, which struggled on towards unity. The Lord slowly brought everything under his unquestioned supremacy, and the other gods became not only his subjects, but his creatures. This movement was completed as early as the fourth century B.C. Nowhere can it be more clearly traced than in the Amesha Spentas and Mithra.

§ 7. The Indo-Iranian Asura was often conceived as sevenfold: by the play of certain mythical formulae and the strength of certain mythical numbers, the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians had been led to speak of seven worlds, and the supreme god was often made sevenfold, as well as the worlds over which he ruled⁴. The names and the several

¹ Bundahis I, 7; Yaşna LVIII, 8 (I.VII, 22).

² Herod. I, 131.

³ Cf. 'The Supreme God,' l. l. p. 287.

⁴ The seven worlds became in Persia the seven Karshvare of the earth: the earth is divided into seven Karshvare, only one of which is known and

attributes of the seven gods had not been as yet defined, nor could they be then; after the separation of the two religions, these gods, named Âditya, 'the infinite ones,' in India, were by and by identified there with the sun, and their number was afterwards raised to twelve, to correspond to the twelve successive aspects of the sun. In Persia, the seven gods are known as Amesha Spentas, 'the undying and well-doing ones;' they by and by, according to the new spirit that breathed in the religion, received the names of the deified abstractions¹, Vohu-manô (good thought), Asha Vahista (excellent holiness), Khshathra vairya (perfect sovereignty), Spenta Ârmaiti (divine piety), Haurvatât and Ameretât (health and immortality). The first of them all was and remained Ahura Mazda; but whereas formerly he had been only the first of them, he was now their father. 'I invoke the glory of the Amesha Spentas, who all seven have one and the same thinking, one and the same speaking, one and the same doing, one and the same father and lord, Ahura Mazda².'

§ 8. In the Indo-Iranian religion, the Asura of Heaven was often invoked in company with Mitra³, the god of the heavenly light, and he let him share with himself the universal sovereignty. In the Veda, they are invoked as a pair (Mitrâ-Varuṇâ), which enjoys the same power and rights as Varuṇa alone, as there is nothing more in Mitrâ-Varuṇâ than in Varuṇa alone, Mitra being the light of Heaven, that is, the light of Varuṇa. But Ahura Mazda could no longer bear an equal, and Mithra became one of his

accessible to man, the one on which we live, namely, *Hvaniratha*; which amounts to saying that there are seven earths. Parsi mythology knows also of seven heavens. *Hvaniratha* itself was divided into seven climes (Orm. Ahr. § 72). An enumeration of the seven Karshvare is to be found in Farg. XIX, 39.

¹ Most of which were already either divine or holy in the Indo-Iranian period: health and immortality are invoked in the Vedas as in the Avesta (see J. Darmesteter, *Haurvatât et Ameretât*, §§ 49 seq.); Asha Vahista is revered in the Vedas as *Rîta* (vide infra, § 30); Spenta Ârmaiti is the Vedic goddess Aramati (§ 30); Khshathra vairya is the same as the Brahmanical *Kshatra*; Vohu-manô is a personification of the Vedic *sumati* (Orm. Ahr. §§ 196-201).

² Yast XIX, 16.

³ Mitra means literally 'a friend;' it is the light as friendly to man (Orm. Ahr. §§ 59-61).

creatures : 'This Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, I have created as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of glorification, as I, Ahura Mazda, am myself'. But old formulæ, no longer understood, in which Mithra and Ahura, or, rather, Mithra-Ahura, are invoked in an indivisible unity, dimly remind one that the Creator was formerly a brother to his creature.

§ 9. Thus came a time when Ahura was not only the maker of the world, the creator of the earth, water, trees, mountains, roads, wind, sleep, and light, was not only he who gives to man life, shape, and food, but was also the father of Tistrya, the rain-bestowing god, of Verethraghna, the fiend-smiting god, and of Haoma, the tree of eternal life, the father of the six Amesha Spentas, the father of all gods².

Yet, with all his might, he still needs the help of some god, of such as free the oppressed heavens from the grasp of the fiend. When storm rages in the atmosphere he offers up a sacrifice to Vayu, the bright storm god, who moves in the wind, he entreats him : 'Grant me the favour, thou Vayu whose action is most high³, that I may smite the world of Angra Mainyu, and that he may not smite mine ! Vayu, whose action is most high, granted the asked-for favour to the creator Ahura Mazda⁴.' And when Zoroaster is born, Ahura entreats Ardvî Sûra Anâhita that the new-born hero may stand by him in the fight⁵ (see § 40).

¹ He preserved, however, a high situation, both in the concrete and in the abstract mythology. As the god of the heavenly light, the lord of vast luminous space, of the wide pastures above (cf. § 16), he became later the god of the sun (Deo invicto Soli Mithrae; in Persian Mihr is the Sun). As light and truth are one and the same thing, viewed with the eyes of the body and of the mind, he became the god of truth and faith. He punishes the Mithra-drug, 'him who lies to Mithra' (or 'who lies to the contract,' since Mithra as a neuter noun means 'friendship, agreement, contract'); he is a judge in hell, in company with Rashnu, 'the true one,' the god of truth, a mere offshoot of Mithra in his moral character (Farg. IV, 54).

² Cf. Plut. de Iside, XLVII.

³ Or, who workest in the heights above.

⁴ Yt. XV, 3.

⁵ In the same way his Greek counterpart, Zeus, the god of heaven, the lord and father both of gods and men, when besieged by the Titans, calls Thetis, Prometheus, and the Hecatonchirs to help him.

§ 10. Whereas in India the fiends were daily driven farther and farther into the background, and by the prevalence of the metaphysical spirit gods and fiends came to be nothing more than changing and fleeting creatures of the everlasting, indifferent Being, Persia took her demons in real earnest; she feared them, she hated them, and the vague and unconscious dualism that lay at the bottom of the Indo-Iranian religion has its unsteady outlines sharply defined, and became the very form and frame of Mazdeism. The conflict was no more seen and heard in the passing storm only, but it raged through all the avenues of space and time. The Evil became a power of itself, engaged in an open and never-ceasing warfare with the Good. The Good was centred in the supreme god, in Ahura Mazda, the bright god of Heaven, the all-knowing Lord, the Maker, who, as the author of every good thing, was 'the good Spirit,' *Spenta Mainyu*. In front of him and opposed to him slowly rose the evil Spirit, *Angra Mainyu*.

We will briefly explain what became, in Mazdeism, of the several elements of the Indo-Iranian dualism, and then we will show how the whole system took a regular form.

§ 11. The war in nature was waged in the storm. The Vedas describe it as a battle fought by a god, Indra, armed with the lightning and thunder, against a serpent, Ahi, who has carried off the dawns or the rivers, described as goddesses or as milch cows, and who keeps them captive in the folds of the cloud.

This myth appears in a still simpler form in the Avesta: it is a fight for the possession of the light of *hvarəno* between *Ātar* and *Azi Dahāka*¹.

Ātar means 'fire'; he is both a thing and a person. He is sometimes described as the weapon of Ahura², but usually as his son³, as the fire that springs from heaven can be conceived either as flung by it, or as born of it⁴.

Azi Dahāka, 'the fiendish snake,' is a three-headed

¹ Yt. XIX, 47-52.

² Yasna LI (L), 9.

³ Farg. III, 15; V, 10; XV, 26, &c.

⁴ Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Revue Critique*, 1877, No. 52.

dragon, who strives to seize and put out the *hvarenô*: he takes hold of it, but Âtar frightens him away and recovers the light.

The scene of the fight is the sea Vouru-kasha, a sea from which all the waters on the earth fall down with the winds and the clouds; in other words, they fight in the sea above¹, in the atmospheric field of battle².

§ 12. The same myth in the Vedas was described as a feat of Traitana or Trita Âptya, 'Trita, the son of waters,' who killed the three-headed, six-eyed fiend, and let loose the cows³. 'The son of waters'⁴ is both in the Vedas and in the Avesta a name of the fire-god, as born from the cloud, in the lightning. The same tale is told in the same terms in the Avesta: Thraêtaona Âthwya killed Azi Dahâka (the fiendish snake), the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed, . . . the most dreadful Drug created by Angra Mainyu⁵. The scene of the battle is 'the four-cornered Varena⁶,' which afterwards became a country on the earth, when Thraêtaona himself and Azi became earthly kings, but which was formerly nothing less than 'the four-pointed Varuna⁷,' that is, 'the four-sided Οὐρανός,' the Heavens.

§ 13. The fight for the waters was described in a myth of later growth, a sort of refacimento, the myth of Tistrya and Apaosha. Apaosha⁸ keeps away the rain: Tistrya⁹, worsted at first, then strengthened by a sacrifice which has been offered to him by Mazda, knocks down Apaosha¹⁰ with his club, the fire Vâzista¹¹, and the waters stream freely

¹ The *hvarenô*, Persian *khurrah* and *farr*, is properly the light of sovereignty, the glory from above which makes the king an earthly god. He who possesses it reigns, he who loses it falls down; when Yima lost it he perished and Azi Dahâka reigned; as when light disappears, the fiend rules supreme. Vide *infra*, § 39; and cf. Yt. XIX, 32 seq.

² See Farg. V, 15 seq.

³ Rv. I, 158, 5; X, 99, 6.

⁴ Generally, *apâm napât*.

⁵ Yasna IX, 8 (25).

⁶ *Cathru-gaoshô Varenô*; v. Vendîdâd I, 18.

⁷ *Catur-asrîr Varuṇo*, Rv. I, 152, 2. Cf. Orm. Ahr. § 65.

⁸ 'The extinguisher' (?).

⁹ Cf. § 36.

¹⁰ Called also *Spengaghra* (Farg. XIX, 40).

¹¹ It is the groaning of the fiend under the stroke of that club that is heard in thunder (*Bundahis* 17, 11; cf. Farg. XIX, 40).

down the seven Karshvare, led by the winds, by the son of the waters, and by the light that dwells in the waters¹.

§ 14. The god that conquers light is chiefly praised in the Vedas under the name of Indra Vṛtrahan, 'Indra the fiend-smiter.' His Iranian brother is named Verethraghna, which became by and by the genius of Victory (Bahrâm). Yet although he assumed a more abstract character than Indra, he retained the mythical features of the storm god², and his original nature was so little forgotten that he was worshipped on earth as a fire, the Bahrâm fire, which was believed to be an emanation from the fire above³, and the most powerful protector of the land against foes and fiends.

§ 15. In the Indo-Iranian mythology, Vâyu was the word for both the atmosphere and the bright god who fights and conquers in it.

As a god, Vâyu became in Mazdeism Vayu, 'a god conqueror of light, a smiter of the fiends, all made of light, who moves in a golden car, with sonorous rings⁴.' Ahura Mazda invokes him for help against Angra Mainyu⁵.

§ 16. Another name of Vayu is Râma hvâstra: this word meant originally 'the god of the resting-place with good pastures,' the clouds in the atmosphere being often viewed as a herd of cows⁶, and the Indian Vâyu as a good shepherd⁷. Hence came the connection of Râma hvâstra with Mithra, 'the lord of the wide pastures⁸.' In later times, chiefly owing to a mistake in language (hvâstra being thought to be related to the root hvarez, 'to taste'), Râma hvâstra became the god who gives a good flavour to aliments⁹.

§ 17. Considered as a thing, as the atmosphere, Vayu is the place where the god and the fiend meet: there is therefore a part of it which belongs to the good and another part which belongs to the evil¹⁰. Hence came the later notion that between Ormazd and Ahriman there is a void space, Vâi, in which their meeting takes place¹¹.

¹ Yt. VIII.

² Yt. XIV.

³ Cf. V, 8.

⁴ Yt. XV.

⁵ Cf. above, p. lxi.

⁶ See above, § 11.

⁷ Cf. Atharva-veda II, 26, 1; Rv. I, 134, 4.

⁸ Farg. III, 2; Yasna I, 3 (9).

⁹ Neriosengh ad Yasna, I. I.

¹⁰ Yt. XV, 5.

¹¹ Bundahis I, 15.

Hence came also the distinction of two Vai¹, the good one and the bad one, which, probably by the natural connection of Vayu, the atmosphere, with the heavens² whose movement is Destiny³, became at last the good Fate and the bad Fate, or Destiny bringing good and evil, life and death⁴.

§ 18. Azi is not always vanquished; he may also conquer; and it is just because the serpent has seized upon the sky and darkened the light, that the battle breaks out. Azi has carried off the sovereign light, the *hvarəno*, from Yima Khshaeta, 'the shining Yima'⁵.

In the course of time Thraetaona, Yima, and Azi Dahâka became historical: it was told how King Jemshîd (Yima Khshâeta) had been overthrown and killed by the usurper Zohâk (Dahâka), a man with two snakes' heads upon his shoulders, and how Zohâk himself had been overthrown by a prince of the royal blood, Ferîdûn (Thraetaona). Yet Zohâk, though vanquished, could not be killed; he was bound to Mount Damâvand, there to lie in bonds till the end of the world, when he shall be let loose, and then killed by Keresâspa⁶. The fiend is as long-lived as the world, since as often as he is vanquished he appears again, as dark and fearful as ever⁷.

§ 19. While the serpent passed thus from mythology into legend, he still continued under another name, or, more correctly, under another form of his name, âzi, a word which the Parsis converted into a pallid and lifeless abstraction by identifying it with a similar word from the same root, meaning 'want.' But that he was the very same being as Azi, the snake, appears from his adversaries: like Azi, he fights against Âtar, the fire, and strives to extinguish it⁸, and together with the Pairikas, he wants to carry off the rain-floods, like the Indian Ahi⁹.

§ 20. Mazdeism, as might be expected from its main

¹ Mainyô i-Khard II, 115; cf. Farg. V, 8, n. 3.

² Cf. Farg. XIX, 16.

³ Orm. Ahr. § 257.

⁴ Farg. V, 8-9, text and notes.

⁵ See above. p. lxiii, n. 1, and Yast XIX.

⁶ Cf. § 39.

⁷ Cf. Roth, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft II, 216.

⁸ Farg. XVIII, 19 seq.

⁹ Yasna LXVIII, 7 (LXVII, 18).

principle, is very rich in demōns. There are whole classes of them which belong to the Indo-Iranian mythology.

The Vedic Yātus are found unaltered in the Avesta. The Yātu in the Vedas is the demon taking any form he pleases, the fiend as a wizard: so he is in the Avesta also, where the name is likewise extended to the Yātu-man, the sorcerer.

§ 21. With the Yātus are often associated the Pairikas (the Paris)¹.

The Pairika corresponds in her origin (and perhaps as to her name) to the Indian Apsaras².

The light for which the storm god struggled was often compared, as is well known, to a fair maid or bride carried off by the fiend. There was a class of myths, in which, instead of being carried off, she was supposed to have given herself up, of her own free will, to the demon, and to have betrayed the god, her lover. In another form of myth, still more distant from the naturalistic origin, the Pairikas were 'nymphs of a fair, but erring line,' who seduced the heroes to lead them to their ruin. Afterwards the Pari became at length the seduction of idolatry³.

In their oldest Avesta form they are still demoniac nymphs, who rob the gods and men of the heavenly waters: they hover between heaven and earth, in the midst of the sea Vouru-kasha, to keep off the rain-floods, and they work together with Âzi and Apaosha⁴.

Then we see the Pairika, under the name of Knāthaiti, cleave to Keresâspa⁵. Keresâspa, like Thraêtaona, is a great smiter of demons, who killed the snake Srvara, a twin-brother of Asi Dahâka⁶. It was related in later tales that he was born immortal, but that having despised the holy religion he was killed, during his sleep, by a Turk, Niyâz⁷, which, being translated into old myth, would mean that he

¹ Farg. VIII, 80.

² Orm. Ahr. § 142.

³ Ibid. p. 176, n. 6. Then pairikām, the accusative of pairika, was interpreted as a Pahlavi compound, pari-kām, 'love of the Paris' (Comm. ad Farg. XIX. 5).

⁴ Yast VIII, 8, 39, 47-56; Yasna XVI, 8 (XVII, 46).

⁵ Farg. I, 10.

⁶ Yasna IX, 11 (34); Yast XIX, 40.

⁷ Bundahis 69, 13. On Niyâz, see Orm. Ahr. p. 216, n. 9.

gave himself up to the Pairika Khnāthaiti, who delivered him asleep to the fiend. Yet he must rise from his sleep, at the end of time, to kill Azi, and Khnāthaiti will be killed at the same time by Saoshyant¹, the son of Zarathustra, which shows her to be a genuine sister of Azi.

§ 22. Then come the host of storm fiends, the Drvants, the Dvarants, the Dregvants, all names meaning 'the running ones,' and referring to the headlong course of the fiends in storm, 'the onsets of the wounding crew.'

One of the foremost amongst the Drvants, their leader in their onsets, is Aêshma, 'the raving,' 'a fiend with the wounding spear.' Originally a mere epithet of the storm fiend, Aêshma was afterwards converted into an abstract, the demon of rage and anger, and became an expression for all moral wickedness, a mere name of Ahriman.

§ 23. A class of demons particularly interesting are the Varcnya daêvas². The phrase, an old one belonging to the Indo-European mythology, meant originally 'the gods in heaven,' οὐράνιοι θεοί; when the daêvas were converted into demons (see § 41), they became 'the fiends in the heavens,' the fiends who assail the sky; and later on, as the meaning of the word Varcna was lost, 'the fiends of the Varcna land;' and finally, nowadays, as their relation to Varcna is lost to sight, they are turned by popular etymology, now into demons of lust, and now into demons of doubt³.

§ 24. To the Pairika is closely related Bûshyâsta the yellow, the long-handed⁴. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer⁵. But as at the same time she is said to have fallen upon Keresâspa⁶, one sees that she belonged before to a more concrete sort of mythology, and was a sister to Khnāthaiti and to the Pairikas.

§ 25. A member of the same family is Gahi, who was

¹ Farg. XIX, 5.

² Farg. X, 14. The Mâzainya daêva (see Farg. X, 16 n.) are often invoked with them (Yast V, 22; XIII, 37; XX, 8).

³ Aspendiârji.

⁴ Farg. XI, 9.

⁵ Farg. XVIII, 16 seq.

⁶ Bundahis 69, 15.

originally the god's bride giving herself up to the demon, and became then, by the progress of abstraction, the demon of unlawful love and unchastity¹. The courtesan is her incarnation, as the sorcerer is that of the Yâtu.

§ 26. Death gave rise to several personations.

Sauru, which in our texts is only the proper name of a demon², was probably identical in meaning, as he is in name, with the Vedic Śaru, 'the arrow,' a personification of the arrow of death as a godlike being³.

The same idea seems to be conveyed by Ishus hvâ-thakhtô, 'the self-moving arrow⁴,' a designation to be accounted for by the fact that Śaru, in India, before becoming the arrow of death, was the arrow of lightning with which the god killed his foe.

A more abstract personification is Ithyêgô marshaonem⁵, 'the unseen death,' death which creeps unawares.

Astô vîdôtus, 'the bone-divider⁶,' who, like the Yama of the Sanskrit epic, holds a noose around the neck of all living creatures⁷.

§ 27. In the conflict between gods and fiends man is active : he takes a part in it through the sacrifice.

The sacrifice is more than an act of worship, it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need drink and food to be strong ; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer⁸. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fly helpless before their foes. Tistrya, worsted by Apaosha, cries to Ahura : 'O Ahura Mazda ! men do not worship me with sacrifice and praise : should they worship me with sacrifice and praise, they would bring me the strength of ten horses, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten rivers.' Ahura offers him a sacrifice, he brings him thereby the

¹ Orm. Ahr. § 145. Cf. Farg. XXI, 1.

² Vide infra, § 41 ; Farg. X, 9 ; Bundahis 5, 19.

³ Orm. Ahr. § 212.

⁴ Farg. IV, 49.

⁵ Farg. XIX, 1.

⁶ Farg. IV, 49. His mythical description might probably be completed by the Rabbinical and Arabian tales about the Breaking of the Sepulchre and the angels Monkir and Nakir (Sale, the Coran, Introd. p. 60, and Bargès, Journal Asiatique, 1843).

⁷ See Farg. XIX, 29, n. 2. Closely related to Astô-vîdôtu is Vîzaresha (ibid.) ; on Bûiti, see Farg. XIX, 1, n. 3.

⁸ See Orm. Ahr. §§ 87-88.

strength of ten horses, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten rivers, Tistrya runs back to the battle-field and Apaosha flies before him¹.

§ 28. The sacrifice is composed of two elements, offerings and spells.

The offerings are libations of holy water (zaothra)², holy meat (myazda)³, and Haoma. The last offering is the most sacred and powerful of all.

Haoma, the Indian Soma, is an intoxicating plant, the juice of which is drunk by the faithful for their own benefit and for the benefit of their gods. It comprises in it the powers of life of all the vegetable kingdom.

There are two Haomas: one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants⁴; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha, surrounded by the ten thousand healing plants⁵. It is by the drinking of Gaokerena that men, on the day of the resurrection, will become immortal⁶.

§ 29. Spell or prayer is not less powerful than the offerings. In the beginning of the world, it was by reciting the Honover (Ahuna Vairya) that Ormazd confounded Ahri-man⁷. Man, too, sends his prayer between the earth and the heavens, there to smite the fiends, the *Ka/wardhas* and the *Ka/wardhis*, the *Kayadhas* and the *Kayadhis*, the *Zaudas* and the *Yâtus*⁸.

§ 30. A number of divinities sprang from the hearth of the altar, most of which were already in existence during the Indo-Iranian period.

Piety, which every day brings offerings and prayers to the fire of the altar, was worshipped in the Vedas as *Aramati*, the goddess who every day, morning and evening,

¹ Yt. VIII, 23 seq.

² Prepared with certain rites and prayers; it is the Vedic *hotrâ*.

³ A piece of meat placed on the *draona* (Farg. V, 25, n. 3).

⁴ *Bundahis* 58, 10.

⁵ Farg. XX, 4.

⁶ *Bundahis* 42, 12; 59, 4.

⁷ *Bundahis*. Cf. Farg. XIX, 9, 43; *Yasna* XIX.

⁸ *Yasna* LXI (LX).

streaming with the sacred butter, goes and gives up herself to Agni¹. She was praised in the Avesta in a more sober manner as the abstract genius of piety; yet a few practices preserved evident traces of old myths on her union with Âtar, the fire-god².

Agni, as a messenger between gods and men, was known to the Vedas as *Narâ-sansa*; hence came the Avesta messenger of Ahura, *Nairyô-sangha*³.

The riches that go up from earth to heaven in the offerings of man and come down from heaven to earth in the gifts of the gods were deified as *Râta*⁴, the gift, *Ashi*, the felicity⁵, and more vividly in *Pâreuzdi*⁶, the keeper of treasures, who comes on a sounding chariot, a sister to the Vedic *Puramdhi*.

The order of the world, the Vedic *Rîta*, the Zend *Asha*, was deified as *Asha Vahista*, 'the excellent *Asha*'⁷.

§ 31. *Sraosha* is the 'priest god'⁸: he first tied the *Baresma* into bundles, and offered up sacrifice to Ahura; he first sang the holy hymns: his weapons are the *Ahuna-Vairya* and the *Yasna*, and thrice in each day, in each night, he descends upon this *Karshvare* to smite *Angra Mainyu* and his crew of demons. It is he who, with his club uplifted, protects the living world from the terrors of the night, when the fiends rush upon the earth; it is he who protects the dead from the terrors of death, from the assaults of *Angra Mainyu* and *Vîdôtus*⁹. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ormazd, as a *Zôti*, and *Sraosha*, as a *Raspî*¹⁰, that at the end of time *Ahriman* will be for ever vanquished and brought to nought¹¹.

§ 32. Thus far, the single elements of Mazdeism do not essentially differ from those of the Vedic and Indo-European mythologies generally. Yet Mazdeism, as a whole, took an aspect of its own by grouping these elements in a new order, since by referring everything either

¹ Orm. Ahr. § 205.

³ Farg. XXII, 7.

⁵ *Neriosengh*.

⁷ *Parsi Ardibehcet*.

⁹ Farg. VII, 52, n. 4; XIX, 46, n. 8.

¹⁰ Cf. Farg. V, 57, n.

² Farg. XVIII, 51 seq.

⁴ Farg. XIX, 19.

⁶ Orm. Ahr. § 200.

⁸ *Yasna* LVI.

¹¹ *Bundahis* 76, 11.

to Ahura Mazda or Angra Mainyu as its source, it came to divide the world into two symmetrical halves, in both of which a strong unity prevailed. The change was summed up in the rising of Angra Mainyu, a being of mixed nature, who was produced by abstract speculation from the old Indo-European storm fiend, and who borrowed his form from the supreme god himself. On the one hand, as the world battle is only an enlarged form of the mythical storm fight, Angra Mainyu, the fiend of fiends and the leader of the evil powers, is partly an abstract embodiment of their energies and feats; on the other hand, as the antagonist of Ahura, he is modelled after him, and is partly, as it were, a negative projection of Ahura¹.

Ahura is all light, truth, goodness, and knowledge; Angra Mainyu is all darkness, falsehood, wickedness, and ignorance².

Ahura dwells in the infinite light; Angra Mainyu dwells in the infinite night.

Whatever the good Spirit makes, the evil Spirit mars. When the world was created, Angra Mainyu broke into it³, opposed every creation of Ahura's with a plague of his own⁴, killed the first-born bull that had been the first offspring and source of life on earth⁵, he mixed poison with plants, smoke with fire, sin with man, and death with life.

§ 33. Under Ahura were ranged the six Amesha Spentas. They were at first mere personifications of virtues and moral or liturgical powers⁶; but as their lord and father ruled over the whole of the world, they took by and by each a part of the world under their care. The choice was not altogether artificial, but partly natural and spontaneous. The empire of waters and trees was vested in Haurvatât and Ameretât, health and immortality, through the influence of old Indo-Iranian formulae, in which waters and trees were invoked as the springs of health and life. More complex trains of ideas and partly the influence of analogy fixed the

¹ Orm. Ahr. § 85.

³ Yast XIII, 77.

⁶ Cf. Farg. XXI, 1.

² Bundahis I; cf. Yasna XXX.

⁴ Cf. Farg. I.

⁵ See above, p. lx.

field of action of the others. Khshathra Vairya, the perfect sovereignty, had molten brass for its emblem, as the god in the storm established his empire by means of that 'molten brass,' the fire of lightning; he thus became the king of metals in general. Asha Vahista, the holy order of the world, as maintained chiefly by the sacrificial fire, became the genius of fire. Ârmaiti seems to have become a goddess of the earth as early as the Indo-Iranian period, and Vohu-manô had the living creation left to his superintendence¹.

§ 34. The Amesha Spentas projected, as it were, out of themselves, as many Daêvas or demons, who, either in their being or functions, were, most of them, hardly more than dim inverted images of the very gods they were to oppose, and whom they followed through all their successive evolutions. Haurvatât and Ameretât, health and life, were opposed by Tauru and Zairi, sickness and decay, who changed into rulers of thirst and hunger when Haurvatât and Ameretât had become the Amshaspands of waters and trees.

Vohu-manô, or good thought, was reflected in Akô-manô, evil thought. Sauru, the arrow of death², Indra, a name or epithet of fire as destructive³, Nâunhaithya, an old Indo-Iranian divinity whose meaning was forgotten in Iran and misinterpreted by popular etymology⁴, were opposed, respectively, to Khshathra Vairya, Asha Vahista, and Spenta Ârmaiti, and became the demons of tyranny, corruption, and impiety.

Then came the symmetrical armies of the numberless gods and fiends, Yazatas and Drvants.

§ 35. Everything in the world was engaged in the conflict. Whatever works, or is fancied to work, for the good of man or for his harm, for the wider spread of life or against it, comes from, and strives for, either Ahura or Angra Mainyu.

Animals are enlisted under the standards of either the one spirit or the other⁵. In the eyes of the Parsis, they

¹ Orm. Ahr. §§ 202-206.

² See above, p. lxviii.

³ See § 41.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ A strict discipline prevails among them. Every class of animals has a chief or ratu above it (Bund. XXIV). The same organisation extends to all the beings

belong either to Ormazd or Ahriman according as they are useful or hurtful to man; but, in fact, they belonged originally to either the one or the other, according as they had been incarnations of the god or of the fiend, that is, as they chanced to have lent their forms to either in the storm tales¹. In a few cases, of course, the habits of the animal had not been without influence upon its mythic destiny: but the determinative cause was different. The fiend was not described as a serpent because the serpent is a subtle and crafty reptile, but because the storm fiend envelops the goddess of light, or the milch cows of the raining heavens, with the coils of the cloud as with a snake's folds. It was not animal psychology that disguised gods and fiends as dogs, otters, hedge-hogs, and cocks, or as snakes, tortoises, frogs, and ants, but the accidents of physical qualities and the caprice of popular fancy, as both the god and the fiend might be compared with, and transformed into, any object, the idea of which was suggested by the uproar of the storm, the blazing of the lightning, the streaming of the water, or the hue and shape of the clouds.

Killing the Ahrimanian creatures, the *Khrasstras*², is killing Ahriman himself, and sin may be atoned for by this means³. Killing an Ormazdean animal is an abomination, it is killing God himself. Persia was on the brink of zoolatry, and escaped it only by misunderstanding the principle she followed⁴.

in nature: stars, men, gods have their respective *ratus*, *Tistrya*, *Zoroaster*, *Ahura*.

¹ *Orm. Ahr.* §§ 227-231.

² *Farg.* III, 10; XIV, 5 seq., 8, n. 8; XVIII, 70, &c.

³ There is scarcely any religious custom that can be followed through so continuous a series of historical evidence: fifth century B.C., *Herodotus* I, 140; first century A.D., *Plutarch*, *De Isid.* XLVI; *Quæst. Conviv.* IV, 5, 2; sixth century, *Agathias* II, 24; seventeenth century, *G. du Châlon*.

⁴ Thus arose a classification which was often at variance with its supposed principle. As the god who rushes in the lightning was said to move on a raven's wings, with a hawk's flight, birds of prey belonged to the realm of Ormazd. The Parsi theologians were puzzled at this fact, but their ingenuity proved equal to the emergency: Ormazd, while creating the hunting hawk, said to him: 'O thou hunting hawk! I have created thee; but I ought rather to be sorry than glad of it: for thou doest the will of Ahriman much more than mine: like a wicked man who never has money enough, thou art never satisfied with killing birds.'

§ 36. The fulgurating conqueror of Apaosha, Tistrya, was described in mythic tales sometimes as a boar with golden horns, sometimes as a horse with yellow ears, sometimes as a beautiful youth. But as he had been compared to a shining star on account of the gleaming of lightning, the stars joined in the fray, where they stood with Tistrya on Ahura's side; and partly for the sake of symmetry, partly owing to Chaldaean influences, the planets passed into the army of Ahriman.

§ 37. Man, according to his deeds, belongs to Ormazd or to Ahriman. He belongs to Ormazd, he is a man of Asha, a holy one, if he offers sacrifice to Ormazd and the gods, if he helps them by good thoughts, words, and deeds, if he enlarges the world of Ormazd by spreading life over the world, and if he makes the realm of Ahriman narrower by destroying his creatures. A man of Asha is the Athravan (priest) who drives away fiends and diseases by spells, the Ratlaêsta (warrior) who with his club crushes the head of the impious, the Vâstryô (husbandman) who makes good and plentiful harvests grow up out of the earth. He who does the contrary is a Drvant, 'demon,' an Anashavan, 'foe of Asha,' an Ashemaogha, 'confounder of Asha.'

The man of Asha who has lived for Ahura Mazda will have a seat near him in heaven, in the same way as in India the man of *Rîta*, the faithful one, goes to the palace of Varuza, there to live with the forefathers, the *Pitrîs*, a life of everlasting happiness¹. Thence he will go out, at the end of time, when the dead shall rise, and live a new and all-happy life on the earth freed from evil and death.

But hadst thou not been made by me, Ahriman, bloody Ahriman, would have made thee with the size of a man, and there would no more be any small creature left alive' (Bundahis XIV). Inversely Ahriman created a lovely bird, the peacock, to show that he did not do evil from any incapacity of doing well, but through wilful wickedness (Eznik); Satan is still nowadays invoked by the Yezidis as Melck Taus ('angel peacock').

¹ From the worship of the *Pitrîs* was developed in Iran the worship of the Fravashis, who being at first identical with the *Pitrîs*, with the souls of the departed, became by and by a distinct principle. The Fravashi was independent of the circumstances of life or death, an immortal part of the individual which existed before man and outlived him. Not only man was endowed with a Fravashi, but gods too, and the sky, fire, waters, and plants (Orm. Ahr. §§ 112-113).

§ 38. This brings us to speak of a series of myths which have done much towards obscuring the close connection between the Avesta and the Vedic mythologies: I mean the myths about the heavenly life of Yima.

In the Veda Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the first man and, therefore, the first of the dead, the king of the dead. As such he is the centre of gathering for the departed, and he presides over them in heaven, in the Yamasâdanam, as king of men, near Varuṇa the king of gods.

His Avesta twin-brother, Yima, the son of Vivanghat, is no longer the first man, as this character had been transferred to another hero, of later growth, Gayô Maratan; yet he has kept nearly all the attributes which were derived from his former character: on the one hand he is the first king, and the founder of civilisation; on the other hand, 'the best mortals' gather around him in a marvellous palace, in Airyanem Vaêgô, which appears to be identical with the Yamasâdanam from Yama meeting there with Ahura and the gods, and making his people live there a blessed life¹. But, by and by, as it was forgotten that Yima was the first man and the first of the dead, it was also forgotten that his people were nothing else than the dead going to their common ancestor above and to the king of heaven: the people in the Vara were no longer recognised as the human race, but became a race of a supernatural character, different from those who continued going, day by day, from earth to heaven to join Ahura Mazda².

§ 39. But the life of the world is limited, the struggle is not to last for ever, and Ahriman will be defeated at last.

The world was imagined as lasting a long year of twelve millenniums. There had been an old myth, connected with that notion, which made the world end in a frightful winter³, to be succeeded by an eternal spring, when the blessed would come down from the Vara of Yima to repopulate the earth. But as storm was the ordinary and more dramatic form of the strife, there was another version, according to

¹ See Farg. II.

² Farg. XIX, 28 seq.

³ Cf. Farg. II, Introd. and § 21 seq.

which the world ended in a storm, and this version became the definitive one.

The serpent, Azi Dahâka, let loose, takes hold of the world again. As the temporary disappearance of the light was often mythically described either as the sleeping of the god, or as his absence, or death, its reappearance was indicative of the awakening of the hero, or his return, or the arrival of a son born to him. Hence came the tales about Keresâspa awakening from his sleep to kill the snake finally¹; the tales about Peshôtanu, Aghraêratha, Khumbya, and others living in remote countries till the day of the last fight is come²; and, lastly, the tales about Saoshyant, the son who is to be born to Zarathustra at the end of time, and to bring eternal light and life to mankind, as his father brought them the law and the truth. This brings us to the question whether any historical reality underlies the legend of Zarathustra or Zoroaster.

§ 40. Mazdeism has often been called Zoroaster's religion in the same sense as Islam is called Muhammed's religion, that is, as being the work of a man named Zoroaster, a view which was favoured, not only by the Parsi and Greek accounts, but by the strong unity and symmetry of the whole system. Moreover, as the moral and abstract spirit which pervades Mazdeism is different from the Vedic spirit, and as the word *deva*, which means a god in Sanskrit, means a demon in the Avesta, it was thought that Zoroaster's work had been a work of reaction against Indian polytheism, in fact, a religious schism. When he lived no one knows, and every one agrees that all that the Parsis and the Greeks tell of him is mere legend, through which no solid historical facts can be arrived at. The question is whether Zoroaster was a man converted into a god, or a god converted into a man. No one who reads, with a mind free from the yoke of classical recollections, I do not say the Book of Zoroaster (which may be charged with being a modern romance of recent invention), but the Avesta itself, will have any doubt that Zoroaster is no less an essential

¹ See above, p. lxxv.

² Bundahis XXX.

part of the Mazdean mythology than the son expected to be born to him, at the end of time, to destroy Ahriman¹.

Zoroaster is not described as one who brings new truth and drives away error, but as one who overthrows the demons: he is a smiter of fiends, like Verethraghna, Apâm Napât, Tistrya, Vayu, or Keresâspa, and he is stronger and more valiant than Keresâspa himself²; the difference between him and them is that, whereas they smite the fiend with material weapons, he smites them chiefly with a spiritual one, the word or prayer. We say 'chiefly' because the holy word is not his only weapon; he repels the assaults of Ahriman with stones as big as a house which Ahura has given to him³, and which were furnished, no doubt, from the same quarry as the stones which are cast at their enemies by Indra, by Agni, by the Maruts, or by Thor, and which are 'the flame, wherewith, as with a stone⁴,' the storm god aims at the fiend. Therefore his birth⁵, like the birth of every storm god, is longed for and hailed with joy as the signal of its deliverance by the whole living creation, because it is the end of the dark and arid reign of the demon: 'In his birth, in his growth did the floods and trees rejoice; in his birth, in his growth the floods and trees did grow up; in his birth, in his growth the floods and trees exclaimed with joy⁶.' Ahura himself longs for him and fears lest the hero about to be born may not stand by him: 'He offered up a sacrifice to Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, he, the Maker, Ahura Mazda; he offered up the Haoma, the Myazda, the Baresma, the holy words, he besought her, saying: Vouchsafe me that boon, O high, mighty, undefiled goddess, that I may bring about the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zara-

¹ The same view as to the mythological character of Zoroaster was maintained, although with different arguments, by Professor Kern in an essay 'Over het woord Zarathustra,' as I see from a short abstract of it which Professor Max Müller kindly wrote for me.

² Yast XIX, 38.

³ Farg. XIX, 4.

⁴ Rig-veda II, 30, 4.

⁵ A singular trait of his birth, according to Pliny, who is on this point in perfect accordance with later Parsi tradition, is that, alone of mortals, he laughed while being born; this shows that his native place is in the very same regions where the Vedic Maruts are born, those storm genii 'born of the laughter of the lightning' ('I laugh as I pass in thunder' says the Cloud in Shelley; cf. the Persian Khandah i barq, 'the laughter of the lightning').

⁶ Yast XIII, 93.

thustra, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to work according to the law!'¹ Ardvī Surā Anāhita granted that boon to him who was offering up libations, sacrificing and beseeching¹.

Zarathustra stands by Ahura. The fiends come rushing along from hell to kill him, and fly away terrified by his *hvarēnô*: Angra Mainyu himself is driven away by the stones he hurls at him². But the great weapon of Zarathustra is neither the thunder-stones he hurls, nor the glory with which he is surrounded, it is the Word².

In the voice of the thunder the Greeks recognised the warning of a god which the wise understand, and they worshipped it as Ὅσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος, 'the Word, messenger of Zeus;' the Romans worshipped it as a goddess, Fama; India adores it as 'the Voice in the cloud,' Vāk Āmbhrinī, which issues from the waters, from the forehead of the father, and hurls the deadly arrow against the foe of Brahman. So the word from above is either a weapon that kills, or a revelation that teaches: in the mouth of Zarathustra it is both: now 'he smites down Angra Mainyu with the Ahuna vairya (Honover) as he would do with stones as big as a house, and he burns him up with the Ashem vohu as with melted brass³;' now he converses with Ahura, on the mountain of the holy questions, in the forest of the holy questions⁴. Any storm god, whose voice descends from above to the earth, may become a godlike messenger, a lawgiver, a Zarathustra. Nor is Zarathustra the only lawgiver, the only prophet, of whom the Avesta knows: Gayō Maratan, Yima, the bird Karsiptan⁵, each of whom, under different names, forms, and functions, are one and the same being with Zarathustra, that is to say, the godlike champion in the struggle for light, knew the law as well as Zarathustra. But as mythology, like language and life, likes to reduce every organ to one function, Zarathustra became the titular lawgiver⁶.

¹ Yast V, 18.

² Orm. Ahr. § 162 seq.

³ Yast XVII, 18.

⁴ Farg. XXII, 19.

⁵ Farg. II, 3, 42; Yast XIII, 87.

⁶ The law is generally known as Dâtem vîdaēvô-dâtem (cf. V, 1); as emanating from Ahura it is Mathra Spenta, 'the holy word,' which is the soul of Ahura (Farg. XIX, 14).

As he overwhelmed Angra Mainyu during his lifetime by his spell, he is to overwhelm him at the end of time by the hands of a son yet unborn. 'Three times he came near unto his wife Hrôgvî, and three times the seed fell upon the ground. The Ized Neriosengh took what was bright and strong in it and intrusted it to the Ized Anâhita. At the appointed time, it will be united again with a maternal womb: 99,999 Fravashis of the faithful watch over it, lest the fiends destroy it'.¹ A maid bathing in the lake Kâsava will conceive by it and bring forth the victorious Saoshyant (Sôshyôds), who will come from the region of the dawn to free the world from death and decay, from corruption and rottenness, ever living and ever thriving, when the dead shall rise and immortality commence².

All the features in Zarathustra point to a god: that the god may have grown up from a man, that pre-existent mythic elements may have gathered around the name of a man, born on earth, and by and by surrounded the human face with the aureole of a god, may of course be maintained, but only on condition that one may distinctly express what was the real work of Zoroaster. That he raised a new religion against the Vedic religion, and cast down into hell the gods of older days can no longer be maintained, since the gods, the ideas, and the worship of Mazdeism are shown to emanate directly from the old religion, and have nothing more of a reaction against it than Zend has against Sanskrit.

§ 41. The only evidence in favour of the old hypothesis of a religious schism is reduced to the evidence of a few words which might à priori be challenged, as the life of words is not the same as the life of the things they express, the nature of things does not change with the meaning of the syllables which were attached to them for a while, and the history of the world is not a chapter of grammar. And, in fact, the evidence appealed to, when more closely considered, proves to speak against the very theory it is meant

¹ Bund. XXXIII; Eznik. The whole of the myth belongs to the Avesta period, as appears from Yast XIII, 61; Vendîdâd XIX, 5.

² Yast XIX, 89 seq.

to support. The word Asura, which in the Avesta means 'the Lord,' and is the name of the supreme God, means 'a demon' in the Brahmanical literature; but in the older religion of the Vedas it is quite as august as in the Avesta, and is applied to the highest deities, and particularly to Varuṇa, the Indian brother of Ahura. This shows that when the Iranians and Indians sallied forth from their common native land, the Asura continued for a long time to be the Lord in India as well as in Persia; and the change took place, not in Iran, but in India. The descent of the word *daēva* from 'a god' to 'a demon' is a mere accident of language. There were in the Indo-Iranian language three words expressive of divinity: Asura, 'the Lord,' Yagata, 'the one who is worthy of sacrifice,' Daēva, 'the shining one.' Asura became the name of the supreme God, Yagata was the general name of all gods. Now as there were old Indo-Iranian formulae which deprecated the wrath of both men and devas (gods), or invoked the aid of some god against the hate and oppression of both men and devas¹, that word *daēva*, which had become obsolete (because Asura and Yagata met all the wants of religious language), took by and by from formulae of this kind a dark and fiendish meaning. What favoured the change was the want of a technical word for expressing the general notion of a fiend, a want the more felt as the dualistic idea acquired greater strength and distinctness. Etymology was unable to preserve the Daēvas from this degradation, as the root *div*, 'to shine,' was lost in Zend, and thus the primitive meaning being forgotten, the word was ready to take any new meaning which chance or necessity should give to it. But only the word descended into hell, not the beings it denoted; neither Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor the Ādityas, nor Agni, nor Soma, in fact none of the old Aryan deities fell or tottered. Though the word Indra is the name of a fiend in the Avesta, the Vedic god it denotes was as bright and as mighty in Iran as in India under the name of Vere-thraghna: and as we do not know the etymological mean-

¹ Rig-veda VI, 62, 8; VII, 52, 1; VIII, 19, 6; Yast X, 34; Yasna IX (60).

ing of the name, it may have been such epithet as could be applied to a fiend as well as to a god. The same can be said of Nəunghaithya. Moreover, both Indra and Nəunghaithya are in the Avesta mere names: neither the Avesta nor old tradition knows anything about them, which would look very strange, had they been vanquished in a religious struggle, as they should have played the foremost part at the head of the fiends. As to the third comparison established between the Iranian demon Sauru and the Indian god Sarva, it fails utterly, as Sauru is the Vedic Saru, a symbol of death, and both are therefore beings of the same nature.

§ 42. Therefore, so far as the Vedic religion and the Avesta religion are concerned, there is not the abyss of a schism between them. They are quite different, and must be so, since each of them lived its own life, and living is changing; but nowhere is the link broken that binds both to their common source. Nowhere in the Avesta is the effort of any man felt who, standing against the belief of his people, enforces upon them a new creed, by the ascendancy of his genius, and turns the stream of their thoughts from the bed wherein it had flowed for centuries. There was no religious revolution: there was only a long and slow movement which led, by insensible degrees, the vague and unconscious dualism of the Indo-Iranian religion onwards to the sharply defined dualism of the Magi.

It does not follow hence, of course, that there was nothing left to individual genius in the formation of Mazdeism; the contrary is evident *à priori* from the fact that Mazdeism expresses the ideas of a sacerdotal caste. It sprang from the long elaboration of successive generations of priests, and that elaboration is so far from having been the work of one day and of one man that the exact symmetry which is the chief characteristic of Mazdeism is still imperfect in the Avesta on certain most important points. For instance, the opposition of six arch-fiends to the six arch-gods which we find in Plutarch and in the Bundahis was still unknown when the Xth Fargard of the Vendidad and the XIXth Yast were composed, and the stars were not yet members

of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the VIIIth Yast was written.

The reflective spirit that had given rise to Mazdeism never rested, but continued to produce new systems; and there is hardly any religion in which slow growth and continual change is more apparent. When the Magi had accounted for the existence of evil by the existence of two principles, there arose the question how there could be two principles, and a longing for unity was felt, which found its satisfaction in the assumption that both are derived from one and the same principle. This principle was, according to divers sects, either Space, or Infinite Light, or Boundless Time, or Fate¹. Of most of these systems no direct trace is found in the Avesta², yet they existed already in the time of Aristotle³.

They came at last to pure monotheism. Some forty years ago when the Rev. Dr. Wilson was engaged in his controversy with the Parsis, some of his opponents repelled the charge of dualism by denying to Ahriman any real existence, and making him a symbolical personification of bad instincts in man. It was not difficult for the Doctor to show that they were at variance with their sacred books, and critics in Europe occasionally wondered at the progress made by the Parsis in rationalism of the school of Voltaire and Gibbon. Yet there was no European influence at the bottom; and long before the Parsis had heard of Europe and Christianity, commentators, explaining the myth of Tahmurath, who rode for thirty years on Ahriman as a horse, interpreted the feat of the old legendary king as the

¹ All these four principles are only abstract forms of Ormazd himself, at least in his first naturalistic character of the Heaven God. Heaven is Infinite Space, it is Infinite Light, and by its movement it gives rise to Time and to Fate (Orm. Ahr. §§ 244-259). Time is twofold: there is the limited time that measures the duration of the world (see above, § 39) and lasts 12,000 years, which is Zrvan dareghô-kvadâta, 'the Sovereign Time of the long period;' and there is 'the Boundless Time,' Zrvan akarana (Farg. XIX, 9).

² When Vendîdâd XIX, 9 was written, the Zervanitic system seems to have been, if not fully developed, at least already existent.

³ Eudemos (ap. Damascius, ed. Kopp, 384) knows of χρόνος and τόπος as the first principles of the Magi; Boundless Time is already transformed into a legendary hero in Berosus (third century B. C.)

curbing of evil passion and restraining the Ahriman in the heart of man¹. That idealistic interpretation was current as early as the fifteenth century, and is prevalent now with most of the Dasturs². To what extent that alteration may have been influenced by Islamism, can hardly be decided; there are even some faint signs that it began at a time when the old religion was still flourishing; at any rate, no one can think of ascribing to one man, or to one time, that slow change from dualism to monotheism, which is, however, really deeper and wider than the movement which, in pre-historic times, brought the Magi from an imperfect form of dualism to one more perfect.

CHAPTER V.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

§ 1. According to Parsi tradition the Vendîdâd³ is the only Nosk, out of the twenty-one, that was preserved in its entirety⁴. This is a statement to which it is difficult to trust; for, if there is anything that shows how right the Parsis are in admitting that the Avesta is only a collection of fragments, it is just the fragmentary character of the Vendîdâd.

The Vendîdâd has often been described as the book of the laws of the Parsis; it may be more exactly called the code of purification, a description, however, which is itself only so far correct that the laws of purification are the object of the largest part of the book.

¹ Aogemaidê, ed. Geiger, p. 36, § 92; Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. Shea, p. 98. Cf. *Revue Critique*, 1879, II, 163.

² 'The Parsis are now strict monotheists, and whatever may have been the views of former philosophical writings, their one supreme deity is Ahura Mazda. Their views of Angra Mainyu seem to differ in no respect from what is supposed to be the orthodox Christian view of the devil.' Haug's *Essays*, 2nd ed. p. 53. Mandelslo, in the seventeenth century, speaks of Parsiism as a monotheistic religion.

³ The word Vendîdâd is a corruption of Vîdaêvô-dâtem (dâtem), 'the anti-demoniac law.' It is sometimes applied to the whole of the law (Vendîdâd Sâdah).

⁴ See above, p. xxxii.

The first two chapters deal with mythical matter, without any direct connection with the general object of the Vendîdâd, and are remnants of an old epic and cosmogonic literature. The first deals with the creations and counter-creations of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu ; the second speaks of Yima, the founder of civilisation. Although there was no particular reason for placing them in the Vendîdâd, as soon as they were admitted into it they were put at the beginning, because they referred to the first ages of the world. Three chapters of a mythical character, about the origin of medicine, were put at the end of the book, for want of any better place, but might as well have been kept apart¹, as was the so-called Hakhokht Nosk fragment. There is also another mythical Fargard, the nineteenth, which, as it treats of the revelation of the law by Ahura to Zarathustra, would have been more suitably placed at the beginning of the Vendîdâd proper, that is, as the third Fargard.

The other seventeen chapters deal chiefly with religious observances, although mythical fragments, or moral digressions, are met with here and there, which are more or less artificially connected with the text, and which were most probably not written along with the passages which they follow².

§ 2. A rough attempt at regular order appears in these seventeen chapters : nearly all the matter contained in the eight chapters from V to XII deals chiefly with impurity from the dead and the way of dispelling it ; but the subject is again treated, here and there, in other Fargards³, and matter irrelevant to the subject has also found its way into these same eight Fargards⁴. Fargards XIII and XIV are devoted to the dog, but must be completed with a part of the XVth. Fargards XVI, XVII, and most part of XVIII deal with several sorts of uncleanness, and their proper

¹ As an introduction to a code of laws on physicians ; see Farg. VII, 36-44.

² For instance, Farg. V, 15-20 ; III, 24-29 ; 30-32 ; 33 ; IV, 47-49.

³ III, 14-22 ; 36 seq. ; XIX, 11-25.

⁴ The passages on medicine (VII, 36-44), and on the sea Vouru-kasha (V, 15-20).

place should rather have been after the XIIth Fargard. Fargard III is devoted to the earth¹; Fargard IV stands by itself, as it deals with a matter which is treated only there, namely, civil and penal laws².

No better order prevails within these several parts: prescriptions on one and the same subject are scattered about through several Fargards, without any subject being treated at once in a full and exhaustive way; and this occasions needless repetitions³.

The main cause of this disorder was, of course, that the advantage of order is rarely felt by Orientals; but it was further promoted by the very form of exposition adopted by the first composers of the Vendîdâd. The law is revealed by Ahura in a series of answers to questions put to him by Zarathustra⁴; and as these questions are not of a general character, but refer to details, the matter is much broken into fragments, each of which, consisting of a question with its answer, stands by itself, as an independent passage.

We shall treat in the following pages, first of the laws of purification, then of the civil laws, and, lastly, of the penalties both religious and civil.

A.

§ 3. The first object of man is purity, *yaozdau*: 'purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good'⁵.

Purity and impurity have not in the Vendîdâd the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages: they do not refer to an inward state of the

¹ It contains two digressions, the one on funeral laws, the other on husbandry. See Farg. III, Introd.

² It contains one digression on physical weal, which must have belonged originally to Farg. III. See Farg. IV, Introd.

³ V, 27-30 = VII, 6-9; V, 45-54 = VII, 60-69; V, 57-62 = VII, 17-22.

⁴ The outward form of the Vendîdâd has been often compared with that of the Books of Moses. But in reality, in the Bible, there is no conversation between God and the lawgiver: the law comes down unasked, and God gives commands, but gives no answers. In the Vendîdâd, on the contrary, it is the wish of man, not the will of God, that is the first cause of the revelation. Man must ask of Ahura, who knows everything, and is pleased to answer (XVIII, 13 seq.); the law is 'the question to Ahura,' *âhuri frasnô*.

⁵ Farg. V, 21, from Yasna XLVIII (XLVII), 5.

person, but chiefly to a physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of a person or thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of purification is to expel the demon.

The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon.

When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the Drug Nasu or Corpse-Drug falls upon the dead from the regions of hell, and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean, and makes unclean whomsoever he touches¹.

The Drug is expelled from the dead by means of the Sag-dîd, 'the look of the dog:' 'a four-eyed dog' or 'a white one with yellow ears' is brought near the body and is made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so, the Drug flees back to hell².

The Drug is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with ox's urine (gômêz or nîrang) and with water, combined with the Sag-dîd³.

The real import of these ceremonies is shown by the spells which accompany their performance: 'Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Thus, in the death of a man, there is more involved than the death of one man: the power of death, called forth from hell, threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living, ready to seize whatever may fall within his reach, and 'from the dead defiles the living, from the living rushes upon the living.' When a man dies in a house, there is danger for three days lest somebody else should die in that house⁴.

¹ Farg. VII, 1 seq.

² In the shape of a fly. 'The fly that came to the smell of the dead body was thought to be the corpse-spirit that came to take possession of the dead in the name of Ahriman' (Justi, *Persien*, p. 88).

³ Farg. VIII, 35-72; IX, 12-36.

⁴ Saddar 78.

The notion or feeling, out of which these ceremonies grew, was far from unknown to the other Indo-European peoples : what was peculiar to Mazdeism was that it carried it to an extreme, and preserved a clearer sense of it, while elsewhere it grew dimmer and dimmer, and faded away. In fact, when the Greek, going out of a house where a dead man lay, sprinkled himself with water from the ἀρδανίον at the door, it was death that he drove away from himself. The Vedic Indian, too, although his rites were intended chiefly for the benefit of the dead, considered himself in danger and, while burning the corpse, cried aloud : ‘ Away, go away, O Death ! injure not our sons and our men ! ’ (Rig-veda X, 18, 1.)

§ 4. As to the rites by means of which the Drug is expelled, they are the performance of myths. There is nothing in worship but what existed before in mythology. What we call a practice is only an imitation of gods, an ὁμολῶσις θεῶν, as man fancies he can bring about the things he wants, by performing the acts which are supposed to have brought about things of the same kind when practised by the gods.

The Parsis, being at a loss to find four-eyed dogs, interpret the name as meaning a dog with two spots above the eyes¹ : but it is clear that the two-spotted dog’s services are only accepted for want of a four-eyed one, or of a white one with yellow ears, which amounts to saying that there were myths, according to which the death-fiend was driven away by dogs of that description. This reminds one at once of the three-headed Kerberos, watching at the doors of hell, and, still more, of the two brown, four-eyed dogs of Yama, who guard the ways to the realm of death².

The identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama’s dogs appears, moreover, from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the

¹ In practice they are still less particular : ‘ the Sag-dîd may be performed by a shepherd’s dog, by a house dog, by a Vohunazga dog (see Farg. XIII, 19, n.), or by a young dog (a dog four months old), Comm. ad Farg. VII, 2. As birds of prey are as fiend-smiting as the dog (see above, p. lxxiii, n. 4), they are Nasu-smitters like him, and one may appeal to their services, when there is no dog at hand (see Farg. VII, 3, n. 5).

² Rig-veda X, 14, 10 seq.

head of the *Kinvaē* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell¹.

Wherever the corpse passes by, death walks with it; all along the way it has gone, from the house to its last resting-place, a spirit of death is breathing and threatening the living. Therefore, no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura, is allowed to pass by that way until the deadly breath, that blows through it, has been blown away to hell². The four-eyed dog is made to go through the way three times, or six times, or nine times, while the priest helps the look of the dog with his spells, dreaded by the Drug.

§ 5. The use of *gômêz* in cleansing the unclean is also derived from old mythic conceptions³. The storm floods that cleanse the sky of the dark fiends in it were described in a class of myths as the urine of a gigantic animal in the heavens. As the floods from the bull above drive away the fiend from the god, so they do from man here below, they make him 'free from the death-demon' (*frânasu*), and the death-fiend flees away hellwards, pursued by the fiend-smiting spell: 'Perish thou, O Drug . . . , never more to give over to Death the living world of the good spirit!'

§ 6. As uncleanness is nothing else than the contagion of death, it is at its greatest intensity when life is just departing. The *Nasu* at that moment defiles ten persons around the

¹ Gr. Rav. p. 592. Allusions to this myth are found in Farg. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. The Commentary ad Farg. XIII, 17 has: 'There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions.' The birth of the yellow-eared dog is described in the *Ravâet* (l. c.) as follows: 'Ormazd, wishing to keep the body of the first man, Gayômart, from the assaults of Ahriman, who tried to kill him, cried out: "O thou yellow-eared dog, arise!" and directly the dog barked and shook his two ears; and the unclean Satan and the fiends, when they saw the dreadful looks of the yellow-eared dog, and heard his barking, were sore afraid and fled down to hell.'

² Farg. VIII, 14-22.

³ Orm. Ahr. § 124. The use of *gômêz* has been lately found to be known in Basse-Bretagne (Luzel, *Le Nirang des Parsis en Basse-Bretagne*, Mélusine, 493).

corpse¹: when a year is over, the corpse defiles no longer². Thus the notion of uncleanness is quite the reverse of what is thought elsewhere: the corpse, when rotten, is less unclean than the body still all but warm with life; death defiles least when it looks most hideous, and defiles most when it might look majestic. The cause is that in the latter case the death-demon has just arrived in the fulness of his strength, whereas in the former case time has exhausted his power.

§ 7. As the focus of the contagion is in the corpse, it must be disposed of so that death may not spread abroad. On this point the old Indo-European customs have been completely changed by Mazdeism. The Indo-Europeans either burnt the corpse or buried it: both customs are held to be sacrilegious in the Avesta.

§ 8. This view originated from the notion of the holiness of the elements being pushed to an extreme. The elements, fire, earth, and water are holy, and during the Indo-Iranian period they were already considered so, and in the Vedas they are worshipped as godlike beings. Yet this did not prevent the Indian from burning his dead; death did not appear to him so decidedly a work of the demon, and the dead man was a traveller to the other world, whom the fire kindly carried to his heavenly abode 'on his undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith he killed the demons.' The fire was in that, as in the sacrifice, the god that goes from earth to heaven, from man to god, the mediator, the god most friendly to man. In Persia it remains more distant from him; being an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light³, no death, no uncleanness can be allowed to enter it, as it is here below the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation. Its only function is to repel the fiends with its bright blazing. In every place where Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, the Bahrâm fire, which, 'preserved by a more than Vestal

¹ Farg. V, 27; cf. n. 5.

² Farg. VIII, 33-34.

³ *Ignem coelitus delapsum* (Ammian. Marcel. XXVII, 6); Cedrenus; Elisacus; Recogn. Clement. IV, 29; Clem. Homil. IX, 6; Henry Lord.

care¹, and ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing wood, whichever side its flames are brought by the wind, it goes and kills thousands and thousands of fiends, as Bahrâm docs in heaven². If the necessities of life oblige us to employ fire for profane uses, it must be only for a time an exile on our hearth, or in the oven of the potter, and it must go thence to the Right-Place of the fire (Dâityô Gâtu), the altar of the Bahrâm fire, there to be restored to the dignity and rights of its nature³.

At least, let no gratuitous and wanton degradation be inflicted upon it: even blowing it with the breath of the mouth is a crime⁴; burning the dead is the most heinous of sins: in the times of Strabo it was a capital crime⁵, and the Avesta expresses the same, when putting it in the number of those sins for which there is no atonement⁶.

Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire⁷. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own⁸.

§ 9. Not less holy was the earth, or, at least, it became so. There was a goddess who lived in her, *Spenta Ârmaiti*⁹; no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast: burying the dead is, like burning the dead, a deed for which there is no atonement¹⁰. It was not always so in Persia: the burning of the dead had been forbidden for

¹ J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1698, p. 265.

² Farg. VIII, 81-96; 79-80. Cf. above, p. lxiv.

³ Extinguishing it is a mortal sin (*Ravâets*; *Elisaeus*; cf. Strabo XV, 14).

⁴ A custom still existing with the *Tâzik*, an Iranian tribe in Eastern Persia (de Khanikoff, *Ethnographie de la Perse*). Strabo XV, 14. Manu has the same prescription (IV, 53). Cf. Farg. XIV, 8, n. 7.

⁵ Strabo XV, 14; cf. Herod. III, 16.

⁶ Farg. I, 17; cf. Farg. VIII, 74.

⁷ Farg. VII, 25-27; Strabo XV, 14; Herod. I, 138.

⁸ King Balash (Josué le Stylite, traduction Martin, § xx). It seems as if there were a confusion between Balash and Kavât; at any rate, it shows that bathing smacked of heresy. Jews were forbidden to perform the legal ablutions (Füerst, *Culturgeschichte der Juden*, 9).

⁹ See above, p. lxxii.

¹⁰ Farg. I, 13.

years¹, while the burying was still general². Cambyses had roused the indignation of the Persians by burning the corpse of Amasis: yet, years later, Persians still buried their dead. But the priests already felt scruples, and feared to defile a god. Later on, with the ascendancy of the Magian religion, the sacerdotal observances became the general law³.

§ 10. Therefore the corpse is laid on the summit of a mountain, far from man, from water, from tree, from fire, and from the earth itself, as it is separated from it by a layer of stones or bricks⁴. Special buildings, the Dakhmas, were erected for this purpose⁵. There far from the world the dead were left to lie, beholding the sun⁶.

§ 11. Not every corpse defiles man, but only those of such beings as belong to the world of Ahura. They are the only ones in whose death the demon triumphs. The corpse of an Ahrimanian creature does not defile; as its life was incarnate death, the spring of death that was in it is dried up with its last breath: it killed while alive, it can

¹ From the reign of Cyrus (cf. above, p. li).

² Cf. above, p. xlv.

³ Still the worship of the earth seems not to have so deeply penetrated the general religion as the worship of fire. The laws about the disposal of the dead were interpreted by many, it would seem, as intended only to secure the purity of water and fire, and they thought that they might be at peace with religion if they had taken care to bury the corpse, so that no part of it might be taken by animals to fire or water (Farg. III, 41, n. 7).

⁴ Farg. VI, 44 seq.; VIII, 10 seq. Cf. IX, 11, n. 4. Moreover, the Dakhma is ideally separated from the ground by means of a golden thread, which is supposed to keep it suspended in the air (Ravâet, ap. Spiegel, Uebersetzung des Avesta II, XXXVI).

⁵ 'The Dakhma is a round building, and is designated by some writers, "The Tower of Silence." A round pit, about six feet deep, is surrounded by an annular stone pavement, about seven feet wide, on which the dead bodies are placed. This place is enclosed all round by a stone wall some twenty feet high, with a small door on one side for taking the body in. The whole is built up of and paved with stone. The pit has communication with three or more closed pits, at some distance into which the rain washes out the liquids and the remains of the dead bodies' (Dadabhai Naoroji, *The Manners and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1864, p. 16). Cf. Farg. VI, 50. A Dakhma is the first building the Parsis erect when settling on a new place (Dosabhoj Framjee).

⁶ The Avesta and the Commentator attach great importance to that point: it is as if the dead man's life were thus prolonged, since he can still behold the sun. 'Grant us that we may long behold the sun,' said the Indian Rishi.

do so no more when dead ; it becomes clean by dying¹. None of the faithful are defiled by the corpse of an Ashe-maogha or of a Khrafstra. Nay, killing them is a pious work, as it is killing Ahriman himself².

§ 12. Not only real death makes one unclean, but partial death too. Everything that goes out of the body of man is dead, and becomes the property of the demon. The going breath is unclean, it is forbidden to blow the fire with it³, and even to approach the fire without screening it from the contagion with a Penôm⁴. Parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells⁵. Any phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether accompanied with danger to health or not, was viewed as a work of the demon, and made the person unclean in whom it took place. One of these phenomena, which is a special object of attention in the Vendidâd, is the uncleanness of women during their menses. The menses are sent by Ahriman⁶, especially when they last beyond the usual time : therefore a woman, as long as they last, is unclean and possessed of the demon : she must be kept confined, apart from the faithful whom her touch would defile, and from the fire which her very look would injure ; she is not allowed to eat as much as she wishes, as the strength she might acquire would accrue to the fiends. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand, but is passed to her from a distance⁷, in a long leaden spoon. The origin of all these notions is in certain physical instincts, in physiological psychology, which is the reason why they are found among peoples very far removed from one another by race or religion⁸. But they took in Persia a new meaning as they were made a logical part of the whole religious system.

§ 13. A woman that has been just delivered of a child

¹ Farg. V, 35 seq.

² See above, p. xc.

³ Farg. XVII.

⁴ Farg. XVI, 15.

⁵ See above, p. lxxiii.

⁶ See Farg. XIV, 8, n. 7.

⁷ Farg. I, 18-19; XVI, 11. Cf. Bund. III.

⁸ Cf. Leviticus. See Pliny VII, 13.

is also unclean¹, although it would seem that she ought to be considered pure amongst the pure, since life has been increased by her in the world, and she has enlarged the realm of Ormazd. But the strength of old instincts overcame the drift of new principles. Only the case when the woman has been delivered of a still-born child is examined in the Vendidad. She is unclean as having been in contact with a dead creature; and she must first drink gômêz to wash over the grave in her womb. So utterly unclean is she, that she is not even allowed to drink water, unless she is in danger of death; and even then, as the sacred element has been defiled, she is liable to the penalty of a Peshôtanu². It appears from modern customs that the treatment is the same when the child is born alive: the reason of which³ is that, in any case, during the first three days after delivery she is in danger of death³. A great fire is lighted to keep away the fiends, who use then their utmost efforts to kill her and her child⁴. She is unclean only because the death-fiend is in her.

§ 14. Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed. Sickness, being sent by Ahriman, ought to be cured like all his other works, by washings and spells. In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all⁵, and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed and less mistrusted. The commentator on the Vendidad very sensibly observes that if it does not relieve, it will surely do no harm⁶, which seems not to have been a matter of course with those who heal by the knife and physic. It

¹ Farg. V, 45 seq.

² Farg. VII, 70 seq.

³ 'When there is a pregnant woman in a house, one must take care that there be fire continually in it; when the child is brought forth, one must burn a candle, or, better still, a fire, for three days and three nights, to render the Dévs and Drugs unable to harm the child; for there is great danger during those three days and nights after the birth of the child' (Saddar 16).

⁴ 'When the child is being born, one brandishes a sword on the four sides, lest fairy Aal kill it' (Polack, Persien I, 223). In Rome, three gods, Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra, keep her threshold, lest Sylvanus come in and harm her (Augustinus, De Civ. D. VI, 9).

⁵ I arg. VII, 44.

⁶ Ibid. p. 86, n. 1.

appears from the last Fargard that all or, at least, many diseases might be cured by spells and Barashnûm washing. It appears from Herodotus and Agathias that contagious diseases required the same treatment as uncleanness: the sick man was excluded from the community of the faithful¹, until cured and cleansed according to the rites².

§ 15. The unclean are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh³, which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living. All the unclean, all those struck with temporary death, the man who has touched dead matter, the woman in her menses, or just delivered of child, the leper⁴, or the man who has made himself unclean for ever by carrying a corpse alone⁵, stay there all the time of their uncleanness.

§ 16. Thus far for general principles. From the diversity of circumstances arises a system of casuistry, the development of which may be followed first through the glosses to the Vendîdâd, in which the labours of several generations of theologians are embodied, and, later on, through the Ravâcts. We will give a few instances of it, as found in the Vendîdâd itself.

The process of the cleansing varies according to the degree of uncleanness; and, again, the degree of uncleanness depends on the state of the thing that defiles and the nature of the thing that is defiled.

The uncleanness from the dead is the worst of all, and it is at its utmost when contracted before the Nasu has been expelled from the corpse by the Sag-did⁶: it can be cured only by means of the most complicated system of cleansing, the nine nights' Barashnûm⁷.

¹ Herod. I, 138.

² Agathias II, 23.

³ The Armest-gâh for women in their menses is called Dashtânistân.

⁴ Herod. I. I.; Farg. II, 29.

⁵ Farg. III, 21, n. 2.

⁶ Farg. VIII, 35-36; 98-99; cf. VII, 29-30, and n. 1 to 30.

⁷ Farg. IX. The Barashnûm, originally meant to remove the uncleanness from the dead, became a general instrument of holiness. Children when putting on the Kôstî (Farg. XVIII, 9, n. 4) perform it to be cleansed from the natural uncleanness they have contracted in the womb of their mothers. It is good for every one to perform it once a year.

If the Nasu has already been expelled from the corpse, as the defiling power was less, a simple washing once made, the Ghosel, is enough¹.

The defiling power of the Nasu reaches farther, if the death has just taken place, and if the dying creature occupied a higher rank in the scale of beings²; for the more recent the victory of the demon, or the higher the being he has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself.

Menstruous women are cleansed by the Ghosel³.

As for things they are more or less deeply defiled according to their degree of penetrability: metal vessels can be cleansed, earthen vessels cannot⁴; leather is more easily cleansed than woven cloth⁵; dry wood than soft wood⁶. Wet matter is a better conductor of uncleanness than dry matter, and corpses cease to defile after a year⁷.

B.

§ 17. In the cases heretofore reviewed, only religious purposes are concerned. There is another order of laws, in which, although religion interferes, yet it is not at the root; namely, the laws about contracts and assaults, to which the fourth Fargard is devoted, and which are the only remains extant of the civil and penal legislation of Zoroastrianism.

The contracts were divided into two classes, according to their mode of being entered into, and according to the value of their object⁸. As to their mode they are word-contracts or hand-contracts: as to their object, they are sheep-contracts, ox-contracts, man-contracts, or field-contracts, which being estimated in money value are contracts to the amount of 3, 12, 500 istirs, and upwards⁹.

No contract can be made void by the will of one party

¹ Farg. VIII, 36.

² Farg. XVI, 12.

³ Farg. VII, 14 seq.

⁴ Farg. VIII, 33-34.

⁵ Farg. V, 27 seq.; VII, 1 seq.

⁶ Farg. VII, 73 seq.

⁷ Farg. VII, 28 seq.

⁸ See p. 34, n. 3.

⁹ An istîr (στανήρ) is as much as four dirhems (δραχμή). The dirhem is estimated by modern tradition a little more than a rupee.

alone; he who breaks a contract is obliged to pay the value of the contract next higher in value.

The family and the next of kin are, it would seem, answerable for the fulfilment of a contract, a principle of the old Indo-European civil law¹.

§ 18. Assaults are of seven degrees: âgcrepta, avaoirista², stroke, sore wound, bloody wound, broken bone, and manslaughter. The gravity of the guilt does not depend on the gravity of the deed only, but also on its frequency. Each of these seven crimes amounts, by its being repeated without having been atoned for, to the crime that immediately follows in the scale, so that an âgcrepta seven times repeated amounts to manslaughter.

C.

§ 19. Every crime makes the guilty man liable to two penalties, one here below, and another in the next world.

The penalty here below consists of a certain number of stripes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshô-karana³.

The unit for heavy penalties is two hundred stripes; the crime and the criminal thus punished are called Peshô-tanu or Tanu-per.etha (Parsi: Tanâfûhr). The two words literally mean, 'one who pays with his own body,' and 'payment with one's body,' and seem to have originally amounted to

¹ Farg. IV, 5 seq.

² Two different sorts of menaces; see IV, 54.

³ The general formula is literally, 'Let (the priest; probably, the Sraoshâ-varez) strike so many strokes with the Aspahê-astra, so many strokes with the Sraoshô-karana.' Astra means in Sanskrit 'a goad,' so that Aspahê-astra may mean 'a horse-goad;' but Aspendiârji translates it by durra, 'a thong,' which suits the sense better, and agrees with etymology too ('an instrument to drive a horse, a whip;' astra, from the root az, 'to drive;' it is the Aspahê-astra which is referred to by Sozomenos II, 13: *ἰμάσιν ὡμοῖς χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐβασάνισαν οἱ μάγοι* (the Sraoshâ-varez), *βιαζόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον*). Sraoshô-karana is translated by kâbuk, 'a whip,' which agrees with the Sanskrit translation of the *sî-srôsh karanâm sin*, 'yat tribhir gokarmasâ/aghâtâis prâyas-kityam bhavati tâvanmâtram, a sin to be punished with three strokes with a whip.' It seems to follow that Aspahê-astra and Sraoshô-karana are one and the same instrument, designated with two names, first in reference to its shape, and then to its use (Sraoshô-karana meaning 'the instrument for penalty,' or 'the instrument of the Sraoshâ-varez?'). The Aspahê-astra is once called *astra mairya*, 'the astra for the account to be given,' that is, 'for the payment of the penalty' (Farg. XVIII, 4).

'worthy of death, worthiness of death;' and in effect the word Peshô-tanu is often interpreted in the Pahlavi Commentary by margarzân, 'worthy of death.' But, on the whole, it was attached to the technical meaning of 'one who has to receive two hundred strokes with the horse-whip'¹. The lowest penalty in the Vendîdâd is five stripes, and the degrees from five stripes to Peshôtanu are ten, fifteen, thirty, fifty, seventy, ninety, two hundred. For instance, âgerepta is punished with five stripes, avaoirista with ten, stroke with fifteen, sore wound with thirty, bloody wound with fifty, broken bone with seventy, manslaughter with ninety; a second manslaughter, committed without the former being atoned for, is punished with the Peshôtanu penalty. In the same way the six other crimes, repeated eight, or seven, or six, or five, or four, or three times make the committer go through the whole series of penalties up to the Peshôtanu penalty.

§ 20. If one reviews the different crimes described in the Vendîdâd, and the respective penalties prescribed for them, one cannot but wonder at first sight at the strange inequality between crime and penalty. Beccaria would have felt uncomfortable while reading the Vendîdâd. It is safer to kill a man than to serve bad food to a shepherd's dog, for the manslayer gets off with ninety stripes, whereas the bad master is at once a Peshôtanu², and will receive two hundred stripes. Two hundred stripes are awarded if one tills land in which a corpse has been buried within the year³, if a woman just delivered of child drinks water⁴, if one suppresses the menses of a woman⁵, if one performs a sacrifice in a house where a man has just died⁶, if one neglects fastening the corpse of a dead man so that birds or dogs may not take dead matter to trees and rivers⁷. Two hundred stripes if one throws on the ground a bone of a man's corpse, of a dog's carcase as big as two ribs, four

¹ Farg. IV, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42; V, 44; VI, 5, 9, 19, 48, &c.

² Farg. IV, 40, and XIII, 24.

⁴ Farg. VII, 70 seq.

⁶ Farg. V, 39.

³ Farg. VI, 5.

⁵ Farg. XVI, 13 seq.

⁷ Farg. VI, 47 seq.

hundred if one throws a bone as big as a breast bone, six hundred if one throws a skull, one thousand if the whole corpse¹. Four hundred stripes if one, being in a state of uncleanness, touches water or trees², four hundred if one covers with cloth a dead man's feet, six hundred if one covers his legs, eight hundred if the whole body³. Five hundred stripes for killing a whelp, six hundred for killing a stray dog, seven hundred for a house dog, eight hundred for a shepherd's dog⁴, one thousand stripes for killing a Vanhâpara dog, ten thousand stripes for killing a water dog⁵.

Capital punishment is expressly pronounced only against the false cleanser⁶ and the 'carrier alone'⁷.

Yet any one who bethinks himself of the spirit of the old Aryan legislation will easily conceive that there may be in its eyes many crimes more heinous, and to be punished more severely, than manslaughter: offences against man injure only one man; offences against gods endanger all mankind. No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demosthenes' *Nœmæa*; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos⁸, or than the conquerors at Arginousæ; nor would the Athenians, who put to death *Atarbes*⁹, have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the *Vendîdâd*, however odd and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart or its explanation in other Aryan legislations: if we had a Latin or a Greek *Vendîdâd*, I doubt whether it would look more rational.

§ 21. Yet, if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could

¹ Farg. VI, 10 seq.

² Farg. VIII, 23 seq.

³ Farg. XIV, 1 seq.

⁴ Farg. III, 14 seq. Yet there were other capital crimes. See below, § 23.

⁵ Diodor. XII, 58.

² Farg. VIII, 104 seq.

⁴ Farg. XIII, 8 seq.

⁶ Farg. IX, 47 seq.

⁹ Aelianus, *Hist. Var.* V, 17.

ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts. It may be doubted whether the murder of a shepherd's dog could have been actually punished with eight hundred stripes, much more whether the murder of a water dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself¹. Now as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, a conversion which is alluded to in the Pahlavi translation², it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendîdâd, that conversion had already been made. In the Ravâets, two hundred stripes, or a Tanâfûhr, are estimated as equal to three hundred istîrs or twelve hundred dirhems, or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees; a stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees³. How far that system prevailed in practice, whether the guilty might take advantage of this commutation of his own accord, or only with the assent of the judge, we cannot decide. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the dirhems often made the Sraoshô-karana fall from the hands of the Mobeds. That the system of financial penalties did not, however, suppress the system of bodily penalties, appears from the customs of the Parsis who apply both, and from the Pahlavi Commentary which expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement: the atonement by money (khvâstak), the atonement by the Sraoshô-karana, and the atonement by cleansing.

§ 22. This third element of atonement is strictly religious. It consists in repentance, which is manifested by avowal of the guilt and by the recital of a formula of repentance,

¹ In the time of Chardin, the number of stripes inflicted on the guilty never exceeded three hundred; in the old German law, two hundred; in the Hebrew law, forty.

² Ad Farg. XIV, 2.

³ In later Parsism every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu. If the number of sin dirhems outweigh the number of the good deed dirhems, the soul is saved. Herodotus noticed the same principle of compensation in the Persian law of his time (I, 137; cf. VII, 194).

the Patet. The performance of the Patet has only a religious effect : it saves the sinner from penalties in the other world, but not from those here below : it delivers him before God, but not before man. When the sacrilegious cleanser has repented his sin, he is not the less flayed and beheaded, but his soul is saved ¹. Yet, although it has no efficacy in causing the sin to be remitted, the absence of it has power to cause it to be aggravated ².

§ 23. Thus far for sins that can be atoned for. There are some that are anâperetha, 'inexpiable,' which means, as it seems, that they are punished with death here below, and with torments in the other world.

Amongst the anâperetha sins are named the burning of the dead, the burying of the dead ³, the eating dead matter ⁴, unnatural sin ⁵, and self-pollution ⁶. Although it is not expressly declared that these sins were punished with death, yet we know it of several of them, either from Greek accounts or from Parsi tradition. There are also whole classes of sinners whose life, it would seem, can be taken by any one who detects them in the act, such as the courtesan, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the corpse-burner ⁷.

§ 24. Such are the most important principles of the Mazdean law that can be gathered from the Vendîdâd. These details, incomplete as they are, may give us an idea, if not of the Sassanian practice, at least of the Sassanian ideal. That it was an ideal which intended to pass into practice, we know from the religious wars against Armenia, and from the fact that very often the superintendence of justice and the highest offices of the state were committed to Mobeds.

We must now add a few words on the plan of the following translation. As to our method we beg to refer to the second chapter above. It rests on the Parsi tradition, corrected or confirmed by the comparative method. The

¹ Farg. IX, 49, n.; cf. III, 20 seq.

³ Farg. I, 13, 17; Strabo XV, 14.

⁵ Farg. I, 12; cf. VIII, 32.

⁷ See p. 111, n. 1; Farg. XVIII, 64.

² Farg. IV, 20, 24, 28, 32, 35, &c.

⁴ Farg. VII, 23 seq.

⁶ Farg. VIII, 27.

Parsi tradition is found in the Pahlavi Commentary¹, the understanding of which was facilitated to us first by the Gujarathi translation and paraphrase of Aspendiârji², and by a Persian transliteration and translation belonging to the Haug collection in Munich³, for the use of which we were indebted to the obliging kindness of the Director of the State Library in Munich, Professor von Halm. The Ravâets and the Saddar⁴ frequently gave us valuable information as to the traditional meaning of doubtful passages. As for the works of European scholars, we are much indebted to the Commentary on the Avesta by Professor Spiegel, and to the translations in the second edition of Martin Haug's Essays.

We have followed the text of the Avesta as given by Westergaard; the division into paragraphs is according to Westergaard; but we have given in brackets the corresponding divisions of Professor Spiegel's edition.

Many passages in the Vendîdâd Sâdah are mere quotations from the Pahlavi Commentary which have crept into the Sâdah text: we have not admitted them into the text. They are generally known to be spurious from their not being translated in the Commentary⁵: yet the absence of a Pahlavi translation is not always an unmistakable sign of such spuriousness. Sometimes the translation has been lost in our manuscripts, or omitted as having already been given in identical or nearly identical terms. When we thought

¹ Our quotations refer to the text given in Spiegel's edition, but corrected after the London manuscript.

² Bombay, 1842, 2 vols. in 8°.

³ Unfortunately the copy is incomplete: there are two lacunae, one from I, 11 to the end of the chapter; the other, more extensive, from VI, 26 to IX. The perfect accordance of this Persian translation with the Gujarathi of Aspendiârji shows that both are derived from one and the same source. Their accordance is striking even in mistakes; for instance, the Pahlavi avâstâr 𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, a transliteration of the Zend a-vâstra, 'without pastures' (VII, 28), is misread by the Persian translator hvâstâr, خواستار, 'he who wishes,' owing to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letter 𐬀 (av or hv), and it is translated by Aspendiârji Kâhânâr, 'the wisher.'

⁴ The prose Saddar (as found in the Great Ravâet), which differs considerably from the Saddar in verse, as translated by Hyde.

⁵ Without speaking of their not being connected with the context. See Farg. I, 4, 15, 20; II, 6, 20; V, 1; VII, 53-54.

that this was the case, we have admitted the untranslated passages into the text, but in brackets¹.

We have divided the principal Fargards into several sections according to the matter they contain: this division, which is meant as an attempt to resolve the Vendîdâd into its primitive fragments, has, of course, no traditional authority, the divisions into paragraphs being the only ones that rest upon the authority of the manuscripts.

The translation will be found, in many passages, to differ greatly from the translations published heretofore². The nature of this series of translations did not allow us to give full justificatory notes, but we have endeavoured in most cases to make the explanatory notes account to scholars for the new meanings we have adopted, and, in some cases, we hope that the original text, read anew, will by itself justify our translation³.

We must not conclude this introduction without tendering our warmest thanks to Mr. E. W. West, who kindly revised the MS. of the translation before it went to press, and who has, we hope, succeeded in making our often imperfect English more acceptable to English readers.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

PARIS,

November, 1879.

¹ Farg. VII, 3; VIII, 95. Formulae and enumerations are often left untranslated, although they must be considered part of the text (VIII, 72; XI, 9, 12; XX, 6, &c.).

² Complete translations of the Vendîdâd have been published by Anquetil Duperron in France (Paris, 1771), by Professor Spiegel in Germany (Leipzig, 1852), by Canon de Harlez in Belgium (Louvain, 1877). The translation of Professor Spiegel was translated into English by Professor Bleeck, who added useful information from incited Gujarathi translations (Hertford, 1864).

³ The following is a list of the principal abbreviations used in this volume:—
Asp. = Aspendiârji's translation.

Bund. = Bundahis; Arabic numbers refer to the chapter (according to Justi's edition); Roman numbers refer to the page and line.

Comm. = The Pahlavi Commentary.

Gr. Rav. = Le Grand Ravâet (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Supplément Persan, No. 47).

Orm. Ahr. = Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, Vieweg, 1877.

VENDÊDÂD.

V E N D Î D Â D.

FARGARD I.

THIS chapter is an enumeration of sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes¹. But there is nothing in the text that would authorise us to look to it even for legendary records, much less for real history. We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, such as might be expected in a religious work like the Vendîdâd, that is to say, one that contains mythical lands as well as real countries. It is not easy to decide with perfect certainty, in every case, whether we have to do with a land of the former or of the latter kind, owing partly to our deficient knowledge of the geography of ancient Iran, partly to the fact that names, originally belonging to mythical lands, are often in later times attached to real ones.

Of these sixteen lands there are certainly nine which have really existed, and of which we know the geographical position, as we are able to follow their names from the records of the Achæmenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran. They are the following :—

¹ Rhode, *Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks*, p. 61; Heeren, *Ideen zur Geschichte*, I, p. 498; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* I, p. 526; Haug in Bunsen's work, *Ægypten's Stellung*, V, 2nd part, p. 104; Kiepert, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1856, p. 621.—New light was thrown on this record by M. Bréal in his paper '*De la géographie de l'Avesta*' (in the *Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique*, p. 187 seq.)

ZEND NAME.	OLD PERSIAN.	GREEK.	MODERN NAME.
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	(Samarkand)
Môuru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Merv
Bâkhdhi (4)	Bâkhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh
Harôyu (6)	Haraiva	Ἄρεια	Hari-rûd
Vchrkâna (9)	Varkâna	Ὑρκανία	Gorgân
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	Ἀράχωτος	Harût
Haētumant (11)		Ἑτύμανδρος	Helmend
Ragha (12)	Raga	Ῥαγᾱί	Raï
Hapta hindu (15)	Hindavas	Ἰνδοί	(Païḡâb)

The real existence of Nisâya (5) is certain, although its position cannot be exactly determined (see the note to § 8).

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary. *Kakhra* (13) is only transliterated, whether the name was then too much known to require any further explanation or too little to allow of any. *Urva* (8) is described as being *Masân* ('the land of *Masân*' or 'the land of the Great'), a name which applied, in the Sassanian ages, to the land around *Ispahân* (Firdausi, ed. Mohl, V, 270).

For 'Varena, the four-cornered' (14), the Commentary hesitates between the *Padashkhvârgar* mountains (the *Elborz*) and *Kirmân*, a hesitation easily accounted for by the fact that *Varena* is the seat of the struggle between *Azîs Dahâka* and *Thraêtaona*, between the storm serpent and the storm god, and was formerly 'the four-sided Heaven' (see *Introd. IV*, 12, 23). Modern tradition decides in favour of *Padashkhvârgar*, probably because the serpent was at last bound to *Demavand*, the highest peak in that chain. The claims of *Kirmân* were probably founded on the popular etymology of its name, 'the land of snakes.'

'*Vâkereta*, of the evil shadows' (8), is identified with *Kapul* (*Cabul*); whether rightly or wrongly, we are unable to decide; yet, as it is spoken of only as the seat of the adventures of *Keresâspa* (see *Introd. IV*, 21), it may be suspected that this assimilation rests merely on the fact that, in later tradition, the legend of *Keresâspa* was localised in the table-land of *Peshyansâi*, in *Kabulistan* (*Bund. XXX*).

In the enumeration there is no apparent order whatever, and *Ormazd*, in his creations, seems to travel all over the map, forward and backward, without the slightest regard to the cardinal points. Yet, the starting point and the final point have not been arbitrarily chosen: the first land created was 'the *Airyana Vaêgô* by the *Vanguhi Dâitya*,' and the last was the land by the *Rangha*. Now,

the Vanguhi and the Rangha were originally the celestial rivers that came down from heaven (as two heavenly Gaṅgās) to surround the earth, the one in the east, the other in the west (Bund. XX); this is why the creation begins with a land by the Vanguhi and ends with a land by the Rangha.

In the Sassanian ages, when the Tigris was definitively the border of Iran in the west, the Rangha was identified with it, and the sixteenth land is accordingly described in the Commentary as being Arvastân-i-Rûm, or Roman Mesopotamia. But all the Avesta passages in which the Rangha is cited refer to its mythical nature, as the river in the far-off horizon, as the surrounding Okeanos, and, now and then, still resembling its Vedic homonym, the Rasâ, as the river that divides the gods from the fiends.

The first land, the Airyana Vaêgô by the Vanguhi Dâitya, remained to the last a mythical region. It was originally the abode of Yima and of the righteous, that is to say, a particular form of paradise (see Introd. IV, 38, and Farg. II). Later on, it was looked for in the countries north of Adarbajjan, probably in order that it should be as near as possible to the seat of the Zoroastrian religion, yet without losing its supernatural character by the counter-evidence of facts. This brought about the division of the Vanguhi Dâitya into two rivers: as the Airyana Vaêgô was localised in the country north of Adarbajjan, the river in it must become identified with the Araxes (Aras); but, at the same time, it continued to surround the world eastward under the name of Veh (Vanguhi), which was the Sassanian name of the Oxus—Indus¹. It seems that in the time of Herodotus, the Araxes and the Oxus were considered one and the same river², as the Oxus and the Indus were later on; this would account for his strange statement that the Araxes, which is confessedly with him the Oxus or Yaxartes, springs from the land of the Matianians, like the Gyndes, and flows eastwards (I, 202; IV, 40; cf. III, 36; IV, 11); and, at the same time, this would account both for how the Airyana Vaêgô could be localised in the basin of the Araxes and how the Oxus could flow eastwards to fall into the Arabian sea³.

¹ The Oxus and the Indus were believed to be one and the same river (Bund. l. c.; see Garrez, *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, II, 195 seq.)

² Running under the Caspian sea, as Arcthusa runs under the Sicilian sea and the Rangha itself under the Persian gulf (Bund. XX; cf. Garrez l. c.)

³ Whether in the time when this Fargard was written, the Airyana

It follows hence that no historical conclusions can be drawn from this description: it was necessary that it should begin with the Vanguhi and end with the Rangha. To look to it for an account of geographical migrations, is converting cosmology into history.

Of the counter-creations of Angra Mainyu there is little to be said: they are different vices and plagues, which are generally unconnected with the country to the creation of which they answer. Some of them are expressed by *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, the meaning of which is doubtful or unknown.

If we assume that only lands belonging to the Iranian world were admitted into the list, the mention of the Seven Rivers would indicate that the first Fargard was not composed earlier than the time when the basin of the Indus became a part of Iran, that is, not earlier than the reign of Darius the First.

1. Ahura Mazda¹ spake unto Spitama² Zarathustra³, saying:

2. I have made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it⁴: had I not made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô⁵.

3 (5). The first of the good lands and countries

Vaêgô was still believed to be in the far-off lands of the rising sun, or already on the banks of the Aras, we leave undecided.

¹ See Introd. IV, 4.

² Literally 'the most beneficent,' an epithet of Zarathustra, which was later mistaken for a family name, 'the Spitamide.'

³ See Introd. IV, 40.

⁴ 'Every one fancies that the land where he is born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created.' (Comm.)

⁵ See following clause. Clause 2 belongs to the Commentary; it is composed of quotations that illustrate the alternative process of the creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô¹, by the good river Dâitya².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the serpent in the river³ and winter, a work of the Daêvas⁴.

4 (9). There are ten winter months there, two summer months⁵; and those are cold for the waters⁶, cold for the earth, cold for the trees⁷. Winter falls there, with the worst of its plagues.

5 (13). The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plains⁸ in Sughdha⁹.

¹ See the Introd. to the Fargard.

² 'The good Dâitya.' 'The Dâitîk (Dâitya) comes from Irân Vêg (Airyana Vaêgô), it flows through the mountains of Gorgistân (Georgia,' Bund. p. 51, 19). It was therefore, in the time of the Sassanides, a name of the Araxes.

³ 'There are many Khrafstras in the Dâitîk, as it is said, The Dâitîk full of Khrafstras' (Bund. p. 51, 20). The serpent in the river was originally the mythical Serpent, Azis, who overthrew and killed the king of Irân Vêg, Yima (see Introd. IV, 18); then it was identified, as appears from the Bundahis, with the snakes that abound on the banks of the Araxes (Moriier, A Second Journey, p. 250).

⁴ As Irân Vêg is a place of refuge for mankind and all life from the winter that is to destroy the world (see Farg. II, 21 seq.), winter was thought, by a mythical misunderstanding, to be the counter-creation of Irân Vêg: hence the glacial description of that strange paradise (see the following clause).

⁵ Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. XXV).

⁶ Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters . . .' (Comm.; cf. Mainyô-i-khard XI.IV, 20, and above, n. 4).

⁷ Vend. Sâdah: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

⁸ Doubtful: possibly the name of a river (the Zarafshand).

⁹ Suguda; Sogdiana.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the fly Skaitya¹, which brings death to the cattle.

6 (17). The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Môuru².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft sinful lusts³.

7 (21). The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bâkhdhi⁴ with high-lifted banners.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Bravara⁵.

8 (25). The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisâya⁶, that lies between Môuru and Bâkhdhi.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of unbelief⁷.

9 (29). The sixth of the good lands and countries

¹ A word unknown : possibly 'the cattle fly.' It is a fly that hides itself among the corn and the fodder, and thence stings with a venomous sting the ox that eats of it (Comm. and Asp.)

² Margu ; Margiana ; Merv.

³ Translated according to the Comm. and Asp.

⁴ Bâkhtri ; Bactra ; Balkh.

⁵ 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp. ; cf. Farg. XIV, 5).

⁶ There were several towns of this name, but none between Môuru and Bâkhdhi. But the sentence may be translated also : 'Nisâya between which and Bâkhdhi Môuru lies,' which would point to Νισαία, the capital of Parthia (Παρθαύνησα ap. Isid. of Charax 12) ; cf. Pliny 6, 25 (29).

⁷ 'One must believe in the law, and have no doubt whatever about it in the heart, and firmly believe that the good and right law that Ormazd sent to the world is the same law that was brought to us by Zardust' (Saddar 1).

which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Harôyu¹ with its lake².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the stained mosquito³.

10 (33). The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta⁴, of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa⁵.

11 (37). The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures⁶.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of pride⁷.

12 (41). The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khnehta in Vehrâna⁸.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin⁹.

13 (45). The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti¹⁰.

¹ Haraiva; Arcia; the basin of the Hari river, or Herat.

² Doubtful.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ 'Kapul' (Comm.; see the Introd. to the Fargard).

⁵ See Introd. IV, 21.

⁶ According to Asp. Tus (in Khorasan); more probably the land around Ispahan. See the Introd. to the Fargard.

⁷ Or better, tyranny: 'the great are proud there' (Comm.)

⁸ Varkâna; Hyrcania. 'Khnehta is a river in Vehrâna' (Comm.); consequently the river Gorgân.

⁹ See Farg. VIII, 31.

¹⁰ Harauvati; Ἀράχωρος; Harût.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead¹.

14 (49). The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtumant².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the evil witchcraft of the Yâtus³.

15 (53). And this is how the Yâtu's nature shows itself: it shows itself by the look⁴; and then, whenever the wizard goes and howls forth his spells⁵, most deadly works of witchcraft go forth⁶.

16 (59). The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha of the three races⁷.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of utter unbelief⁸.

17 (63). The thirteenth of the good lands and

¹ See Farg. III, 36 seq.

² The basin of the *Ἐρύμανθος* or Erymanthus; now Helmend. Cf. Farg. XIX, 39.

³ The wizards; see Introd. IV, 20.

⁴ The evil eye.

⁵ As a *ῥόη*. Witchcraft is exercised either by the eye or by the voice (Asp.)

⁶ Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'Then they come forth to kill and to strike to the heart.' A gloss cites, as productions of the wizard, 'snow and hail' (cf. Hippocrates, *De Morbo Sacro* 1, and Pausanias 2, 34, 4). To that gloss seems to belong the corrupt Zend sentence that follows, and that may mean 'they increase the plague of locusts' (cf. Farg. VII, 26).

⁷ Raï. See Introd. III, 15.

⁸ 'They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt' (Comm.)

countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy *Kakhra* ¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burning of corpses ².

18 (67). The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered *Varena* ³, for which was born *Thraëtaona*, who smote *Azis Dahâka*.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women ⁴ and the oppression of foreign rulers ⁵.

19 (72). The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers ⁶.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 (76). The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the floods of the *Rangha* ⁷, where people live without a head ⁸.

¹ A land unknown. Asp.: China, which is certainly wrong. There was a town of that name in Khorasan (*K'arkh*).

² See Farg. VIII, 73.

³ See the Introd. to the Farg.

⁴ Farg. XVI, 11 seq.

⁵ Possibly an allusion to *Azis Dahâka* (*Zohâk*), who, as a king, represents the foreign conqueror (in later tradition the *Tâzî* or Arab; possibly in older tradition the Assyrian).

⁶ The basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern *Pañgâb* (=the Five Rivers).

⁷ 'Arvastân-i-Rûm (Roman Mesopotamia),' (Comm.; see the Introd. to the Farg.)

⁸ It is interpreted in a figurative sense as meaning 'people who

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft winter, a work of the Daêvas¹.

21 (81). There are still other lands and countries, beautiful and deep, desirable and bright, and thriving.

FARGARD II.

Yima (Gamshêd).

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1-20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vivanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the seeds of every kind of animals and plants, and the blessed live there a most happy life under his rule.

The tale in the first part refers to Yima as the first man, the first king, and the founder of civilisation (see Introd. IV, 38); the tale in

do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which is the translation for asraosha (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply in the Sassanian ages to the non-Mazdean people of Arvastân-i-Rûm. I think we must adopt the literal meaning, and recognise in this passage the source, or at least the oldest form, of those tales about people without a head, with eyes on their shoulders, which Pliny received from the half-Persian Ctesias (Hist. N. VII, 2; V, 8; cf. Aul. Gell. IX, 4; Sanct. August. De Civit. Dei, XVI, 8). Persian geographers mention such people, they place them in the Oriental islands near China, whence they sent ambassadors to the Khan of the Tatars (Ouseley, Catalogue). The mythical origin of those tales may be traced in Indian and Greek mythology (Orm. Ahr. § 222; cf. Pausanias IX, 20).

¹ Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'And the oppression of the land that comes from taoza (?).'

the second part is a combination of the myths of Yima, as the first dead and the king of the dead over whom he rules in a region of bliss, and of old myths about the end of the world. The world, lasting a long year of twelve millenniums, was to end by a dire winter, like the Eddic Fimbul winter, to be followed by an everlasting spring, when men, sent back to earth from the heavens, should enjoy, in an eternal earthly life, the same happiness that they had enjoyed after their death in the realm of Yima. But as in the definitive form which was taken by Mazdean cosmology the world was made to end by fire, its destruction by winter was no longer the last incident of its life, and therefore, the Var of Yima, instead of remaining, as it was originally, the paradise that gives back to earth its inhabitants, came to be nothing more than a sort of Noah's ark (see *Introd.* IV, 39, and *Orm. Ahr.* §§ 94, 131, 184, 185).

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda :

O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse ¹, whom thou didst teach the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra ?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered :

The fair Yima, the great shepherd, O holy Zarathustra ! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra.

3 (7). Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying : ' Well, fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my law !'

And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying :

¹ 'On the law' (Comm.)

‘I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy law¹.’

4 (11). Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra :

‘Since thou wantest not to be the preacher and the bearer of my law, then make thou my worlds thrive, make my worlds increase: undertake thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.’

5 (14). And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying :

‘Yes! I will make thy worlds thrive, I will make thy worlds increase. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.’

7 (17)². Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him: a golden ring and a poniard inlaid with gold³. Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 (20). Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and

¹ In the Vedas, Yama, as the first man, is the first priest too; he brought worship here below as well as life, and ‘first he stretched out the thread of sacrifice.’ Yima had once the same right as his Indian brother to the title of a founder of religion: he lost it as, in the course of the development of Mazdeism, Zarathustra became the titular law-giver (cf. *Introd. IV*, 40; *Orm. Ahr.* § 156).

² The § 6 is composed of unconnected Zend quotations, that are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that ‘although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?)’.

³ As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. ‘He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard’ (*Asp.*)

dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

10. Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun¹, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spenta Ârmaiti², kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished³.

¹ Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: 'Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il apportait la science des Astres, aprez les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid' (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478). There is no direct connexion, as it seems, between the two acts of Yima, namely, between his going to the heaven of the sun and his enlarging the surface of the earth. The meaning of the first is given, perhaps, by the tale about the dream of Cyrus: 'He saw in a dream the sun at his feet: thrice he tried vainly to seize it with his hands, as the sun was rolling and sliding away. The Magi said to him that the threefold effort to seize the sun presaged to him a reign of thirty years' (Dino ap. Cicero, De Divin. I, 23). Yima goes three times to the sun, to take thence royal power for three times three hundred years. In Aryan mythology, the sun is, as is well known, the symbol and source of royalty: Persian kings in particular are 'the brothers of the sun.'

² The genius of the earth (see Introd. IV, 33).

³ The happiness which Yima made reign on the earth is also

12 (23). Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

14. Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spenta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 (26). Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

17 (28). And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

described Ys. IX, 4; Yt. IX, 8 seq.; Yt. XV, 15. In the Shâh Nâmah he is the founder of civilisation, of social order, of arts and sciences, and the first builder (cf. § 25 seq.)

18 (31). Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus :

‘O Spenta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

19 (37). And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

21 (42)¹. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, of high renown² in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya³, called together a meeting of the celestial gods.

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown² in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya, called together a meeting of the excellent mortals⁴.

To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the celestial gods.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown in the Airyana Vaêgô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the excellent mortals.

22 (46). And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying :

‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat ! Upon the material

¹ § 20 belongs to the Commentary.

² Or perhaps, ‘whose voice was loud,’ &c. (while proclaiming the law).

³ See Farg. I, Introd., and notes to § 2.

⁴ Primitively the souls of the righteous (see Introd. IV, 38).

world the fatal winters are going to fall, that shall bring the fierce, foul frost; upon the material world the fatal winters¹ are going to fall, that shall make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvî deep on the highest tops of mountains².

23 (52). And all the three sorts of beasts shall perish, those that live in the wilderness, and those that live on the tops of the mountains, and those that live in the bosom of the dale, under the shelter of stables.

24 (57). Before that winter, those fields would bear plenty of grass for cattle: now with floods that stream, with snows that melt, it will seem a happy land in the world, the land wherein footprints even of sheep may still be seen³.

25 (61). Therefore make thee a Vara⁴, long as a

¹ The Commentary has here: *Malkôsrân*, which is the plural of the Hebrew *Malkôsr*, 'rain'; this seems to be an attempt to identify the Iranian legend with the biblical tradition of the deluge. The attempt was both a success and a failure; *Malkôsr* entered the Iranian mythology and became naturalised there, but it was mistaken for a proper noun, and became the name of a demon, who by witchcraft will let loose a furious winter on the earth to destroy it (*Saddar* 9). What may be called the diluvial version of the myth is thus summed up in the *Mainyô-i-khard*: 'By him (*Gamshîd*) the enclosure of *Jam-kard* was made; when there is that rain of *Malakosân*, as it is declared in the religion, that mankind and the remaining creatures and creations of *Hôrmezd*, the lord, will mostly perish; then they will open the gate of that enclosure of *Jam-kard*, and men and cattle and the remaining creatures and creation of the creator *Hôrmezd* will come from that enclosure and arrange the world again' (XXVII, 27 seq.; edited and translated by E. West).

² 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one *Vitasti* two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Literally, 'an enclosure.' This *Vara* is known in later mythology as the *Var-Gam-kard*, 'the Var made by Yima.'

riding-ground on every side of the square¹, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires.

Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

26 (65). There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, by the ever-green banks that bear never-failing food. There thou shalt establish dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery².

27 (70). Thither thou shalt bring the seeds³ of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

28 (74). Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 (80). There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no

¹ 'Two hâthras long on every side' (Comm.) A hâthra is about an English mile.

² The last three words are *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* of doubtful meaning.

³ To be sown in the ground, and to grow up into life in due time (? see § 41, text and note).

decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined¹, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

30 (87). In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara thou shalt seal up with the golden ring², and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.

31 (93). Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?'

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay³.'

[32. And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay⁴.]

33 (97). And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of

¹ See Introd. V, 14.

² Doubtful.

³ In the Shâh Nâmah Gamshîd teaches the Dîvs to make and knead clay; and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Musulmans to identify him with Solomon.

⁴ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

34 (101). There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, by the ever-green banks that bear never-failing food. There he established dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 (106). There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

36 (110). There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 (116). And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 (123). In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That

Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 (129). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What [lights are there to give light¹] in the Vara which Yima made?

40 (131). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights². There the stars, the moon, and the sun are only once (a year) seen to rise and set³, and a year seems only as a day.

41 (133). 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female⁴. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life⁵.'

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

² Heavenly lights and material lights. The Commentary has here the following Zend quotation: 'All uncreated light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

We give here the description of Irân-vêg according to a later source, the Mainyô-i-khard (as translated by West): 'Hôrmezd created *Erâ-vêz* better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (=blessed); and their chief is Gôpatshâh, and the ruler and king is Srôsh' (XLIV, 24).

³ Doubtful.

⁴ From the seeds deposited in the Vara (see §§ 27 seq., 35 seq.); in the same way as the first human couple grew up, after forty years, in the shape of a Reivas shrub, from the seed of Gayômarâ received by Spenta Ârmaiti (the Earth. See Bund. XV).

⁵ 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die.' (Comm.) The latter are right, that is to say, are nearer the mythical

42 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the law of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta¹, O holy Zarathustra!'

43 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the lord and ruler there?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvataδ-nara², O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

FARGARD III.

The Earth.

I (1-6). The five places where the Earth feels most joy.

II (7-11). The five places where the Earth feels most sorrow.

III (12-35). The five things which most rejoice the Earth.

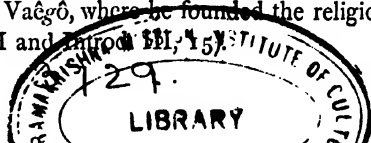
IV (36-42). Corpses ought not to be buried in the Earth.

There is a resemblance as to words between the first and

truth, as the inhabitants of the Vara were primitively the departed and therefore immortal.

¹ 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the law into the Var of Yima, and recites the Avesta in the language of birds' (Bund. XIX and XXIV). As the bird, because of the swiftness of his flight, was often considered an incarnation of lightning, and as thunder was supposed to be the voice of a god speaking from above, the song of the bird was often thought to be the utterance of a god and a revelation (see *Orm. Ahr.* § 157).

² Zarathustra had three sons during his lifetime (cf. *Introd.* IV, 40), *Isad-vâstra*, *Hvare-kithra*, and *Urvataδ-nara*, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. They play no great part in Mazdean mythology, and are little more than three subdivisions of Zarathustra himself, who was 'the first priest, the first warrior, the first husbandman' (*Yt.* XIII, 88). Zarathustra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the *ratu* in *Airyana Vaêgô*, where he founded the religion by a sacrifice (*Bund.* XXXIII and *Introd.* III, 15).



second parts, but there is none as to matter; no clause in the former has its counterpart in the latter. There is more resemblance between the second part and the third; as the first three clauses of the third part (§§ 12, 13, 22) relate to the same things as the second, third, and fourth clauses of the second part (§§ 8, 9, 10).

Parts I and II are nothing more than dry enumerations. Part III is more interesting, as it contains two long digressions, the one (§§ 14-21) on funeral laws, the other (§§ 24-33) on the holiness of husbandry. The fourth part of the chapter may be considered as a digression relating to the first clause of the third part (§ 12).

The things which rejoice or grieve the Earth are those that produce fertility and life or sterility and death, either in it or on it.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the *Mainyô-i-khard* (chaps. V and VI) and in the *Ravaets* (Gr. Rav. pp. 434-437).

The second digression (§§ 24-33) is translated in Haug's *Essays*, p. 235 seq.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the holy wood in his hand¹, the baresma² in his hand, the holy meat in his hand,

¹ The wood for the fire altar.

² The baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. They were formerly twigs of the pomegranate, date, or tamarind tree, or of any tree that had no thorns, and were plucked with particular ceremonies, which alone made them fit to be used for liturgic purposes (cf. Farg. XIX, 18 seq.) The Parsis in India found it convenient to replace them by brass wires, which, when once consecrated, can be used for an indefinite period. It is the baresma which is alluded to by Strabo, when speaking of the bundle of thin twigs of heath, which the Magi hold in their hand

the holy mortar¹ in his hand, fulfilling the law with love, and beseeching aloud Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and Râma *Hvâstra*².'

2, 3 (6-10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within, with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle go on thriving, holiness is thriving³, fodder is thriving, the dog is thriving, the wife is thriving, the child is thriving, the fire is thriving, and every blessing of life is thriving.'

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet.'

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

while reciting their hymns (*τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ φάρμακον ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες*, XV, 3, 14).

¹ The Hâvana or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hom (see Introd. IV, 28).

² The god that gives good folds and good pastures to cattle (see Introd. IV, 16).

³ By the performance of worship.

6 (18). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arczûra¹, whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug².'

8 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried³.'

9 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited⁴.'

10 (31). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ The neck of Arezûra (Arezûrahê grîva) is 'a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth' (Bund. 22, 16); it is also called 'the head of Arezûra' (Farg. XIX, 45), or 'the back of Arezûra' (Bund. 21, 17). Arezûra was first the name of a fiend who was killed by Gayômarð (Mainyô-i-khard XXVII, 15); and mount Arezûra was most likely the mountain to which he was bound, as Azi Dahâka was to Demâvend (see Introd. IV, 18).

² Hell.

³ See Introd. V, 9.

⁴ With regard to Dakhmas, see Introd. V, 10. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of

Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu¹.'

11 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon the wife and children of one of the faithful², O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men³.'

13 (41). O Maker of the material world, thou

resurrection' (Gr. Rav. 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead (cf. Farg. VII, 55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Ravaet, is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (V. i. Farg. VII, 49 seq. and this Farg. § 13).

¹ 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (Comm.); cf. *Introd.* V, 11.

² Killed by an enemy.

³ There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, 'it is not possible so to dig out hell, which will be done at the end of the world' (*Bund.* XXXI, sub fin.)

Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited.'

14 (44). Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse¹. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse, the Nasu² rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organ, from the hinder parts. This Drug, this Nasu, falls upon him, stains him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse alone³?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.'

¹ No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendîdâd service, two priests for the Barashnûm, two persons for the Sag-dîd (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

² See Introd. V, 3.

³ As the Nasu has taken hold of him, he has become a Nasu incarnate, and must no longer be allowed to come into contact with men, whom he would defile.

16 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 (57). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

18, 19 (58-63). 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure¹, and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra².

20, 21 (64-71). 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful³, to flay the skin off his body and cut the head off his neck⁴, on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by Ahura Mazda, to the greedy ravens, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

¹ The Armešt-gâh, the place for the unclean; see *Introd.* V, 15.

² Hana means, literally, 'an old man'; Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age'; Pairista-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words seem to have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

³ 'Trained to operations of that sort' (*Comm.*); a headsman.

⁴ Cf. *Farg.* IX, 49, text and note.

If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance¹: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever².”

22 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.’

23 (75). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is he who cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet³.

24 (79). ‘Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 (84). ‘He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring

¹ The performance of the Patet. See Introd. V, 22.

² It seems as if the law had formerly directed that he should be immediately put to death; but that afterwards, when the rigour of the law had abated, the object which had previously been fulfilled by his death, was then attained by his confinement. He was allowed to live in confinement till he was old and all but dead, and he was put to death by the law, just before he would have died in the usual course of nature (see §§ 19, 20). Certain Ravaets put the ‘carrier alone’ among the number of the margarzân (East India Office Library, Zend MSS. VIII, 144); he is not only to be punished in this world, but in the other too; he is condemned to feed in hell on corpses of men (*Arđâ Vîrâf* XXXVIII).

³ Cf. § 4.

forth plenty, like a loving bride on her bed, unto her beloved; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit.

26, 27 (87-90). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left [hither shall people ever come and beg (for bread¹)], here shall I ever go on bearing, bringing forth all manner of food, bringing forth profusion of corn²."

28, 29 (91-95). 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; ever shalt thou wait there for the refuse that is brought unto thee³, brought by those who have profusion of wealth."

30 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the law of Mazda⁴?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 (99). 'He who sows corn, sows holiness: he

¹ From the Vendidad Sâdah.

² Or 'bearing corn first for thee.' 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.)

³ 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

⁴ Literally, 'What is the stomach of the law?'

makes the law of Mazda grow higher and higher : he makes the law of Mazda as fat as he can with a hundred acts of adoration, a thousand oblations, ten thousand sacrifices¹.

32 (105). 'When barley is coming forth, the Daêvas start up²; when the corn is growing rank³, then faint the Daêvas' hearts; when the corn is being ground⁴, the Daêvas groan; when wheat is coming forth, the Daêvas are destroyed. In that house they can no longer stay, from that house they are beaten away, wherein wheat is thus coming forth⁵. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn.

33 (111). 'Then let (the priest) teach people this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do works of holiness, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away⁶."' 3729.

34 (116). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

¹ The translation 'acts of adoration' and 'oblations' is doubtful: the words in the text are *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, which are traditionally translated 'feet' and 'breasts.' The Commentary has as follows: 'He makes the law of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses; of ten thousand sacrifices performed for his weal.'

² John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all.

³ Doubtful; possibly, 'When sudhus (a sort of grain) is coming forth.'

⁴ Doubtful; possibly, 'When pistrā (a sort of grain) is coming forth.'

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ See Farg. IV, 47.

Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! kindly and piously gives¹ to one of the faithful.]

35 (118). 'He who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful, he shall fall down into the darkness of Spenta Ârmaiti², down into the world of woe, the dismal realm, down into the house of hell.'

IV.

36 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra³, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (130). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what

¹ The Ashô-dâd or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendidad Sâdah.

² The earth.

³ See Introd. V, 19.

is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 (135). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 (137). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it¹. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it², then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it³ and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

41 (142). 'The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin⁴; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust⁵; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful⁶; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse⁷; it takes away (the sin of)

¹ As he must have known that he was committing sin.

² If he did not know that he was committing sin.

³ If he makes Patet (see Introd. V, 22), and says to himself, 'I will never henceforth sin again' (Comm.)

⁴ If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

⁵ Draosha: refusing to give back a deposit (Comm. ad IV, 1): 'He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed' (Comm.)

⁶ Or better, 'a Mazdean,' but one who has committed a capital crime; 'he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzân, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.' Cf. VIII, 74 note.

⁷ 'He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously' (Comm.) See Introd. V, 9.

deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin¹; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

42 (149). 'In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain².

'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda.'

FARGARD IV.

Contracts and Outrages.

1-16. Contracts (see Introd. V, 17):—

2. Classification of contracts;

3-4. Damages for breach of contract;

5-10. Kinsmen responsible;

11-16. Penalties for breach of contract.

17-55. Outrages (see Introd. V, 18):—

18-21. Menaces;

22-25. Assaults;

26-29. Blows;

30-33. Wounds;

34-36. Wounds causing blood to flow;

37-39. Broken bones;

40-43. Manslaughter;

46, 49 (bis)-55. False oaths.

Clauses 44-45 refer to contracts, and ought to be placed after § 16. Clauses 47-49, which are in praise of physical weal, have been probably misplaced here from the preceding Fargard (see Farg. III, 33). The right order of this chapter would, therefore, seem to be as follows: 1-16; 44-45; 17-43; 46; 49 (bis)-55.

¹ Or, possibly, 'the sin of usury.' 'He knows that it is lawful to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

² 'From chaff' (Comm.)

I.

1. He that does not restore (a thing lent), when it is asked for back again, steals the thing; he robs the man¹. So he does every day, every night, as long as he keeps in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own².

II a.

2 (4). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number³. The first is the word-contract⁴; the second

¹ 'He is a thief when he takes with a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not' (Comm.)

² Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 183). The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself, I will not restore it' (Comm.)

³ The following classification is in fact twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract became at last, or were misunderstood as, indicative of a certain amount. The commentators, however, were unable to determine that amount, or, at least, they do not state how much it was, which they do with regard to the last four.

⁴ The contract entered into by simple word of mouth. 'The immortal Zartust Isfitamân asked of the good, beneficent Hormazd, "Which is the worst of the sins that men commit?" The good, beneficent Hormazd answered, "There is no sin worse than when a man, having given his word to another, there being no witness but myself, Hormazd, one of them breaks his word and says, I don't know anything about it...there is no sin worse than this"' (Gr. Rav. 94).

is the hand-contract¹; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep²; the fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox³; the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man⁴; the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field⁵, a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing⁶.

II b.

3 (13). If a man make the word-contract a mere word⁷, it shall be redeemed by the hand-contract; he shall give in pledge⁸ the amount of the hand-contract.

4 (16). The hand-contract⁹ shall be redeemed by the sheep-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the sheep-contract. The sheep-contract shall be redeemed by the ox-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the ox-contract. The ox-contract shall be redeemed by the man-contract; he

¹ 'When they strike hand in hand and make then agreement by word' (Gr. Rav. l. l.) It would be of interest to know whether word and hand are to be taken in the strict meaning or if they allude to certain formulas and gestures like those in the Roman stipulation.

² 'Viz. to the amount of 3 istîrs [in weight],' (Comm.) An istîr (στανήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή). On the value of the dirhem, see Introd. V, 22.

³ 'To the amount of 12 istîrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

⁴ 'To the amount of 500 istîrs (=2000 dirhems).' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being,' as the term is applied to promises of marriage and to the contract between teacher and pupil.

⁵ 'Upwards of 500 istîrs.'

⁶ A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

⁷ If he fail to fulfil it.

⁸ Or, 'as damages (?)'

⁹ The breach of the hand-contract.

shall give in pledge the amount of the man-contract. The man-contract shall be redeemed by the field-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the field-contract.

II c.

5 (24). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas² answerable for the³ three hundred-fold atonement.'

6 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the six hundred-fold atonement⁴.'

¹ Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law, as it was in the old German law, which agrees with the statement in Am. Marcellinus: 'Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitās perit' (XXIII, 6).

² The next of kin to the ninth degree.

³ See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract?—the Nabânazdistas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Ravaets leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 94).

⁴ See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 1.1.)

7 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the seven hundred-fold atonement¹.'

8 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the eight hundred-fold atonement².'

9 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the nine hundred-fold atonement³.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the thousand-fold atonement⁴.'

II d.

11 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes

¹ See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. l.)

² See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

³ See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

⁴ See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ¹.'

12 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ².'

13 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ³.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ⁴.'

15 (48). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ⁵.'

16 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

¹ One tanâfûhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems.

² Three tanâfûhrs, or 3600 dirhems.

³ Three tanâfûhrs and a half, or 4200 dirhems.

⁴ Four tanâfûhrs, or 4800 dirhems.

⁵ Four tanâfûhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ¹.'

III a.

17 (54). If a man rise up to smite a man, it is an Âgerepta ². If a man come upon a man to smite him, it is an Avaoirista. If a man actually smite a man with evil aforethought, it is an Aredus. Upon the fifth Aredus ³ he becomes a Peshôtanu ⁴.

18 (58). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

19 (63). 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the

¹ Five tanâsfûhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

² In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:—

Âgerepta, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Avaoirista, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Aredus is when a man actually smites another with a weapon, but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

³ Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

⁴ He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see *Introd. V*, 19).

Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (67). If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

21 (70). If a man commit an Âgerepta¹ and refuse to atone for it², what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (73). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

23 (75). 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy

¹ Even though the Âgerepta has been committed for the first time.

² If he does not offer himself to bear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd. V, 22).

stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.' •

24 (76). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (81). 'On the second Aredus, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 (85). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 (87). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

32 (89). If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

33 (90). If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

34 (93). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the

blood comes, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

35 (95). If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

36 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood comes, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 (99). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (102). If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu:

two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

39 (104). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

40 (106). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

41 (109). If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

42 (112). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

43 (115). And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

II e¹.

44 (118). If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods², or a wife³, or knowledge⁴, let him who wants to have goods have them delivered to him; let him who wants to have a wife receive and wed her; let him who wants to have knowledge be taught the holy word.

45 (123). He shall learn on, during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in knowledge and wax strong in holiness: so shall he sit up, giving thanks and praying to the gods, that he may be increased in knowledge: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night, and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthra-paitis⁵ have said.

III b.

46 (128). Before the water and the blazing fire⁶,

¹ We return here to contracts; the proper place of §§ 44-45 is after § 16.

² The goods-contract is a general expression for the sheep, ox, and field-contracts (see above, § 2).

³ Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields; she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoj Framjee's work on *The Parsees*, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, &c.' Bombay, 1864).

⁴ The contract between pupil and teacher falls into the same class (the man-contract, see p. 35, n. 4).

⁵ A teaching priest (Parsi Hêrbad).

⁶ Doubtful. This clause is intended, as it seems, against false

O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received from his neighbour the ox or the garment (he has received from him).

47 (130). . . . Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons¹; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 (134). And of two men, he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit² much more than he who does not do so³; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena⁴, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.

49 (137). It is this man that can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu⁵; that can strive against

oaths. The water and the blazing fire are the water and the fire before which the oath is taken (see § 54 n.); putting aside §§ 47-49, which are misplaced from Farg. III, 34, one comes to § 50, in which the penalty for a false oath is described.

¹ 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). 'He who has no child, the bridge (of paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if he answers, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

² Or, 'with Vôhu Manô,' who is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle (see Introd. IV, 33).

³ 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: . . . in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83; Hyde 25).

⁴ A dirhem.

⁵ See Introd. IV, 26.

the self-moving arrow¹; that can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on; that can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; it is this man that can strive against the ungodly Ashemaogha who does not eat².

49 (bis). . . . The very first time when that deed³ has been done, without waiting until it is done again⁴.

50 (143). Down there⁵ the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

51 (146). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one nail⁶ his perishable body with nails of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

52 (149). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, yet still worse shall it be.

53 (152). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force impale⁷ his perishable body, yet still worse shall it be.

54 (154). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, that deed which is done, when a man, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden⁸, truth-knowing⁹

¹ See Introd. IV, 26.

² See Introd. III, 10.

³ The taking of a false oath.

⁴ See Introd. V, 18.

⁵ In hell.

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ Doubtful.

⁸ The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Gr. Rav. 101).

⁹ Doubtful. Possibly 'bright.'

water with an appeal unto Rashnu¹ and a lie unto Mithra².

55 (156). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay³?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD V.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:—

I (1-7). If a man defile the fire or the earth involuntarily, or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8-9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10-14). Disposal of the dead during winter.

IV (15-20). How the Dakhmas are cleansed by water from the heavens.

V (21-26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover it, when lost.

VI (27-38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39-44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled by the dead.

¹ The god of truth. The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . &c., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (l. l. 96).

² See *Introd.* IV, 8. He is a Mithra-drug, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

³ In this world.

VIII (45-62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

I a.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale : a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it eats up the corpse of the dead man there : then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain : it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits, it deposits dung, it drops pieces from the corpse.

2 (7). Now, lo ! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain ; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting ; from that tree he wants to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay¹?

3 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : ' There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 (12). ' For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus², shut out from the way of holiness,

¹ For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it, see Farg. VII, 25 seq. The Vendîdâd Sâdah has here, ' Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Farg. VII, 28 seq.

² ' People guilty of death ' (Comm.; cf. *Introd.* V, 19).

whose souls will cry and wail¹! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

I b.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries a corpse into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay²?

6 (19). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 (20). 'For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

II a.

8 (23). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill³?

¹ After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from paradise' (Comm.) Possibly, 'Whose soul shall fly (from paradise) amid howls' (cf. Farg. XIII, 8).

² For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not. . . . If the water, unknown to him, comes to a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75; Hyde 85).

³ Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vidhôtu¹ ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya² carries him off: then the flood takes him up³, the flood takes him down⁴, the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him, and chance brings him here, or brings him there⁵.'

II b.

9 (29). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vidhôtu ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya carries him off. The fire burns up life and limb, and then chance brings him here, or brings him there⁶.'

III.

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?⁷

from God: how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ormazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nâi (lege Vâi) that kills the man' (Gr. Rav. 124).

¹ Literally, 'binds him;' see *Intro.* IV, 26; cf. *Farg.* XIX, 29.

² 'The bad Vâi' (*Comm.*); see *Intro.* IV, 17.

³ To the surface.

⁴ To the bottom.

⁵ Or perhaps, 'When he departs, it is by the will of Destiny that he departs' (*Comm.*)

⁶ See preceding note.

⁷ In case a man dies during the snowy season, while it is diffi-

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough¹, they shall raise three small houses for the dead².'

11 (37). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those houses for the dead?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull, or the feet, or the hands of the man, if he³ should stand erect, and hold out his feet, and stretch out his hands: such shall be, according to the law, the houses for the dead.

12 (41). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly⁴, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth⁵.

13 (44). 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma) his eyes towards the sun.

14 (46). 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma),

cult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated more clearly and fully in Farg. VIII, 4 seq.

¹ In every isolated house, in every group of houses.

² Thence is derived the modern usage of the Zâd-marg, a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 583). The object of that provision is to remove the uncleanness of the dead from the place of the living. An older form of the same provision is found in Farg. VIII, 8.

³ 'Being in life' (Comm.)

⁴ To come back.

⁵ 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful. [And there shall it lie] until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, sendest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha¹ down with the wind and with the clouds?

16 (51). That thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the corpses²? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pâtika³?

17 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so

¹ The sea above, the clouds. See Introd. IV, 11.

² Zoroaster seems to wonder that Ormazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a Ravact, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (Gr. Rav. 125).

³ The sea where waters are purified before going back to their heavenly seat, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). Pâtika, 'the clean,' is very likely to have been originally a name or epithet of the sea Vouru-kasha. When the mythic geography of Mazdeism was reduced into a system, the epithet took a separate existence, as it gave a ready answer to that question, which, it may be, was raised first by the name itself: 'Where are the waters cleansed which have been defiled here below, and which we see falling again to us pure and clean?'

as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, send the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha down with the wind and with the clouds.

18 (55). 'I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika¹.

19 (56). 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree², whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind [by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands].

20 (60). 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth², to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

¹ In later mythology, the sea Vouru-kasha and the sea Pûitika were assimilated to the Arabian sea and to the gulf of Oman: the moving to and fro of the waters from heaven to earth and from the earth to heaven was interpreted as the coming and going of the tide (Bund. XIII).

² The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru, sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tistar (Tistrya), the rain-god (Yt. XII, 17; Minokhired LXII, 37 seq.; Bundahis XXVII; cf. Farg. XX, 4 seq.)

V.

21 (63). 'This¹ is the best of all things, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra!'

With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra²: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good³, that purity that is procured by the law of Mazda to him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds⁴.'

22 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra, by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.'

24 (71). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.'

'As high as the great tree⁵ stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other

¹ The cleansing, the purification.

² 'When Zoroaster saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

³ As uncleanness is nothing less than a form of death (see *Intro.* V, 3).

⁴ That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

⁵ 'The royal cypress above small herbs' (Comm.)

utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

25, 26 (73-81). 'As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Mazda.

'[Therefore], when the Ratu has been applied to ¹, when the Sraoshâ-varez has been applied to ²; whether for a draona-service³ that has been undertaken ⁴, or for one that has not been undertaken ⁵; whether for a draona that has been offered up, or for one that has not been offered up; whether for a draona that has been shared, or for one that has not been shared ⁶; the Ratu has power to remit him

¹ 'To take the rule' (Comm.), which probably means, 'to know what sort of penance he must undergo;' as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

² 'To weep for his crime' (Comm.), which may mean, 'to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.' It is difficult to say exactly what were the functions of the Sraoshâ-varez, which seem to have been twofold. The cock is compared to him, as being 'the one who sets the world in motion,' and wakes men for prayer (Farg. XVIII, 14, text and note), which would make him a sort of Zoroastrian Muezzin; at the same time he is the priest of penance. His name may refer to either of his functions, according as it is translated, 'the one who causes hearing,' or 'the executor of punishment;' in the first case he would be the priest who pronounces the *favete linguis*, the *srâusha*; in the other case he would be the priest who wields the Sraoshô-*karana* (see Introd. V, 19).

³ A service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

⁴ When it ought not to be.

⁵ When it ought to be.

⁶ The meaning of the sentence is not certain; it alludes to

one-third of the penalty he had to pay¹: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever².

VI.

27 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness³?

28 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten⁵.

religious customs which are not well known. The Commentary interprets it as amounting to, 'Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

¹ When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

² Cf. Farg. III, 21.

³ See Introd. V, 3.

⁴ In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashema-gha (§ 35), as no Nasu issues then.

⁵ Literally, 'If she falls on the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' The word if refers to the supposition that there are eleven persons at least, and the words 'she defiles the tenth' must be understood to mean 'she defiles to the tenth.' In the Ravacts, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasu is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 (92). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

30 (96). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog¹, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a young dog², the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four.

31 (100). 'If it be a Sukuruna dog³, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a Gazu dog⁴, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the third and defiles the two.

32 (104). 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug

number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happen to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (Gr. Rav. 470).

¹ A dog without a master (see Farg. XIII, 19).

² A dog not more than four months old.

³ According to Aspendiârji, a siyâ-gosh, or 'black-eared' lynx, the messenger of the lion.

⁴ This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vîzu, are left untranslated, not being clear, in the Pahlavi translation.

Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the next, she defiles the next.'

33 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be an Urupi dog¹, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile in dying?

34 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'An Urupi dog does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever².'

35 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be a wicked, two-footed ruffian, an ungodly Ashemaogha³, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile in dying?

36 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year⁴. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-

¹ A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bund. 47, 8).

² Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

³ See Introd. IV, 10; V, 11.

⁴ The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful; for, in the sea Vouru-kasha, it goes swimming around the white Hom, the tree of everlasting life, and would gnaw it down, but for the godlike fish Kar-mâhî, that keeps watch and guards the tree wherever the frog would slip in (Bund. XVIII; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 146).

legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 (119). 'Whilst alive he smites the water¹; whilst alive he blows out the fire²; whilst alive he carries off the cow³; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body⁴; not so will he do when dead.

38 (120). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels⁵; not so will he do when dead.'

VII.

39 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar⁶, O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place⁷ whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 (128). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ By defiling it (a capital crime; see Introd. V, 8, and Farg. VII, 25).

² He extinguishes the Bahrâm fire (a capital crime; Introd. V, 8).

³ As a cattle-lifter.

⁴ As an assassin.

⁵ By defiling or by stealing them.

⁶ In order to perform a sacrifice.

⁷ The Dakhma.

Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

42 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer, and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 (134). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*astra*, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

VIII.

45 (135)¹. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46 (139). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;—

47 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

48 (144). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thirty paces from the fire ; thirty paces from the water ; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma ; three paces from the faithful ;—'

49 (145). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure¹, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 (147). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! What is the food that the woman shall first take ?

51 (148). Ahura Mazda answered : 'She shall drink gômêz² mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave within her womb.

52 (151). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling³ milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap⁴; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without water, and wine without water⁵.'

53 (154). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How long shall she remain so ? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine ?

54 (155). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Three nights

¹ The Armêst-gâh (cf. Farg. III, 15 seq., and Introd. V, 15).

² Urine of the ox : it destroys the Nasu in her womb (Introd. V, 5). The ashes work to the same end, as they are taken from the Bahrâm fire (Comm.), the earthly representative of the fire of lightning, and the most powerful destroyer of fiends (see Introd. V, 8, and Farg. VIII, 80 seq.) 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ See Introd. V, 13. 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Farg. VII, 70 seq.

long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes¹, and thus shall she be clean.'

55 (157). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 (158). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water².'

57 (160)³. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a

¹ She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnûm, for the details of which see Farg. IX.

² The modern custom is somewhat different: 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nîrang (=gômêz) . . . fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nîrang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (Gr. Rav. 568).

³ §§ 57-62=Farg. VII, 17-22.

Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez¹, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman²?

58 (162). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 (164). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work³, and who must sit in the place of infirmity⁴, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets⁵, until they can withdraw and move their hands⁶.

¹ These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Hâvanan strains the Haoma; the Âtare-vakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings all that is necessary for the sacrifice (Anquetil); the Âbered brings the water (Anquetil and Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, 21); the Âsnâtar cleanses the vessels. Those are the priests who are entrusted with the preparatory or accessory proceedings; the essential duties are performed by the Zaoatar and the Rathwiskar, the former chanting the hymns and saying the prayers, the latter performing the various operations during the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaoatar (Zôûî) and the Rathwiskar (Raspî), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. As to the Sraoshâ-varez, see above, § 25, note 2.

² In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

³ An Armêst; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Farg. IX, 33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him (cf. Introd. V, 15).

⁴ The Armêst-gâh (cf. Introd. V, 15).

⁵ The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtân women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Farg. VII, 10 seq.)

⁶ Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands

60 (168). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's¹ weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 (171). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body², even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm³.

62 (174). 'He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world⁴, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness⁵. To that world, to the

wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

¹ See Farg. IV, 48, note 4.

² Cf. Farg. VIII, 23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, *Manners and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the *Zend Vendîdâd*, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). The Greeks entertained quite different ideas, and dressed the dead in their gayest attire, as if for a feast. Yet the difference is only in appearance; for, after the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87, Hyde 64).

³ The Behesht or paradise.

⁴ 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. *Aogemaidê* 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

⁵ The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate

dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners !'

FARGARD VI.

I (1-9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10-25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26-41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42-43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44-51). The place for corpses; the Dakhmas.

I.

1. How long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died ?

Ahura Mazda answered : 'A year long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra !

2 (3). 'A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that part of the ground whereon dogs or men have died ; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground ; he may water it as he likes ¹.

3 (5). 'If within the year they shall sow or water the ground whereon dogs or men have died, the sin is the same as if they had brought dead matter to the water, to the earth, and to the plants ².'

4 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water,

darkness, for the Drug who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

¹ Cf. Farg. VII, 45 seq.

² 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough, to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

within the year, the ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 (9). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astara, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana ¹.'

6 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to make the ground fit to be tilled again², that they may water it, sow it, and plough it, what shall they do?

7 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there.'

8 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astara, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.'

II.

10 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 (18). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astara, thirty stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.'

¹ 'If they plough and sow it, one tanâfûhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanâfûhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanâfûhrs' (Comm.)

² Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

12 (20). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 (24). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 (35). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 (39). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshô-tanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 (44). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 (49). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

III.

26 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, boldly, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water

ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body¹.'

28 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, flesh, dung, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

31 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.'

32 (69). 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanâfûhr (that is, one by which a tanâfûhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanâfûhr sin. Gûgôsp says, It is a margarzân sin (a capital crime),' (Comm.)

Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

34 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water¹, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.

35 (73). 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

37 (75). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 (78). 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running

¹ All the water in the well is unclean, 'as the well has the length and breadth of a man's stature' (Brouillons d'Anquetil, Vendidad, p. 206).

stream does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

40 (80). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41 (83). 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times¹, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched by the corpse of a dead dog, or the corpse of a dead man, be made clean again?

43 (85). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been strained for the sacrifice, no corpse that has been brought unto it, makes corruption or death enter it². If it has not been strained for the sacrifice, the stem is defiled the length of four fingers. That length of stem shall be buried in the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ When three waves have passed.

² Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bund. XXIV); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ib. XXXI).

Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

45 (93). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits¹, where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 (95). 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or lead, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 (98). 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay?'

48 (100). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 (101). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One²! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

50 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall erect a building³ out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay⁴.

¹ 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) See Introd. V, 10; cf. VIII, 10.

² The foregoing clauses (§§ 44-47) refer to the place where the corpse must be laid; the following (49-51) refer to the building, which must be erected on that place, if possible, to receive the corpse.

³ The Dakhma.

⁴ The rain-water that washes away the remains of corpses (V, 16 seq.) must not remain on the Dakhmas (cf. Comm. ad VIII, 7),

51 (105). 'Such a building shall they erect, if they can afford it, with stones, mortar, and earth¹; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun.'

FARGARD VII.

I (1-5). How long after death the Nasu falls upon the dead.

II (6-9). How far the defiling power of the Nasu extends.

III (10-22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.

IV (23-24). Eating of corpses an abomination.

V (25-27). Bringing corpses to fire or water an abomination.

VI (28-35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.

VII a (36-40). Physicians; their probation.

VII b (40-44). Their fees.

VIII (45-59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas.

IX (60-72). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.

X (73-75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.

XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.

XII (77). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Drug Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material

but is brought out through trenches dug for that purpose (cf. *Introd.* V, 10).

¹ This word is doubtful.

world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Drug Nasu rush upon him¹?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north², in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras³.

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse⁴ or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it⁵. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Drug Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred⁶, or by falling down a precipice, or by the law⁷, or by a murderer, or by the noose⁸, how long after death does the Drug Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

¹ See Introd. V, 3.

² Hell lies in the north; cf. XIX, 1; Yt. XXII, 25; Bundahis 36, 12.

³ See Introd. V, 3.

⁴ Until the Sag-dîd has been performed (see Introd. V, 4).

⁵ The Sag-dîd may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs (see Introd. V, 4). The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

⁶ 'By poison' (Comm.)

⁷ Literally, 'by men;' that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

⁸ If he has strangled himself. Or possibly, 'by want.'

5 (6). Ahura Mazda answered : ' At the next watch after death¹, the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II².

6 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

7 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : ' If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten.

' If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine.

' If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 (17). ' If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven.

¹ The day is divided into five watches or *ratu*. If the man dies a natural death, the Drug comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Drug is taken unawares, and it requires time for her to be warned of it and to come.

² §§ 6-9 = Farg. V, 27-30.

‘If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

9 (21). ‘If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five.

‘If it be a young dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four ¹.’

. . . ‘those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets².’ . . .

III.

10 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding³ and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, uncleanness, and pollution?

11 (27). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘The Drug Nasu defiles with infection, uncleanness, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment ⁴.’

12 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?’

13 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It can, O holy Zarathustra!’

How so?

¹ This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs, viz. only those that can perform the Sag-dîd (Comm. ad § 2).

² This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

³ The bedding on which he has died.

⁴ That is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

‘If, indeed, the garment has been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground¹.

14 (33). ‘But if it has not been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 (35). ‘If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

‘If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times², they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 (37). ‘The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed in man, the fruit in a woman’s womb, the milk in a woman’s breast³.’

17⁴ (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaothar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Fra-baretâr, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

¹ According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

² See *Introd. V*, 16.

³ This clause is a quotation from *Yasna LXV*, 5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvî Sûra is the goddess of the waters.

⁴ §§ 17-22 = *Farg. V*, 57-62.

18 (43). Ahura Mazda answered : ' Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 (45). ' But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw and move their hands.

20 (49). ' Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 (52). ' Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm.

22 (55). ' He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness. To that world, to the dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners !'

IV.

23 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the carcase of a man ¹ ?

¹ The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself ; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed ; cf. infra § 76 seq.

24 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow¹ shall be dug out, his life shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever².'

V.

25 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus³, that most increase gnats and locusts⁴; those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that most increase the grass-destroying drought.

27 (69). 'Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that increase most the power of the winter, produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing,

¹ His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra.

² Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the Vendîdâd that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall be destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71, Hyde 79). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzân; Barashnûm and Nîreng are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gômêz (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

³ Doubtful; possibly, 'those Nasu-makers.'

⁴ 'It is said in the Avesta that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (Saddar 72, Hyde 80).

fierce, mischievous winter¹. Upon them comes and rushes the Drug Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever ²’

VI.

28 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It can, O holy Zarathustra!’

How so?

‘If the Nasu has not yet been smitten³ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds⁴, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Vitasti⁵ all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frârâthni⁶ all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean⁷.

¹ ‘In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer’ (Saddar 72, Hyde 80).

² Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the dêvs (Gr. Rav. p. 123).

³ That is to say, if the Sag-dîd has not yet been performed.

⁴ See above, p. 75, n. 5.

⁵ Twelve fingers.

⁶ The Frârâthni is, as it seems, as much as one foot (fourteen fingers, Vd. II, 22, Comm.)

⁷ ‘After a year,’ according to the Commentary.

30 (78). 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu² all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 (81). 'This is the quantity of wood around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; according as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 (83). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 (84). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu all

¹ It appears from the similar passages (VIII, 35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness (see *Introd.* V, 16) that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-did has taken place.

² A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 (89). 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frâbâzu all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Vîbâzu² all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 (92). 'This is the quantity of corn around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; according as it is sown or not sown; according as it is reaped or not reaped; according as it is ground or not ground³; according as it is (kneaded)⁴ or not kneaded; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VII a.

36 (94). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practice the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas?

37 (96). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself,

¹ The same observation applies to the first words of §§ 33, 34, as was observed of §§ 29, 30.

² A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

³ This clause is preceded and followed, in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, by clauses which seem to refer to the process of grinding being more or less advanced.

⁴ This word is supplied, as it appears, from the context, and from the Pahlavi translation, to be wanting.

rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever.

38 (99). 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife, he shall pay for it the same penalty as is paid for wilful murder¹.

39 (102). 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever².

40 (104). 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda; and heal them with the knife.

VII b.

41 (105). 'A healer shall heal a priest for a holy

¹ For *baodhō-varsta*, which word is wrongly understood by the Parsis as the designation of a penalty, consisting in the amputation of six fingers (Asp.)

² 'Some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

blessing¹; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough² for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four³.

42 (110). 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 (114). 'He shall heal the son of the lord of a borough for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for that of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a meal of meat⁴.

44 (118). 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the holy word⁵, it is this one

¹ 'Thus he will become holy (i.e. he will go to paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stîrs' (Comm.)

² A group of several houses; Aspendiârji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

³ 'A value of seventy stîrs' (Comm.)

⁴ Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Farg. IX, 37 seq.

⁵ 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. *Odyssea* XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepios: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (Pindaros, *Pyth.* III, 51).

who will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful ¹.

VIII.

45 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground itself again ²?

46 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is itself again, O holy Zarathustra ³!'

47 (124). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth itself again?

48 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years, O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is itself again ⁴.'

49 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead

¹ 'It may be that he may not relieve, but he will not harm' (Comm.) The Vendîdâd Sâdah, instead of 'it is this one,' &c., reads as follows: 'Let them address themselves to the one who heals with the holy word; for he is the best healer among all healers, who heals by the holy word; this one it is who will drive away sickness from the body of the faithful.' The treatment by the holy word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the Barashnûm (see Farg. XXII and Introd. V, 14).

² Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains Nasu till that time.

³ See Farg. VI, 1 seq.

⁴ Cf. Farg. III, 36 seq.

man has been laid down on a Dakhma, is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, itself again?

50 (127). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth¹. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas².

51 (129). 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for³.

52 (132). 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits wage war with one another⁴; and when he enters the blissful world, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one!"'

55⁵ (137). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) Cf. Farg. III, 13.

² Cf. Farg. III, 9, text and note, and § 13.

³ 'A tanâfûhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

⁴ When a man dies, hell and paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astôvîdhôtus, Vizaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to paradise (see Farg. XIX, 29 seq.; Yt. XXII; Mainyô-i-khard II). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (cf. IX, 56).

⁵ §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanâfûhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

Holy One! Where are the fiends? Where are the worshippers of the fiends? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56 (138). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where the fiends are, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along, that is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 (140). 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra! those fiends take food and void filth, (eating up corpses) in the same way as you, men, in the material world, eat cooked meal and cooked meat. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men!

58 (143). 'Thus the fiends revel on there, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. Thus from the Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, humours¹, cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white. There death has most power on man, from the hour when the sun is down.

¹ Doubtful (nâêza).

59 (148). 'And if there be people of evil spirit who do not seek for better spirit, the Gainis¹ make those diseases grow stronger by a third², on their thighs, on their hands, on their plaited hair³.'

IX.

60⁴ (151). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;—

62 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 (159). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

¹ 'The Gahi' (Comm.) The Gaini seems to be the Gahi as bringing sickness (cf. Farg. XXI, 2).

² The general meaning of the sentence is that the Dakhmas are seats of infection, of which the action becomes worse and stronger when people live in impiety and vices.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ §§ 60-69 = Farg. V, 45-54.

64 (160). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 (162). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 (163). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She shall drink gômêz mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave in her womb.'

67 (166). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without water, and wine without water.'

68 (169). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine?

69 (170). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! But if fever befall her unclean body, if that twofold plague, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water?

71 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She may; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. Having been allowed by one of the holy men, by a holy faithful man, who knows the holy know-

ledge¹, she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâ-varez being applied to², shall prescribe the penalty to be paid³.

72 (181). What is the penalty to be paid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The deed is that of a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-
astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-~~zarana~~⁴.'

X.

73 (183). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the eating vessels be made clean that have been touched by the carcase of a dog, or by the corpse of a man?

74 (184). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. 'If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with

¹ The Dastur.

² See Farg. V, 25.

³ For the water having been defiled.

⁴ A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice: 'If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur' (Old Rav. 98 b).

earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

‘If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

‘If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean¹.]

‘If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever².’

XI.

76 (189). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the cow be made clean that has eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 (190). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her to the baresma neither the milk and cheese that accompany the libation, nor the meat that accompanies the libation³. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before⁴.’

XII.

78 (193). Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who,

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

² See Introd. V, 16.

³ The offering of the libation waters (Zaotra) is accompanied with offerings of milk, cheese, and meat, which the priest eats holding the baresma in his hand.

⁴ ‘Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she be big with young, the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean’ (Comm.)

with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God? Who is he who, with a godly intent, falls into the ways of the Drug¹?

79 (194). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The one who, with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God; the one who with a godly intent falls into the ways of the Drug, is he who offers up for libation water defiled by the dead; or who offers up libations in the dead of the night².'

FARGARD VIII.

I (1-3). Purification of the house where a man has died.

II (4-13). Funerals.

III (14-22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.

IV (23-25). No clothes to be wasted on a corpse.

V (26-32). Unlawful lusts.

VI (33-34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.

VII (35-72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.

VIII (73-80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.

IX (81-96). The Bahrâm fire.

X (97-107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled: Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows: I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under the timber-work of a house or the wattlings of a hut, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

¹ Possibly, works for the Drug.

² 'From what hour may the good waters be offered up? From sunrise to sunset. He who offers up the good waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should shed them downright into the jaws of the venomous snake' (Nîrangistân, in the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 76).

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall look for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around. If they find it easier to remove the dead than to remove the house, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant ¹.

3 (8). ' If they find it easier to remove the house than to remove the dead ², they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining ³, or snowing, or blowing ⁴, or the darkness is coming on, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do ⁴ ?

¹ ' So, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire ' (Comm.) Cf. XI, 4. Urvâsni is the râsan plant, a sort of garlic ; Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, and Hadhâ-naêpata are respectively (according to Aspen-diârji) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

² If the house is simply a hut or a tent.

³ ' No corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down ; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps. . . . When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse ' (Comm.)

⁴ If it is the season of rain or snow. Cf. V, 10 seq.

5 (14). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;—

6 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 (17). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

8 (18). 'On that place they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung]¹; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth².

9 (21). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth.

10 (23). 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall

¹ Vendidad Sâdah.

² In the similar case in V, 10, it is prescribed to isolate the corpse in a permanent dead house (the Zâd-marg); the rule prescribed here seems to be older, as it is now obsolete; it was besides less convenient.

of the house¹, and they shall call for two men, strong and skilful², and those, having stripped their clothes off³, shall take the body to the building of clay, stones, and mortar⁴, raised on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 (29). 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead; then the holy Ratu⁵ shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Let the worshippers of Mazda here bring the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!"'

12 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 (35). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except these two: the nearest kinsman (of the dead) or his nearest kinswoman. The worshippers of Mazda

¹ 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.) In some parts of Germany the dead must not be carried away through the usual house-door, as the dead and the living must not pass through the same door.

² The corpse-bearers or *nasu-kasha*. 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see Farg. III, 13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

³ 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses' (Comm.), the so-called *gâmah-i dakhma*, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

⁴ The Dakhma (see Farg. VI, 50 seq.)

⁵ The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the Nasu-kashas' (Comm.)

shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies¹.

III.

14 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcasses of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful?

15 (40). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of baresma, nor by the faithful.

16 (41). 'You shall therefore cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears², to go three times through that way³. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras⁴.

17 (45). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white

¹ When back in the village they perform the regular Barāsh-nûm with consecrated gômêz (Comm.)

² See Introd. V, 4.

³ 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyô-mâh says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

⁴ Cf. Farg. VII, 3.

dog with yellow ears, to go six times¹ through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

18 (47). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

19 (49). 'An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these fiend-smiting words : "Yathâ ahû vairyô² :—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness ; the riches of Vohu-manô³ shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

20 (52). "Kem nâ mazdâ :—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda ! while the hate of

¹ 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his own accord ; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing ; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

² A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Honover. It was by reciting it that Ormazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bund. I).

³ Of paradise, as Vohu-manô (Good Thought) is the door-keeper of heaven (cf. Farg. XIX, 31).

the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô¹, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

“*Ke verethrem gâ*:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha² may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

21 (60). “Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!”

22 (63). ‘Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of baresma, and the faithful.

‘The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards³ prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.’

IV.

23 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of

¹ When Ahriman broke into the world he was repelled by Âtar and Vohu-manô (Yasht XIII, 77; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 107).

² Sraosha fights for the soul of the good after death (see p. 87, note 4). *Kem nâ mazdâ* and *ke verethrem gâ* are lines taken from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVI, 7; XLIV, 16) and diverted from their primitive meaning to suit the present case.

³ On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (71). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

V.

26 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man involuntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

¹ See Farg. V, 60; VII, 20.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 (83). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 (88). 'The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

30 (95). 'In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda¹.'

31 (98). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêvas? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a she-Daêva?

¹ See Farg. III, 38-42, text and notes.

that is in his inmost self a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva¹? Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death²?

32 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêvas, that is a she-Daêva; this is the man that is in his inmost self a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind³.'

¹ The text has a *Vîspô-daêva*, a curious expression which comes from the time when *daêva* still meant 'a god' (see *Introd.* IV, 41). In the time of the Indo-Iranian, nay, as early as the time of the Indo-European religion, it was the custom, beside special invocations to the several gods, to address one to all the gods, for fear of the resentment of those who might have been forgotten or ignored; thus the Greeks never failed to invoke all gods and goddesses (*θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις*); in the same way the Indian invoked *visvê devâs*, 'all the gods,' which, in course of time, gave rise to a special class of gods. Hence, in Mazdeism, arose a class of fiends, the *vîspê daêva*; but tradition lost the meaning of the word, and the *vîspô daevô* became 'one who is entirely a Daêva by his wickedness' (*Comm.*)

² Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the *Mahâbâdians* believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an *Ahriman* or *gin* (*Dabistân*).

³ The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from the *Dastur* (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an 'ordinary capital crime may be redeemed' (*Comm.* ad VII, 52).

VI.

33 (107). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year?

34 (108). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry¹. Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, and whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth².'

VII.

35 (111). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 (113). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds,

¹ See Introd. V. This principle still prevails even with Musulman Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité dans l'attouchement des Chrétiens et autres idolâtres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vêtements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étant secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font par fois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venant à les heurter, ils ne soient rendus immondes' (G. du Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin).

² See Farg. V, 4.

he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean¹.

37 (117). 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds², then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground³, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog⁴, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man⁵.

38 (121). 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes⁶ in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man. Then they shall wait until he is dried⁷ even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 (125). 'They shall dig three more holes⁸ in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water, not with gômêz.

40 (127). 'He shall first wash his hands; if his

¹ If the Sag-dîd has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough (see Introd. V, 16).

² If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, the Barashnûm is necessary (see Introd. V, 16).

³ The first three holes, which contain gômêz. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

⁴ Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

⁵ To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the 'fiend-smiting spells.'

⁶ Containing gômêz too.

⁷ He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see IX, 29 seq.)

⁸ Containing water.

hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water the forepart of his skull.'

41 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whercon does the Drug Nasu rush¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 (134). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

¹ The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes.

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 (146). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered: ' Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 (149). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 (152). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 (155). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered: ' Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 (161). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered: ' Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 (164). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 (167). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 (170). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

55 (173). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

56 (176). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

57 (179). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

58 (182). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Drug Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a

man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.

59 (187). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

60 (190). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

61 (193). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 (196). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 (199). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 (202). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 (205). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 (208). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 (211). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

68 (214). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 (217). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'She is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.'

70 (220). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.'

71 (225). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt

sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words :

“The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,” &c.

“Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?” &c.

“Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit²!”]

VIII.

73 (229). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse-burning fire, whereon a corpse is being cooked or roasted, what shall they do?

74 (233). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall kill the man that burns the corpse; surely they shall,

¹ As in §§ 19, 20.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

kill him¹. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 (237). 'Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

76 (242). 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground², a Vitasti³ away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 (245). 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

¹ 'He who burns Nasâ (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or roasting Nasâ from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasâ-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed' (Comm.)

² In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony seems to be an imitation of the Barashnûm. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Farg. IX, 12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

³ A span of twelve fingers.

‘They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

‘They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

‘They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

‘They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 (245). ‘They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79, 80 (246). ‘If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra! wood of Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood, wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas¹.’

IX.

81 (251). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a corpse-burning fire

¹ See Intro. IV, 20-21.

to the Dâityô-gâtu ¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

82 (254). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein excrement has been burnt², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

83 (257). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein cowdung has been burnt³, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

84 (258). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the kiln of a brick-maker⁴, what shall be

¹ 'The proper abode,' the Bahrâm fire (see Introd. V, 8). The Bahrâm fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires, eighty dyers' fires, &c.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

² 'The fire of the lac-makers and of the dyers' (Asp. and Gr. Rav. 120).

³ 'The fire of a bath,' according to Aspendiârji; but see Introd. V, 8.

⁴ Or, 'from a lime-kiln' (Comm.)

his reward when his soul has parted with his body ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

85 (259). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a potter's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were pots baked in that fire¹.'

86 (260). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the reapers¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants in the crop¹.'

87 (261). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 (262). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

89 (263). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a worker in brass, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 (264). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 (265). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 (266). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 (267). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ A baker's fire.

² The kitchen-fire.

Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from an encampment¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 (268). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

[95 (269)². O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field³, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.']

96 (270). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

X.

97 (271). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy

¹ Doubtful.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

³ The hunter's fire.

Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the fields¹?

98 (272). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head².

99 (278). 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times³.

100 (280). 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra⁴. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, then he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the third of his trespass.

101 (287). 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if

¹ Where the regular process of purification cannot be performed.

² If the Sag-dîd has been performed, the Sî-shû (thirtyfold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

³ If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnûm can be performed.

⁴ See p. 17, n. 1.

the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the half of his trespass.

102 (291). 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the whole of his trespass.

103 (294). 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean¹.'

104 (300). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found water on his way, the water requires an atonement²; what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105. (303). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 (304). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found trees³ on his way, the fire requires an atonement; what is the penalty he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

¹ 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and till; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnûm),' (Comm.)

² As he defiled it by crossing it. •

³ 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

107 (308). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement, which saves him who submits to it; he who does not submit to it, shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Druǵ¹.'

FARGARD IX.

The nine nights' Barashnûm.

I a (1-11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh).

I b (12-36). Description of the cleansing.

II (37-44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47-57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as Barashnûm nû shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnûm,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35)². It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Farg. XIX, 33; cf. *Introd.* V, 16). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nû zûdî (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (*Saddar* 36, *Hyde* 40)³.

I a.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most

¹ Hell. Cf. Farg. XIV, 18.

² As to the word Barashnûm, it seems not to refer to the ceremony itself, and to be nothing more than the Zend word *bareshnûm*, 'the top of the head, the skull,' the part of the body that is first to be washed (§ 15).

³ For the plan of the Barashnûm-gâh, see *Anquetil* II, p. 456.

beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall they manage here below, who want to cleanse the body of one defiled by the dead?’

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘A godly man, O Spitama Zarathustra! who speaks truth, who learns the Holy Word, and who knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda¹, such a man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus² square.

3 (9). ‘It should be the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.’

4 (11). How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful? .

5 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

6 (13). ‘Then thou shalt dig a hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come³.

7 (14). ‘Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

‘Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if

¹ A priest.

² The Vîbâzu seems to have been as much as ten paces.

³ See Introd. V, 16.

the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

‘Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

‘Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

‘Thou shalt dig a sixth hole¹, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.’

8 (14). How far from one another?

‘One pace.’

How much is the pace?

‘As much as three feet.

9 (16). ‘Then thou shalt dig three holes more², two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.’

How far from the former six?

‘Three paces.’

What sort of paces?

‘Such as are taken in walking.’

How much are those (three) paces?

‘As much as nine feet.

10 (22). ‘Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.’

How far from the holes?

‘Three paces.’

What sort of paces?

‘Such as are taken in walking.’

¹ These six holes contain gômêz. ‘The holes must be dug from the north to the south’ (Comm.)

² The three holes to contain water.

How much are those (three) paces ?

'As much as nine feet.

11 (24). 'Thou shalt draw twelve furrows¹; three of which thou shalt draw around (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw around (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw around the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the three holes, outside the six holes². At each of the three times nine feet³, thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps, or clods, or any hard matter⁴.'

I b.

12 (31). 'Then the unclean one shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, Nemaskâ yâ

¹ 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem-vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," &c.), the Fravarânê ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, a foe of the fiend," &c.), the Khshnûman of Serosh, and the Bâg of Serosh; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (cf. Farg. XVII, 5). In the present case the Drug, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell, and the world is freed from her presence.

² 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gômêz' (Comm.)

³ The nine feet between the holes containing gômêz and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows, and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

⁴ That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth (see *Intro.* V, 10).

ârmaitis izâkâ¹; and the unclean one shall repeat, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis izâkâ.

13 (35). 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear², to smite the Mâzainya fiends³, to smite all the fiends.

14 (40). 'Then thou shalt sprinkle him with gômêz from a spoon of brass or of lead; thou shalt take a stick with nine knots⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! and thou shalt fasten the leaden spoon to the upper part of the stick.

15 (43). 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows⁵.

16 (50). 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 (56). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

¹ Yasna XLIX, 10. ² See Introd. IV, 22. ³ See Introd. IV, 23.

⁴ So long that the cleanser may take gômêz or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

⁵ Cf. Farg. VIII, 40-71.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 (64). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 (70). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 (76). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 (82). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 (88). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 (94). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 (102). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

25 (108). ‘He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

26 (113). ‘He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27 (118). 'And thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

“Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and yields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

“Kēm nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

“Kē verethrem gâ:—Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit¹!”

28 (119). 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.²

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

¹ Cf. Farg. VIII, 19–21.

² As in preceding clause.

'At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

29 (120). 'Afterwards the unclean one shall sit down, inside the furrows¹, outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 (123). 'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 (125). 'When his body is dry, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 (130). 'Then he shall perfume (his body)² with perfumes from Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or from any sweet-

¹ Between the furrows of the six holes containing gômêz and the furrows of the holes containing water.

² Or, possibly, 'his clothes' (see Farg. XIX, 24).

smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

33 (133). 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity¹, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 (137). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 (141). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 (145). 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near

¹ The Armêst-gâh (see Introd. V, 15).

the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

II.¹

37 (146). 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a holy blessing²; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull; thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 (151). 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing³ cow; thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow⁴; thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 (154). 'These are the different cattle that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to him who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other reward that may make him leave their houses well-pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 (157). 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them by the nose, by the eyes, by the tongue, by the jaws, by the sexual organs, by the hinder parts.

41 (159). 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever.

'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra!

¹ Cf. the tariff for the fees of physicians, Farg. VII, 41-43.

² See Farg. VII, 41, note.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Doubtful.

to shine upon a man defiled by the dead ; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 (162). 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra ! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled ; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 (164). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu any one defiled by her ?'

44 (166). Ahura Mazda answered : 'The welfare of the blessed abode thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45¹ (167). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living ? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living ?'

46 (169). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice ; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice ; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times ; and the Drug shall fade away like the self-moving arrow², like the carpet of the earth³ when the year is over, like its garment³ which lasts a season.'

¹ This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Drug' are further developed in the following Fargard.

² See Introd. IV, 26.

³ The grass.

III.

47 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do? How shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?

48 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu waxes stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before.'

49 (177). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall flay him alive, they shall cut off his head, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the birds of the beneficent spirit, unto the corpse-eating birds, unto the ravens, with these words¹:—

'“The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 (183). “If he has committed any other evil

¹ 'The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall be taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection' (Fraser Ravaet, p. 398). Cf. Farg. III, 20 seq.

deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever¹.”

51 (187). Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 (188). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is the ungodly Ashemaogha², O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 (190). ‘For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass³.’

54 (191). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 (192, 193). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been put to death, and the holy Sraosha has been in that place, offered up a sacrifice⁴, for three

¹ See Farg. III, 20 seq., and Introd. V.

² See Introd. IV.

³ Cf. XIII, 52 seq.

⁴ The so-called *zanda ravân*, ‘the sacrifice that makes the soul living,’ that is to say, that makes it enter heaven. It is probably to be performed only in case the sinner has performed the *Patet* (see the note to § 49).

days and three nights, with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted.

57 (196). 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD X.

During the process of cleansing, the voice works with the hand. The spells which must be recited while the unclean one is cleansing himself have already been mentioned in the preceding Fargard, but we find here a detailed list of spells which are to be spoken twice, or thrice, or four times. The exact time when they are to be uttered is not mentioned, and we do not know whether they are to accompany those prescribed in the last Fargard, and are, therefore, to be repeated as often as the unclean one is washed, or whether they are only intended to close the whole ceremony.

These spells, like the former ones, are taken from the hymns or Gâthas, the oldest and holiest part of the Avesta. They were not written for this particular purpose, but, as happens in all religions, advantage was taken of whatever there might be in the old sacred hymns which could be more or less easily applied to the special circumstances of the case. (The recitation of these lines is followed by an exorcism, written in the ordinary language of the Avesta, which has been expressly composed for the occasion.)

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice¹; say

¹ The so-called bis-âmrûta.

aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice¹; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times².'

3 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud:—

ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna XXVIII, 2),
humatenâm . . . mahî (Yas. XXXV, 2),
ashahyâ âađ sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. XXXV, 8),
yathâ tû î . . . ahurâ (Yas. XXXIX, 4),
humâim thwâ . . . hudaustemâ (Yas. XLI, 3),
thwôi staotaraskâ . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5),
ustâ ahmâi . . . mananghō (Yas. XLIII, 1),
spcztâ mainyû . . . ahurō (Yas. XLVII, 1),
voḥu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1),
vahistâ istis . . . skyaothanâskâ (Yas. LIII, 1).

5 (10). 'And after thou hast twice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

“I drive away Angra Mainyu from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

6 (12). “I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town,

¹ The thris-âmrûta.

² The kathrus-âmrûta.

from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.”

7 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice?

8 (16). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud:—

ashem vohu . . . (Yas. XXVII, 14),

ye sevistô . . . paitî (Yas. XXXIII, 11),

hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahistâi (Yas. XXXV, 5),

duzvarenâis . . . vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9).

9 (16). ‘After thou hast thrice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

“I drive away Indra¹, I drive away Sauru¹, I drive away the daêva Nəunghaithya¹, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

10 (18). “I drive away Tauru², I drive away Zairi², from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the

See Introd. IV, 41. ’

² See Introd. IV. 34.

woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.”

11 (19). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times?

12 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:—

yathâ ahû vairyô . . .¹ (Yas. XXVII, 13),

mazdâ ad’ moi . . . dau ahûm² (Yas. XXXIV, 15),

â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazdau³ (Yas. LIV, 1).

13 (22). ‘After thou hast said those words four times, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

“I drive away Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear⁴, I drive away the daêva Akatasha⁵, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

14 (24). “I drive away the Varenya daêvas⁶, I drive away the wind-daêva⁷, from this house, from

¹ Translated Farg. VIII, 19.

² Translated Farg. XI, 14.

³ Translated Farg. XX, 11.

⁴ See Introd. IV, 22.

⁵ ‘The worker of evil,’ a personification of the evil powers, it may be a mere name of Ahriman.

⁶ See Introd. IV, 23.

⁷ The demon Vâteh, who raises storms (Brouillons d’Anquetil).

this borough, from this town, from this land ; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead ; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land ; from the whole of the holy world."

15 (25). 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice ; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice ; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 (26). 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu ; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear ; these are the words that smite down the Mâzainya daêvas¹ ; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 (30). 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 (32). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra ! thou shalt dig nine holes² in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees ; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast ; for purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good ; that purity that is pro-

¹ According to tradition, 'the Dîvs in Mazanderan ;' Mazanderan is known, in fact, as a land of fiends and sorcerers ; a reputation for which it is very likely indebted to the neighbouring mount Damâvand, to which Azis Dahâka is said to be bound. Yet one may doubt whether it gave its name to the Mâzainya daêvas, or if it took its name from them. Mâzainya was, most probably, like Varenya, an epithet of the Dîvs, which, in course of time, became the name of a class of demons.

² The nine holes for the Bârashnûm ; see above, p. 120, § 6 seq.

cured by the law of Mazda for him who cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

19 (38). 'Make thyself pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for himself, namely, when he cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,' &c.¹

'Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?' &c.

'Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?' &c.

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

FARGARD XI.

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to be cleansed, such as the house, the fire, the water, &c. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the Gâthas which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object, and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect, which is the same for all the objects.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? how the fire? how the water? how the earth? how the cow? how the tree? how the faithful man and the faithful woman? how the stars? how the moon? how the sun? how the boundless light?

¹ The rest as in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle ?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 (7). 'So thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?" &c.

"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?" &c.

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta!" &c.¹

4 (9). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "He is my greatest support as long as lasts this dreary world²."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda³!"

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² Yasna XLIX, 1. The allusion is not quite clear, but there seems to be a comparison between the small house of man and that great house the world.

³ Yasna XXXVI, 1.

* 5 (13). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the waters in the tree, the waters in the stream, the waters in the rain ¹."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura ²!"

6 (17). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "For the cow we order thee to do these most excellent deeds, that she may have a resting place and fodder ³."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "Out of him⁴, through his holiness Mazda made the plants grow up ⁵."

7 (21). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura ⁶!"

¹ Yasna XXXVIII, 3.

² Yasna XXXVIII, 1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives;' these women are, or rather were, the rivers in heaven, which were considered as the wives of the heaven-god; the rain waters are called 'Ahura's spouses,' Ahurânîs (Yasna LXVIII); cf. Orm. Ahr. § 32 and Introd. IV. Tradition wrongly recognises in these women the Faroers of godly men.

³ Yasna XXXV, 4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder be given' (Comm.)

⁴ The first-born bull from whose body, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bund. IV; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 129 seq.)

⁵ Yasna XLVIII, 6. Cf. Farg. XVII, 5.

⁶ Yasna LIV, 1. Cf. Farg. XX; 11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless

8 (25). 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:—

"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?" &c.

"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c.

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.¹

9 (26). 'I drive away Aêshma², I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.

[I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighni³; I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away Bûidhiza⁴; I drive away Kundi, I drive away Kundiza.⁵]

'I drive away the yellow Bûshyâsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyâsta⁶; [I drive away Mûidhi⁷, I drive away Kapasti.⁸]

light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Farg. IX, 41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² See Introd. IV, 22.

³ Khrû and Khrûighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, 'wound' and 'the wounding one'; whether they belonged to concrete mythology, or were mere abstractions, is difficult to decide. They may have been mere names or epithets of Aêshma khrûidru, 'Aêshma of the wounding spear.'

⁴ Bûidhiza is 'the offspring of Bûidhi,' but the meaning of Bûidhi is unknown.

⁵ Kundiza is 'the offspring of Kundi'; Kundi is contracted from Kavandi or Kavanda; the Indian homonym kavandha means literally 'a tub,' and by a mythical metaphor 'a raining cloud' (Rig-veda V, 85, 3; IX, 74, 7); he becomes then the demon in the cloud (Farg. XIX, 41). He is known in Greek mythology under the name of Κάυνθος (Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 134).

⁶ See Introd. IV, 24; cf. Farg. XVIII, 16.

⁷ A demon unknown. Aspendiârji translates it by 'Destruction.'

⁸ Unknown. Aspendiârji calls it 'Revenge.'

‘I drive away the Pairika¹ that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the demon of uncleanness that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 (32). ‘I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 (33). ‘Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:—

“‘The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,” &c.

“‘Whom hast thou placed to protect me?” &c.

“‘Who is he who will smite the fiend?” &c.

“‘Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!” &c.²

12 (34). ‘Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven; away is direct defilement; away is indirect defilement driven.

[‘Away is Khrû, away is Khrûighni driven; away is Bûidhi, away is Bûidhiza driven; away is Kundi, away is Kundiza driven.]

‘Away is Bûshyâsta driven, the yellow; away is Bûshyâsta driven, the long-handed; [away is Mûidhi, away is Kapasti driven.]

‘Away is the Pairika driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. Away is the demon of uncleanness driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

¹ See Introd. IV, 21.

² As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

13 (40). 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 (41). 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ ad' môi" four times: "O Mazda! teach me excellent words and excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee due praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world thrive for ever and ever, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule¹."

15. 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.²

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.³

17. 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyamaishyô four times: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither!" &c.⁴

18. 'Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven,' &c.⁵

19. 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.⁶

20. 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:—

'“The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,” &c.

¹ Yasna XXXIV, 15.

² The rest as in § 9.

³ The rest as in § 10.

⁴ As in § 7.

⁵ As in § 12.

⁶ As in § 13.

“Whom hast thou placed to protect me?” &c.

“Who is he who will smite the fiend?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!”

FARGARD XII.

This chapter is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; it is missing in the Zend-Pahlavi Vendîdâd. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, *Zend-Avesta*, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; but those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of ‘staying’ (upaman) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word upaman is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the Armêst-gâh, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, it seems to follow that the relatives of a dead person were considered unclean from the mere fact of being related to him, and were, on this account, shut out of the frequented parts of the house. So, besides the general uncleanness arising from actual contact with a corpse, there was another form of uncleanness arising from relationship with the dead. The natural link that connects the members of one and the same family is of such a kind that no one can die without death entering all of them. Whether this is the primitive form of mourning, or only a later form of it, we will not discuss here.

On the other hand, the house is unclean too, at least with regard to the relatives; for the time of 'staying' is followed by a purification of the house, that is not to be confounded with that described in the eighth Fargard, which takes place directly after the death and, as it appears, opens the house again only to those who were not connected with the dead man. Even nowadays, in Persia, the house where a relative has died is unlucky, and is looked upon with even more repugnance than is shown in the Avesta. The son deserts the house where his father has died; he could not live and walk in it, 'the unlucky step,' the bad *qadîm* is in it; 'every man's house must die with him;' therefore, he lets it fall into ruin, and builds another house farther off¹; a custom to which there seems to be some allusion in the Pahlavi Commentary (ad I, 9).

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay², the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners³?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ Chardin, *Voyages*, III, p. 7, 33 (ed. d'Amsterdam, 1711). Cf. Polack, *Persien* (I, p. 52).

² See the *Introd.* to the Farg.

³ How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness? How long if in the state of a Peshôtanu?

⁴ All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spentas preside (such as the cow, the metals, &c.)

3 (9). If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

5 (17). If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then

the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

7 (25). If the master of the house¹ dies, or if the mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They² shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

9 (31). If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their

¹ The chief of the family, the paterfamilias.

² All the familia, both relatives and servants.

bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

11 (37). If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

13 (43). If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

15 (48). If one's male cousin or female cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean; and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 (53). If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 (58). If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 (60). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

21 (63). If a stranger dies who does not profess the true faith, or the true law¹, what part of the

¹ The case of a stranger (no relative) who professes the true faith is not provided for here, because it has been sufficiently considered in the preceding chapters.

creation of the good spirit does he directly defile (in dying)? What part does he indirectly defile?

22¹ (65). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 (70). 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

24 (71). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha; never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD XIII.

The Dog.

I (1-7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman.

(a. 1-4). The dog Vanghâpara ('the hedge-hog').

(b. 4-7). The dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').

II (8-16). Offences against the dog.

III (17-19). On the several duties of the dog.

IV (20-28). On the food due to the dog.

V (29-38). On the mad dog; how he is to be kept, and cured.

VI (39-40). On the excellence of the dog.

VII (41-43). On the wolf-dog.

¹ §§ 22-24 are the same as Farg. V, 36-38.

VIII (44-48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.

IX (49-50). Praise of the dog.

X (50-54). The water dog.

See Introd. IV, 35.

I a.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara¹, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka²; this is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit.

3 (6). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the *Kinvad* bridge³, unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin by offering up a sacrifice to Sraosha⁴.

¹ The hedge-hog. As it struggles from midnight till the dawn, this supposes the existence of a myth, in which the rays of the sun, beginning from midnight to pierce the veil of darkness, were compared to the prickles of a heavenly hedge-hog.

² Duzaka is the popular name of the hedge-hog (Pers. *zuzah*). The name Vanghâpara must have referred to its mythical qualities. It is not without importance which name is given to it: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Farg. XVIII, 15. The nature of every being lies partly in its name.

³ The bridge leading to paradise; see Farg. XIX, 30.

⁴ Cf. § 54. Aspendiârji translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha.'

4 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

I b.

5 (13). Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit?

6 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura¹, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka², this is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit.

7 (18). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for.

II.

8 (21). 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house dog, or a Vohunazga dog³, or

¹ The tortoise (Asp.)

² 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyâka is a lucky name, as it is connected with a word (zairimya) which denotes the freshness of water and verdure; and it seems to designate the tortoise as 'the fresh-water creature' (Asp.); therefore the name is corrected into 'the injurer (?) of fresh water.'

³ See § 19 n.

a trained dog¹, his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly² amid louder howling and fiercer pursuing than the sheep does when the wolf rushes upon it in the lofty forest.

9 (24). 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it through the howls and pursuit³ in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the *Kinvad* bridge⁴ help his departing soul through the howls and pursuit in the other world.

10 (26). 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away sheep from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost sheep, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding⁵.

11 (31). 'If a man shall smite a house dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away goods from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost goods, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.'

12 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, eight hundred stripes with the *Sraoshê-karana*.'

A hunting dog (†).
Of the Divs.

² 'From paradise' (Comm.)

⁴ See *Introd. V*, 4.

Baodhê-varsta; see *Farg. VII*, 38 n.

13 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a young dog¹ so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (48). 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Gazu dog, of a Vîzu dog², of a Sukuruna dog³, of a sharp-toothed Urupi dog⁴, of a swift-running Raopi⁵ dog; this is the penalty for the murder of any kind of dog but the water dog⁶.'

¹ A dog not older than four months.

² Unknown. Cf. V, 31, 32.

³ A lynx. Cf. V, 31.

⁴ A weazel. Cf. V, 33.

⁵ A fox. The fox belongs to the good creation, as he fights against the demon Khava (Bund. XIX; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 228).

⁶ The beaver. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) Cf. § 52 seq. and Farg. XIV.

III.

17 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a shepherd's dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Yugyêsti¹ round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a house dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 (53). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a Vohunazga dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence².'

IV.

20 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank³.'

¹ A measure unknown; it seems to have been the average distance of fourteen houses (see the gloss ad § 17 in the *Introd.* V, 4, *Farg.* XV, 45, and *Bund.* p. 31, 7).

² 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (*Comm.*) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharîb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22) and is one of the dogs who can be used for the Sag-dîd (*Introd.* V, 4).

³ Invited as a guest.

21 (57). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, in the character of a priest¹, who should come to his house.'

23 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a young dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can answer for himself².'

24 (63). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-âstra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.'

¹ The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house; as he smites the Nasu, he is like a holy man, of the wandering class, a sort of begging friar.

² Probably, 'Who has performed the nû-zûd, fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he can smite the Nasu.

³ 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not;

25 (66). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (69). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a young dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28 (75). 'For it is the dog, of all the creatures of the good spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat; this is the right food for the dog¹.'

but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them' (Ardai Virâf XLVIII, translated by Haug).

¹ 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog . . . for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (Saddar 31; Hyde 35).

V.

29 (80). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, or one that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 (82). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an *asti*¹ thick if the wood be hard, two *astis* thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides² of the collar they shall tie him.

31 (86). 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for it as for wilful murder³.

32 (88). 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear. If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 (90). 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall cut off his right foot⁴. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall cut off his left foot.

¹ A measure of unknown amount. *Aspendiârji* reads *isti*, 'a brick' thick.

² By the forepart and the back part of it.

³ As there is no essential difference between man and beast, the beast must answer for its guilt. According to Solon's law, the dog who has bitten any one must be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (*Plutarchus*, *Solon* 24); the horse who has killed a man is put to death (*Eusebius*, *Prep. Evang.* 5).

⁴ 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (*Brouillons d'Anquetil*).

34 (92). 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

'Therefore they shall tie him to the post; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder.'

35 (97). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a scentless dog, or a mad dog, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.'

36 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an asti thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him.

38 (102). 'If they shall not do so, and the scentless dog fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and he be wounded and die thereof, they shall be Peshôtanus.

VI.

39 (106). 'The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod, watchful, wakeful, and sharp-toothed, born to take his food from man and to watch over man's goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong of body

against the evil-doer, and watchful over your goods, when he is of sound mind.

40 (112). 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, neither shall the thief nor the wolf steal anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he flees away.'

VII.

41 (115). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf, or the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf.'

42 (117). 'For there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such dogs as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs.'

43 (121). 'And there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such wolves as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.'

VIII.

44 (124). 'A dog has the characters of eight different sorts of people:—

'He has the character of a priest,

- ' He has the character of a warrior,
- ' He has the character of a husbandman,
- ' He has the character of a strolling singer,
- ' He has the character of a thief,
- ' He has the character of a wild beast,
- ' He has the character of a courtesan,
- ' He has the character of a child.

45 (126). 'He eats broken food, like a priest¹; he is grateful, like a priest; he is easily satisfied², like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

' He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior³; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior⁴; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 (135). 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman⁵; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman⁶; in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

' He sings like a strolling singer; he is intrusive⁷, like a strolling singer; he is meagre, like a strolling singer; he is poor, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 (143). 'He likes darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shame-

¹ A wandering priest (see p. 157, n. 1).

² Doubtful.

³ 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)

⁴ This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.

⁵ When taking the cattle out of the stables.

⁶ When bringing the cattle back to the stables.

⁷ Doubtful.

less eater, like a thief; he is an unfaithful keeper, like a thief¹; in these things he is like unto a thief.

‘He likes darkness, like a wild beast²; he prowls about in darkness, like a wild beast; he is a shameless eater, like a wild beast; he is an unfaithful keeper, like a wild beast; in these things he is like unto a wild beast.

48 (153). ‘He sings, like a courtezan; he is intrusive, like a courtezan; he walks about the roads, like a courtezan; he is meagre, like a courtezan; he is poor, like a courtezan; in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

‘He likes sleeping, like a child; he is apt to run away³, like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he goes on all fours⁴, like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

IX.

49 (163). ‘If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd’s dog and the house dog, pass by the house of any of my faithful people, let them never be kept away from it.

‘For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd’s dog and the house dog⁵.’

X.

50 (166). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ ‘When one trusts him with something, he eats it’ (Comm.)

² According to Asp.

³ He is fearful.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ ‘But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence’ (Saddar 31; Hyde 35).

Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed¹ dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 (167). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters², O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, two water dogs are formed, a water dog and a water she-dog³.

52 (170). 'He who kills a water dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures. Before that time, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 (171). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 (172). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water dog has been smitten to death and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days

¹ Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt. X, 71); the sperm comes from it (Bundahis XVI). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called *maggâ-samudbhava*, 'what is born from marrow'; it was followed by Plato (Timaeus 74, 91; cf. Plut. De Plac. Philos. V, 3, 4), and disproved by Aristotle (De Part. Anim. III, 7).

² To the spring of Ardvî Sûra, the goddess of waters.

³ There is therefore in a single water dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following.

and three nights with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted¹.

56 (174). ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass².']

FARGARD XIV.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water dog may be atoned for is described in it at full length. As the water dog is the holiest of all dogs³, and, as it were, a link between the dog and God, the process of atonement must be one of an extraordinary character. It is this chapter, more than any other, which may make it doubtful whether the legislation of the Vendîdâd has ever existed as real and living law. See, however, Introduction V, 20.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who smites one of those water dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs⁴, so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁵.

¹ The zanda ravân, the same sacrifice as is offered up for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul. Cf. p. 132, n. 4.

² Cf. Farg. IX, 53-57.

³ See preceding page; cf. Introd. IV, 35, and Orm. Ahr. § 230.

⁴ See preceding Fargard, § 51.

⁵ He shall pay 50 tanâfûhrs (=15000 isîhrs=60000 dirhems;

‘He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ¹ ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined ² wood, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

3 (6). ‘He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata ³, or any sweet-scented plant, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

4 (7). ‘He shall godly and piously tie and consecrate ten thousand bundles of baresma; he shall offer up to the good waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the sacred meat ⁴, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man ⁵, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

5 (9). ‘He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly; he shall kill ten thousand

see Introd. V, 21). ‘If he can afford it, he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izasnê (sacrifice),’ (Comm.)

¹ To the altar of the Bahrâm fire.

² ‘It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it on it; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it’ (Gr. Rav.) Although the pious Arđâ Vîrâf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, shewed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see Arđâ Vîrâf X).

³ See above, p. 94, n. 1.

⁴ Possibly, milk.

⁵ A Mobed called sardâr, ‘chief,’ who prepares, cleanses, and disposes everything for the performance of the Yasna (Comm. and Anquetil, Brouillons ad Farg. XVIII, 72).

snakes of those that have the shape of a dog¹; he shall kill ten thousand tortoises; he shall kill ten thousand land frogs²; he shall kill ten thousand water frogs; he shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants³; he shall kill ten thousand ants of those that bite and dig holes and work mischief⁴.

6 (16). 'He shall kill ten thousand earth worms; he shall kill ten thousand horrid flies⁵.

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean⁶.

¹ 'Mâr bânak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts' (Comm.) The cat seems to be the animal intended by this name. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Ravâet, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinon, p. 462: 'Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, les grenouilles, les écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.'

² 'Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground' (Comm.) 'Pour les grenouilles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gâtans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d'autant plus qu'il y en a dans le païs, d'autant plus les eaus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,' G. du Chinon, p. 465.

³ 'Un jour que j'étois surpris de la guerre qu'ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu'il n'étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,' G. du Chinon, p. 464. Firdusi protested against the proscription: 'Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.' The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Moola Firooz, entered those lines into his Pand Nâmah, which may be-taken better days for this wise and careful creature.

⁴ Doubtful. The Commentary has, 'that is, dêrak ants (wood ants; termites?).'

⁵ Corpse flies.

⁶ 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; cf. Farg. IX, 6 seq.)

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men twice seven sets of implements for the fire, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely:

7 (20). 'Two (loads of the) proper materials for fire¹; a broom²; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows³ extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; an adze with a sharp edge and a sharp-pointed handle⁴, a saw with sharp teeth and a sharp-pointed handle, by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 (26). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: The Astra⁵, the meat-vessel⁶, the Paitidâna⁷, the Khrafstraghna⁸, the

¹ Doubtful: the intended materials would be two loads of wood, and two loads of incense to burn upon the wood (Asp.)

² To cleanse the Atash-dân or fire-vessel (Yasna IX, 1).

³ Or, a fan.

⁴ Asp.; literally, 'sharp-kneed.'

⁵ The Aspahê-astra; see *Introd. V*, 19.

⁶ Possibly, the milk-vessel.

⁷ As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the Paitidâna (Parsi Penôm), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, *Essays*, 2nd ed. p. 243, n. 1; cf. *Comm. ad Farg. XVIII*, 1, and *Anquetil II*, 530). This principle appears not to have been peculiar to the Zoroastrian Aryans, for the Slavonian priest in Arkona was enjoined to go out of the temple, whenever he wanted to draw breath, 'lest the presence of the god should be defiled by contact with mortal breath' (*ne dei presentia mortalis spiritus contagio pollueretur*, Saxo Grammaticus, ap. Klek, *Einleitung in die Slavische Literatur*, p. 105). Cf. *Introd. V*, 8.

⁸ The 'Khrafstra-killer'; an instrument for killing snakes, &c.

Sraoshô-karana¹, the cup for the Myazda², the cups for the juice³, the mortar made according to the rules, the Haoma cups⁴, and the baresma.

9 (32). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use⁵, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog); the first being a javelin⁶, the second a knife⁷, the third a club, the fourth a bow⁸, the fifth a quiver⁹ with shoulder-belt and thirty brass-headed arrows¹⁰, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones, the seventh a cuirass¹¹, the eighth a hauberk¹², the ninth a tunic¹³, the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves¹⁴.

¹ See Introd. V, 19.

² Doubtful.

³ The cup in which the juice of the hom and of the urvarân (the twigs of hadhâ-naêpata which are pounded together with the hom) is received from the mortar (Comm.)

⁴ The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hom-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], Comm.

⁵ The armament detailed in the text agrees partly with that of the Persians and Medians described by Herodotos (VII, 61, 62). It would be desirable for archaeologists to ascertain to what time and, if possible, to what province this description refers, as such information might throw some light upon the age of this part of the Avesta at least.

⁶ Αἰχμῆς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον.

⁷ Ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρούμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.

⁸ Τόξα δὲ μεγάλα.

⁹ Doubtful. Ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο.

¹⁰ Ὅϊστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους.

¹¹ Λεπίδος σιδηρῆς ὕψιν ἰχθυοειδέος.

¹² 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (Comm.)

¹³ 'Under the cuirass' (Comm.); περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιβῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους.

¹⁴ Περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας.

10 (41). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the husbandmen make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: A plough with share and yoke¹, an ox whip², a mortar of stone, a hand-mill for grinding corn,

11 (48). 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a camel.

12 (54). 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water for godly husbandmen, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog³.

13 (57). 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill on both sides⁴.

14 (60). 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a house with ox-stalls, with nine

¹ Doubtful.

² Doubtful.

³ Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

⁴ Doubtful.

hâthras and nine nematas¹, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog)².'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the house?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Twelve Vitâras³ in the largest part of the house, nine Vitâras in the middle part, six Vitâras in the smallest part.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with cushions, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

15 (64). 'He shall godly and piously give to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
What maid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 (67). 'He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

'He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

'He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 (70). 'He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

'He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from skin humours, hair wax, vermin⁴, and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

¹ Meaning unknown.

² He shall build a caravansary, which is considered a pious work (Mainyô-i-khard IV, 6; XXXVII, 36).

³ A word of unknown meaning; probably a measure, but possibly 'a passage or alley.'

⁴ Those three words are doubtful.

‘He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18 (73). ‘This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall undergo to atone for the deed that he has done.

‘If he shall undergo it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones: if he shall not undergo it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness¹.’

FARGARD XV.

I (1-8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu.

II (9-19). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure mis-carriage.

III (20-45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46-51). On the breeding of dogs.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu²?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful a foreign, wrong creed³, a foreign, wrong law, and he does so with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu.

¹ Cf. Farg. V, 62.

² See Introd. V, 19.

³ Literally, ‘another wrong creed,’ the Commentary has, ‘that is, a creed that is not ours.’ See Introd. III, 10.

3 (9). 'It is the second of these sins that men commit when a man gives too hard bones or too hot food to a shepherd's dog or to a house dog;

4 (11). 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat, or if the hot food burn his mouth or his tongue, so that mischief follows therefrom, and the dog dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu¹.

5 (16). 'It is the third of these sins that men commit when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, with shouting or with clapping of hands²;

6 (18). 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, so that mischief follows therefrom, and she dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu³.

7 (22). 'It is the fourth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu⁴.

8 (25). 'It is the fifth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child⁵, whether the milk has already

¹ He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is *margarzân* (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is *margarzân* (Gr. Rav. 639).

² Or, 'with stamping on the ground' (? *Saddar* 31).

³ If a bitch is big with young and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is *margarzân* (Gr. Rav. 639).

⁴ See *Farg.* XVI, 14 seq.

⁵ When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (*Anquetil* II, 563).

come to her breasts or has not yet come: if mischief follow therefrom, and she die, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu¹.

II.

9 (30). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered², and she conceives by him, let her not, from dread of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants³.

10 (34). 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, there is a sin upon her head⁴.

11 (36). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not,

¹ Or better, 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

² 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or has not' (Comm.)

³ By means of drugs.

⁴ 'It is a tanâfûhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

from dread of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 (38). 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder is on both the father and herself; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder¹.

13 (40). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman² and apply to her that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 (43). 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, or Ghnâna, or Fraspâta³, or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

III.

15 (49). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not

¹ For baodhō-varsta; see above, p. 84, § 38, and n. 1.

² The nurse (Asp.)

³ Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed; shaêta means literally gold, and must have been some yellow plant or liquor; ghnâna is 'that which kills [the fruit in the womb];' fraspâta is 'that which expels [the fruit] so that it perishes' (Comm.)

delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born.

16 (51). 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to mischief¹, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

17 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born².

19 (58). 'If he shall not support her³ . . .

'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, either woman or bitch.'

20 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch⁴) be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is

¹ And dies.

² § 18=§ 15.

³ The sentence is left unfinished: Aspendiârji fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' &c. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were no part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

⁴ The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary as the sense requires it.

his¹; so long shall he support her until the whelps are born.

22 (65). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a camel-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the camel-stall or who holds it², the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

25 (76). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a horse-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 (78). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the horse-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

28 (81). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ 'The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one intrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Asp.)

² 'In pledge or for rent' (Asp.; cf. Comm. ad § 42).

Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in an ox-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the ox-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

31 (89). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 (94). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

34 (97). 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall¹, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

37 (105). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

¹ The wall around the house.

38 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat¹, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

40 (112). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his.

43 (117). 'He shall with kind charity² take her to rest upon a litter of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around³. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months, children for seven years.

¹ The moat before the earth-wall.

² Doubtful.

³ Probably the distance of one yugyêsti; cf. Farg. XIII, 17.

‘Âtar¹, the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.’

IV.

46 (127). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft.

48 (131). ‘They shall first tie up the bitch there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda², and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere. They shall afterwards let another dog come near her, and then a third besides³, each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 (134)⁴. ‘The bitch being thus covered by three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from (three) dogs.’

50 (135). He who smites a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from (three) dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

¹ The fire: when a woman is in labour, one lights up a great fire in order to protect her and her child from the fiends (Introd. V, 13).

² ‘From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her’ (Comm.)

³ Cf. Justinus III, 4: *maturiore futuri conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.*

⁴ The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning doubtful.

51 (137). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD XVI.

I (1-11). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.

II (11-12). How it can be removed.

III (13-18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See Introd. V, 12.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way¹ of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs²; they shall strew dry dust on the ground³; and they shall erect a building there⁴, higher than the house by a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth part, lest her look should fall upon the fire⁵.'

3 (9). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen

¹ The way to the Dashtânistân (see Introd. V, 12).

² Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtânistân.

³ Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. Farg. IX, 11, and Introd. V, 10.

⁴ The Dashtânistân.

⁵ See Introd. V, 12.

paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period?

6 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces¹ from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring the food?
In what kind of vessels shall he bring the bread?

'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal².'

7 (15). How much food shall he bring to her?
How much bread shall he bring?

'(Only) two danares³ of long bread, and one danare of milk pap, lest she should gather strength⁴.'

'If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body⁵.'

8 (21). 'If she still see blood after three nights

¹ The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

² Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can (see Farg. VII, 73 seq.)

³ A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

⁴ 'Sôshyôš says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.' As the fiend is in her, any strength she may gain accrues to Ahriman.

⁵ A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: 'Whoever has touched a Dashtân woman must wash his body and his clothes with gômêz and water.' The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnûm, since the woman herself performs the former only (vide infra, § 11 seq.; cf. Introd. V, 16).

have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. ‘If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. ‘If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. ‘If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas¹.

II.

‘The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way² of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs;

12 (26). ‘They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third.

‘They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants, if it be summer; two hundred of

¹ See Introd. V, 12.

² The way to the Barashnôm-gâh, where the cleansing takes place.

any other sort of the *Khrafstras* made by *Angra Mainyu*, if it be winter¹.

III.

13 (30). If a worshipper of *Mazda* shall suppress the issue of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a *Peshôtanu*: two hundred stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, two hundred stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.'

14 (33). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again wilfully touch the body of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, so that the ordinary issue turns to the dye of the unusual one, or the unusual issue to the dye of the ordinary one, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 (36). *Ahura Mazda* answered: 'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, thirty stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*; for the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, fifty stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*; for the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, seventy stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.'

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall press the

¹ See *Introd.* IV, 35.

unclean thigh, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

17 (39). 'Whosoever shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza¹, and drop its fat into the fire².

18 (41). 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorers of the law: all scorers of the law are rebels against the Lord: all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life³.'

FARGARD XVII.

Hair and Nails.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (Intro. V, 12), and is accordingly supposed to fall into the possession of the demon and to become the abode of death and uncleanness. Therefore, hair and nails, as soon as cut off, are at once the property of Ahriman, and the demon has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead. They are withdrawn from his power by

¹ A disease (Farg. VII, 58). There is another word naêza, 'a spear,' so that one may translate also 'killed by the spear' (Asp.)

² 'Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good' (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanâfûhr (Farg. XV, 7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Farg. I, 17; VIII, 73 seq.; Intro. V, 8).

³ Literally, 'is a Peshôtanû;,' 'he is a tanâfûhr sinner, that is to say, margarzân (worthy of death),' Comm.

the recital of certain prayers, and by being deposited in the earth inside consecrated circles, which are drawn around them as an intrenchment against the fiend (see above, p. 122, n. 1).

This chapter, which has given full scope to the ironical humour of many, is an invaluable document in the eyes of the mythologist, as he finds in it, if not the origin and explanation, at least the oldest record of world-wide superstitions. Not only in Bombay, but all over the world, people are found who believe that hair and nails are weapons in the hands of the evil one. The Esthonians, on the shores of the Baltic, take the utmost care not to drop the parings of their nails on the ground, lest the devil should pick them up, to make a visor to his cap, which will give him full power to injure men, unless the sign of the cross has been made over them¹. The Gauchos in the Chilian pampas fear to throw their hair to the winds, but deposit it in holes dug in a wall². In Liège good people are advised not to throw away their hair, nor to leave it in the teeth of the comb, lest a witch take hold of it and cast a spell over them³.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man increases most the baleful strength of the Daêvas, as he would do by offering them a sacrifice?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails drops them⁴ in a hole or in a crack⁵.

¹ Cf. *infra*, 'Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya,' &c., §§ 6, 8, 9.

² Cf. *infra*, §§ 5, 7.

³ Mélusine, *Recueil de Mythologie populaire*, publié par H. Gaidoz et E. Rolland, Paris, 1878; pp. 79, 549, 583. To the same train of ideas seems to belong the Eddic myth of Naglfar, the fatal ship wrought out of the nails of the dead, which is to take the crew of the demon to the shore of the earth when the last day of the world is come (*Gylfaginning*, 51).

⁴ Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

⁵ Doubtful.

3 (6). 'Then for want of the lawful rites being observed, Daêvas are produced in the earth; for want of the lawful rites being observed, those Khras-tras are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 (10). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma.

5 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti¹ deep if the earth be hard, a vitasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "Out of him by his piety Mazda made the plants grow up²."

6 (17). 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7 (19). 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out

¹ A disti=ten fingers. A vitasti=twelve fingers.

² See above, XI, 6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a microcosm, and every element in him was supposed to come from a similar element in nature, to which it was to return after death, and whence it was to come back again at the time of the resurrection: his bones from the earth, his blood from the water, his hair from the trees, his life from the fire (Bundahis XXXI, Ulamâi Islâm); an old Aryan theory, traces of which are also to be found in India (Rig-veda X, 16, 3), in Greece (Ilias VII, 99; Empedocles, fr. 378; cf. Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15), and in Scandinavia (Edda, Grímnismál 40).

of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "The words that are heard from the pious in holiness and good thought¹."

8 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 (26). 'And then: "Look here, O Ashô-zusta bird²! here are the nails for thee: look at the nails here! May they be for thee so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas³!"'

10 (29). 'If those nails have not been dedicated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêvas so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas)⁴.

¹ Yasna XXXIII, 7. There is here only a play upon the word *sruyê*, 'is heard,' which chances to be homonymous with the dual of *srva*, 'nails of both hands.'

² 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Ashôzusta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Ashôzusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bundahis XIX).

³ See above, p. 137, n. 1. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Dêvs (see above, p. 75, n. 2). See Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

⁴ Repeated by mistake from § 10.

11 (30). 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorers of the law: all scorers of the law are rebels against the Lord: all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life¹.'

FARGARD XVIII.

I (1-13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.

II (14-29). The holiness of the cock.

III (30-60). The four paramours of the Drug.

IV (61-71). On unlawful lusts.

The text and the Pahlavi commentary of this Fargard are translated in Haug's *Essays*, pp. 243 seq., 364 seq.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a Paitydâna², but who has not girded his loins with the law³; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 (5). 'He holds a Khrafstraghna⁴ in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

¹ See preceding Fargard, § 18.

² See above, p. 168, n. 7.

³ The word translated girded is the word used of the Kôstî, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a Kôstî' (cf. Yasna IX, 26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

⁴ See above, p. 168, n. 8.

3 (7). 'He holds a twig¹ in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

4 (9). 'He wields the Astra mairya², but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 (11). 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, who does not perform the Yasna nor chant the hymns, who does not worship by word or by deed, who does neither learn nor teach, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Âthravan," do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 (14). 'Him thou shalt call an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom³, which makes man free from anxiety, with dilated heart, and cheerful at the head of the Kînvat bridge⁴, and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world, the world of paradise.

7 (18). '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that

¹ The bundles of baresma or the urvarân (see p. 22, n. 2; p. 169, n. 3).

² The Aspahê-astra; see Introd. V, 19.

³ That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it (cf. Introd. V, 2).

⁴ See Farg. XIX, 30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the Kînvat bridge' (Comm.)

thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier¹.

8 (21). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that makes the unseen power of Death increase?'

9 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong law²; it is the man who continues for three years³ without wearing the sacred girdle⁴, without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the good waters.

10 (25). 'And he who should set that man at

¹ See *Introd.* V, 2.

² 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (*Comm.*); the heretic. Cf. *Farg.* XV, 2, and *Introd.* III, 10.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The Kôstî, which must be worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq.); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (*Saddar* 10 and 46; *Hyde* 10 and 50). The Kôstî consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. . . . Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Hâhs of the Izashnê; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawâzdih hamâist . . .; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahanbârs; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to humat, good thought, hukhat, good speech, huaresta, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (*Edal Daru*, apud *Wilson*, *The Parsi Religion Unfolded*, p. 163). In the Brahmanical system also the faithful are bound to their god by means of a sacred girdle, the Mekhalâ.

Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sadarah, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt (see § 54 seq.)

liberty, when bound in prison¹, does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive and cut off his head².

11 (27). 'The blessing uttered on a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing for two Ashemaoghas does not go past his tongue; the blessing for three is no word at all; the blessing for four is a curse against himself.

12 (29). 'Whosoever should give some Haoma juice to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the cities of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

II.

13 (32). 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

14 (33). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraoshâ-varcz³ of Sraosha⁴? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god.'

¹ See Introd. III, 10. Cf. § 12.

² Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus perform no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

³ 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.) See above, p. 56, n. 2.

⁴ See Introd. IV, 31.

15 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars¹, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs², O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn:

16 (37). "Arise, O men! recite the Ashem ya³ vahistem that smites down the Daêvas³. Lo! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed⁴, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time⁵ is not yet come.'"

17 (41). 'For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds.'

18 (43). 'In the first part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

19 (43). "'Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright

¹ 'He who foresees' the coming dawn; the cock.

² 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) Cf. XIII, 2, 6.

³ The cock is called 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he shared with it the honour of the victory, and was believed to crow away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; . . . he is with the dog an ally of Srôsh against demons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated by Shea, p. 57; cf. Saddar 32, Hyde 35, and J. Ovington, A Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 371).

⁴ See Introd. IV, 24.

⁵ 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands¹. Here comes Âzi², made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

20 (46). 'In the second part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying :

21 (46). "'Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

22 (48). 'In the third part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, tall-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands]³: here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

23 (51). 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn :

24 (52). "'Arise, O men! recite the Ashem ya d vahistem that smites down the Daêvas. Lo! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as

¹ The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the Kôstî, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

² See Introd. IV, 19.

³ The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emendated into 'bring into me . . .'

soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time is not yet come.'"

25 (52). "For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 (53). 'And then bed-fellows address one another: "Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter paradise: whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the Fire, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him:

27 (58). "May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons: may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life."

'This is the blessing which the Fire speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

28 (64). 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdars birds, a male and a female, it is as though he had given¹ a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 (67). 'And whosoever shall give to my Parôdars bird his fill of meat, I, Ahura Mazda, need not

¹ 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall be rewarded as though he had given a house, &c. . . . he shall receive such a house in paradise.

interrogate him any longer; he shall directly go to paradise.'

III.

30 (70). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 (74). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me. ●

32 (77). 'There are four males who are mine.

'And they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

33 (78). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 (79). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up¹.

35 (82). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

36 (83). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counter-act that?'

37 (84). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is

¹ Cf. Farg. III, 34.

the thing that counteracts it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 (87). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 (88). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the second of those males of thine?'

40 (89). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot.

41 (92). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

42 (93). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

43 (94). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that counteracts it, namely, when the man rising up¹ and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtëmãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yêzhê hátãm.

¹ 'Nec stando mingens . . . facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); *Arđâ Virâf* XXIV; *Mainyô-i-khard* II, 39; *Saddar* 56, *Hyde* 60. Cf. *Manu* IV, 47 seq., and *Polack, Persien* I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz zu beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

44 (98). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 (99). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 (100). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.'

47 (102). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

48 (103). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

49 (104). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that counteracts it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yêzhê hâtãm.'

50 (107). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 (108). Then he shall speak unto Spenta Ârmaiti¹, saying: 'O Spenta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the mighty day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas, who

¹ The genius of the earth (cf. Farg. II, 10).

knows the Yasna, and the revealed law¹, a wise and clever man, who is the Word incarnate.

52 (112). 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire².'

53 (113). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 (114). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt³.

55 (115). 'At the fourth step⁴ we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas⁵.'

56 (117). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug, what is the thing that can counteract that?'

57 (118). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! There is no means of counteracting it;

¹ Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathustra).'

² Cf. *Introd.* IV, 30, and *Orm. Ahr.* § 205.

³ The Kôstî and the Sadarah; see above, p. 191, n. 4. It is the sin known as kushâd duvârisnî (*Mainyô-i-khard* II, 35; *Arđâ Vîrâf* XXV, 6).

⁴ 'Going three steps without Kôstî is only a three Sraoshô-karana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanâfûhr⁵ sin' (*Comm.*)

⁵ For the Yâtus, see *Introd.* IV, 20; the zanda is a hobgoblin.

58 (120). 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 (120). 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60 (122). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 (123). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 (124). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the Gahi¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! who goes a-whoring after the faithful and the unfaithful, after the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the Daêvas, after the wicked and the righteous².

63 (125). 'Her look dries up one third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains; her look withers one third of the beautiful, golden hued, growing plants;

64 (127). 'Her look withers one third of the grass

¹ The courtesan, as an incarnation of the female demon Gahi (see Introd. IV, 15).

² '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

wherewith *Spenta Ârmaiti*¹ is clad², and her touch withers in the faithful one third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one third of his strength, of his fiend-killing power, and of his holiness³.

65 (129). 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even more than gliding snakes⁴, than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

66 (133). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67-68 (133). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly⁵, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and

¹ The earth.

² Doubtful. The Pahlavi translation has, 'One third of the strength of *Spenta Ârmaiti*.'

³ 'If a *Gahi* (courtesan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (Saddar 67; Hyde 74). Cf. *Manu* IV, 40 seq.

⁴ It is written in the law (the Avesta): 'O Zartust Isfitamân! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to be killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (Old Rav. 59 b).'

⁵ 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?’

69 (136). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 (137). ‘He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the fire¹ the entrails² thereof together with Zaothralibations; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the good waters³.

71 (140). ‘He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant⁴.

72 (142). ‘He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the good waters a thousand Zaothralibations, together with the Haoma and the meat, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, together with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata⁵.

73 (144). ‘He shall kill a thousand snakes of

¹ To the Bahrâm fire.

² The *ōmentum* (afsmān) or epipleon. Strabo XV, 13: *τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασι, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ τιναί, ἐπὶ τὸ ἥνυρ*. ‘Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep’s Tail.’ A Voyage Round the World, Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

³ The meat is eaten by the faithful (Asp.); cf. Herod. I, 132.

⁴ Cf. Farg. XIV, 3 seq.

⁵ See above, p. 94, n. 1.

those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind¹: he shall kill a thousand land frogs and two thousand water frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind².

74 (147). 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.

75 (149). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 (150). 'If he shall pay it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness⁴.'

FARGARD XIX.

I (1-11). Angra Mainyu attempts to kill Zarathustra, and, when he fails, tempts him. Zarathustra withstands both assaults with weapons both material and spiritual.

II (11-43). Zarathustra applies to Ahura Mazda for a revelation of the law. He is taught how the fiend may be repelled, how the creation of Mazda is to be worshipped, how uncleanness is to be washed away, and what becomes of the soul after death.

III (43-47). Angra Mainyu and his host, driven to despair, and feeling themselves powerless, flee down into hell.

This chapter may be entitled 'The Revelation,' and considered as the frame-work of the Vendidad, the remainder of which should have its place between the first and the third part; as the first part

¹ 'Two thousand mâr bânak' (Comm.) See above, p. 157, n. 1.

² 'Two thousand dêrak' (Comm.) See above, p. 157, n. 4.

³ Five tanâfûhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

⁴ §§ 75, 76 = Farg. XIV, 18.

shows the fiend's struggles to prevent the revelation, and the third shows the effects of it; the second being, as it were, an abstract of the law, an abridged Vendîdâd.

The text and the Pahlavi commentary of this Fargard are translated in Haug's Essays, p. 253 seq., p. 333 seq., and p. 379 seq.

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north¹, forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas². And thus spake the guileful one, he the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down upon him! destroy the holy Zarathustra!' The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti³, the unseen death, the hell-born.

2 (5). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya⁴: 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.'

(He added): 'Offer up prayers to the good waters of the good Dâitya⁵!

'Profess the law of the worshippers of Mazda!'

The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, the unseen death, the hell-born.

¹ From hell; cf. p. 75, n. 2.

² 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

³ 'How does death enter the body of man? There are several Druges from Ahriman, who come into the body and the soul of man: one of whom is a Drug known as Bût; she is the forerunner of death; when the time of the end is at hand, she produces in the body of man such excessive heat that he falls ill' (Dâdâr i Dâdûkht, British Museum, Add. 8994, 130 a).

⁴ See above, p. 98, n. 2.

⁵ The river in Airyana Vaêgô; see Farg. I, 3, and Introd. III, 15.

3 (7). And the Drug, the guileful one, said unto Angra Mainyu: 'O baneful Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill him, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.'

Zarathustra saw (all this) from within his soul: 'The evil-doing Daêvas and Drvants¹ (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

4 (11). Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unshaken by the evil spirit, by the hardness of his malignant riddles², swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house³, which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra.

'At what on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, at what dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the river Darega⁴, upon the mountains, in the mansion of Pourusaspa⁵?''

5 (16). Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: 'O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knâthaiti⁶, till the fiend-smiter Saoshyant come up to life out

¹ See Introd. IV, 22.

² This is a fragment of an old myth in which Zarathustra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. See, for further explanation, *Orm. Ahr.* §§ 163-165.

³ See Introd. IV, 40. The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahuna-Vairya.' In another attempt to account for a mythical expression, which was no longer understood, those thunderbolts were turned into the nine-knotted stick used in the *Barashnôm* (see *Farg.* IX, 14; *Comm.* and *Asp.*)

⁴ See Introd. III, 15.

⁵ The father of Zarathustra.

⁶ Cf. *Farg.* I, 10, and Introd. IV, 21.

of the lake Kâsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn¹.'

6 (20). Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu : ' Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra ! Thou art the son of Pouruſaspa², just born of thy mother³. Renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer⁴ gained, the ruler of the nations.'

7 (24). Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra : ' No ! never will I renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, though my body, my life, my soul should burst !'

8 (27). Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu : ' By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation who am Angra Mainyu ?'

9 (29). Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra : ' The sacred mortar, the sacred cup, the Haoma, the Words taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons ! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon the good creatures (will strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu ! To me Spēzta Mainyu gave it, he gave it to me in the boundless Time⁵ ;

¹ See *Intro.* IV, 39-40.

² ' I know thee ' (*Comm.*)

³ Doubtful (*cf.* § 46) ; possibly, ' I was invoked by thy mother.' The *Commentary* has, ' Some explain thus : Thy forefathers worshipped me : worship me also.'

⁴ Ajis Dahâka or Zohâk, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years (*Intro.* IV, 11).

⁵ See *Intro.* IV, 42. The Ahuna-Vairya was revealed before

to me the Amesha Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, gave it.'

10 (35). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya. The holy Zarathustra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord!¹ . . .'

II.

11 (37). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the Darega, on the mountain², praying to Ahura Mazda, to the good Vohu-manô, to Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Ârmaiti;]

12 (39). 'How shall I make the world free from that Drug, from the evil-doer Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 (42). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the good law of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the Amesha Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth³.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time⁴, and Vayu⁵, whose action is most high.

the creation of the world (Yasna XIX), and consequently in the boundless Time.

¹ This verse is the beginning of a Gâtha (Yasna XLIV), in which Zarathustra applies to Ahura Mazda to be taught the mysteries of the world and of the law.

² See § 4 and Introd. III, 15.

³ See Introd. IV, 42.

⁴ See Introd. IV, 7.

⁵ See Introd. IV, 15.

‘Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta [Ârmaiti]¹, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 (46). ‘Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi², who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid³, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word⁴!

‘Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.’

15 (50). Zarathustra took those words from me, (and said): ‘I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke Mithra⁵, the lord of wide pastures, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most fiend-smiting of all weapons.

‘I invoke the holy, tall-formed Sraosha⁶, who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends.

16 (54). ‘I invoke the most glorious holy Word.

‘I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

‘I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke the good law of Mazda, the fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.’

17 (58). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: ‘O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With

¹ See Introd. IV, 30.

² See Introd. IV, 37.

³ See Introd. IV, 5.

⁴ Māthra Spenta; see Introd. IV, 40.

⁵ See Introd. IV, 8.

⁶ See Introd. IV, 31, and cf. Farg. XVIII, 22 seq.

what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda ?'

18 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Go, O Spitama Zarathustra! towards that tree¹ that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu²!"'

19 (63). 'Let the faithful man cut off a twig of baresma, long as a ploughshare, thick as a barley-corn³. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall not leave off keeping his eyes upon it⁴, whilst he is offering up the sacrifice to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, and to the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and to Vohu-manô⁵ and to the good Râta⁶, made by Mazda, holy and excellent⁷.'

20 (67). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô⁸ gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly de-

¹ The tree, whatever it is, from which the baresma is taken. See p. 22, n. 2.

² See § 22.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the baresma during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Darûn, he has said all the required Avesta, but he has not looked at the baresma: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it: however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b).

⁵ See Introd. IV, 7.

⁶ See Introd. IV, 30.

⁷ Doubtful. Possibly, 'While he is offering up the high and beautiful Haomas, and Vohu-manô (good thoughts) and the good Râta (sacrificial presents).'

⁸ Vohu-manô is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded'; this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs

filed; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas¹: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it²; thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed³ to the field made by Ahura⁴, and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows⁵.

22 (73). 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good. Happy, happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor."

'He shall wash Vohu-manô four times with the gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda⁶.

to it in the second part of § 25; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely in itself, as Vohu-manô, being the Amshaspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-manô sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other.

¹ From dead bodies.

² The so-called Varasiô; 'it must be of a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180).

³ Or better, 'the things that are to be cleansed.'

⁴ The place of the cleansing, the Barashnûm-gâh (see Farg. IX, 3).

⁵ See Farg. IX, 10.

⁶ This can hardly refer to the cleansing of the man, as the man

23 (76). 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. Then he shall take up Vohu-manô¹ with his left arm and his right, with his right arm and his left: and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty structure of the bright heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away².

24 (80). 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 (82). 'Thus shall Vohu-manô become clean, thus shall the man be clean³: he shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô⁴ shall say aloud: "Glory be to Ahura Mazda! Glory be to the Amesha-Spentas! Glory be to all the other holy beings."

26 (85). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda: Should I urge upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, that they have once to leave behind them the earth made by Ahura,

ought to be washed six times with gômêz and three times with water (see Farg. VIII, 37 seq.; IX, 28 seq.)

¹ 'The clothes' (Comm.)

² The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while he himself is confined in the Armêst-gâh. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Farg. VII, 12 seq.)

³ 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be clean—the clothes; thus the man shall be clean—he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

⁴ The faithful one.

that they have to leave the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.'

27 (89). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, in their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28 (90). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the hellish, evil-doing Daêvas assail him; and when the third night is gone, when the dawn appears and brightens up, and makes Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reach the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29 (94). 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha, carries off in bonds² the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the *Kînvad* bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda³, they ask for their spirits and souls the

¹ 'Linquenda tellus, et domus et placens

Uxor, nec harum, quas colis arborum. . . .'

The translation is doubtful in its details; yet there is little doubt that the sentence refers to future life (cf. § 27). Aspendiârji translates, 'Shall the godly man . . . arise (from the dead) . . .?' which seems to be the meaning of the Pahlavi Commentary too.

² 'Every one has a noose cast around his neck: when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell' (Comm.; cf. Farg. V, 8, and Introd. IV, 26).

³ The *Kînvad* bridge extends over hell and leads to paradise: for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins;

reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below¹.

30 (98). 'Then comes the well-shapen, strong and tall-formed maid², with the dogs at her sides³, one who can distinguish⁴, who is graceful⁵, who does what she wants, and is of high understanding.

'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaitei⁶; above the *Kinvað* bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 (102). 'Up rises Vohu-manô⁷ from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one⁸?"

for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (cf. *Arđâ Vîrâf* V, 1). This bridge is known in many mythologies; it is the Sirath bridge of the Musulmans; not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thoms, *Anecdotes*, 89), and even nowadays the peasant in Nièvre tells of a little board—

'Pas pu longue, pas pu large
Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,'

which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and paradise:

'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu
Par dessus passeront.
Ceux qu'la sauront pas
Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

¹ Cf. Farg. III, 34, 35; XVIII, 33 seq.

² The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own conscience (Yasht XXII).

³ The dogs that keep the *Kinvað* bridge (see Farg. XIII, 9).

⁴ The good from the wicked.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ The heavenly mountain, whence the sun rises, and upon which the abode of the gods rests.

⁷ The door-keeper of paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre.

⁸ Cf. Farg. VII, 52.

32 (105). 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garô-nmânem¹, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33 (108). 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed², the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling³.

34 (110). 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha⁴ is with them; a friend of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha.

'Do thou thyself invoke, O Zarathustra! this world of Ahura Mazda.'

35 (114). Zarathustra took those words from Ahura Mazda: 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha⁵.

'I invoke the shining sky.

'I invoke the eternal and sovereign luminous space⁶.

¹ The Garothmân of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs.'

² That has performed the Barashnûm.

³ Ormazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bundahis I; Ezrig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II); 'the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities, and by the performance of the Barashnûm both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

⁴ The messenger of Ahura Mazda (cf. Farg. XXII, 7).

⁵ See Intro. IV, 11.

⁶ See Intro. IV, 42.

36 (120). 'I invoke the bright, all glorious, blissful abode of the holy ones.

'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign place of eternal weal¹, and the *Kinvað* bridge made by Mazda.

37 (123). 'I invoke the good Saoka², whose looks go far and wide.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis³ of the righteous.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke Verethraghna⁴, made by Ahura, who wears the glory made by Mazda⁵.

'I invoke Tistrya⁶, the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull.

38 (127). 'I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas⁷, who rule over the ratus⁸:

'I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the Ustavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the Spenta-mainyu Gâtha;

'I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha;

¹ Misvâna gâtva, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all savah, or saoka.

² A personification of the Ormazdean weal.

³ See *Introd.* IV, 37.

⁴ See *Introd.* IV, 14, and *Yasht* XIV.

⁵ The *hvarênô* or light of sovereignty (*Introd.* IV, 11).

⁶ See *Introd.* IV, 13, and *Yasht* VIII.

⁷ The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the *Yasna* and of the *Avesta* (*Yasna* XXVIII-XXXIV; XLIII-XLVI; XLVII-L; LI; LIII); they are named after their first words.

⁸ The chiefs of creation (*Introd.* IV, 35); 'they rule over the ratus insomuch as it is by their means that other beings are invoked' (*Comm.*)

‘I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 (129). ‘I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê;

‘I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu;

‘I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti;

‘I invoke the bright *Hvaniratha*¹;

‘I invoke the bright, glorious *Haêtumant*²;

‘I invoke the good *Ashi*³;

[‘I invoke the good *Kisti*⁴];

‘I invoke the most right *Kista*⁵;

• ‘I invoke the glory of the Aryan regions⁶;

‘I invoke the glory of the bright *Yima*, the great shepherd⁷.

40 (133). ‘Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy *Sraosha*, the tall-formed, fiend-smiting, holy *Sraosha*⁸.

‘Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of *Vohu-gaona* unto the Fire.

‘Offer up the sacrifice to the *Vâzista* fire, which

¹ See Introd. IV, 7.

² See Farg. I, 14.

³ See Introd. IV, 30.

⁴ An angel of knowledge; the clause is found only in the *Vendîdâd Sâdah*.

⁵ Religious knowledge.

⁶ The light of sovereignty, *hvarênô*, which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (cf. Introd. IV, 11).

⁷ See Introd. IV, 18, and Farg. II.

⁸ This praise of *Sraosha* was probably introduced here with reference to the great part he plays in the fate of the soul after death, and to the performance of the *sadis* ritual (see above, p. 87, n. 4).

smites the fiend Spengaghra¹: bring unto it the cooked meat and the offerings of boiling milk².

41 (137). 'Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend Kunda³, who is drunken without drinking. He will fall upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones⁴, the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42⁵. 'I invoke the Kara fish⁶, who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezū⁷, the greatest seat of battle in the creation of the two spirits⁸.

'I invoke the seven bright Sravah⁹ with their sons and their flocks.

III.

43. 'They run about to and fro, their minds waver to and fro¹⁰, Angra Mainyu the deadly, the

¹ See *Introd.* IV, 13.

² Doubtful.

³ The same as Kundi; see *Farg.* XI, 9.

⁴ Those who neglect their religious duties. The translation is doubtful.

⁵ From the *Vendîdâd Sâdah*. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the *Commentary ad Farg.* VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

⁶ The *Kar-mâhi* (see above, p. 59, n. 4).

⁷ According to Professor Justi, 'the milky way' (*Handbuch der Zendsprache* s. v.), an Iranian representative of the Eddic Bifrost. There is much probability in that translation.

⁸ Doubtful.

⁹ A word of unknown meaning.

¹⁰ Up and down, in hope and despair.

Daêva of the Daêvas; *Indra* the Daêva, *Sâuru* the Daêva, *Naunghaithya* the Daêva, *Taurvi* and *Zairi*¹, *Aêshma* of the wounding spear², *Akatasha* the Daêva³, *Zaurva*⁴, baneful to the fathers, *Bûiti* the Daêva⁵, *Driwi*⁶ the Daêva, *Daiwi*⁷ the Daêva, *Kasvi*⁸ the Daêva, *Paitisha*⁹ the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

44 (140). 'And he said, the guileful, the evil-doing Daêva, *Angra Mainyu* the deadly: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of *Arezûtra*¹⁰."

45 (141). 'They rush, they run away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away with shouts, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of *Arezûtra*!"

46 (143). '"For he is just born the holy *Zarathustra*, in the house of *Pourushaspa*. How can we procure his death? He is the stroke that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Down are the Daêva-worshippers, the *Nasu* made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"

47 (147). 'They run away, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell.

¹ See *Introd.* IV, 34.

² See *Introd.* IV, 22.

³ See above, p. 136, n. 5.

⁴ Old age.

⁵ See above, p. 204, n. 3.

⁶ Poverty; see above, *Farg.* II, 29.

⁷ Lying; see above, *Farg.* II, 29.

⁸ Meanness; see above, *Farg.* II, 29.

⁹ 'Opposition, or counter-action,' a personification of the doings of *Ahriman* and of his marring power.

¹⁰ At the gate of hell; see above, p. 24, n. 1.

'Ashem vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD XX.

Thrita, the First Healer.

Thrita was the first who drove back death and disease, as Ahura Mazda had brought to him down from heaven ten thousand healing plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hôrn or Gaokerena.

This Thrita is mentioned only once again in the Avesta, in Yasna IX, 7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is a source of life and health, his first priests must have been the first healers.

Thrita was originally the same as Thraêtaona¹. On one hand, we see that in the Rig-veda the great feat of Thraêtaona is ascribed to Trita as well as to Traîtâna, and Trita Âptya, 'the son of the waters,' was as well the celestial priest who pours Haoma into rain as the celestial hero who kills the snake in storms. On the other hand, we see that Thraêtaona fulfilled the same functions as Thrita: according to Hamza he was the inventor of medicine²; the Tavid³ against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the Avesta itself the Fravashi of Thraêtaona invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever⁴, vâvareshi, against the plagues created by the serpent⁵.' We see from this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning⁶, and this is the reason why the

¹ See Introd. IV, 14.

² Ed. Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, *Early Kings of Persia*, Shea, p. 152.

³ Formules of exorcism.

⁴ Cf. Farg. VII, 58.

⁵ Yasht XIII, 131.

⁶ This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asklepios; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

killer of the serpent was invoked to act against it. Thus Thrithraêtaona had a double right to the title of the first of the healers, both as a priest of Haoma and as the conqueror of the serpent¹.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healthful², the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong men of yore³, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death⁴, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.'

2 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thrithra it was who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong man of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 (12). 'He asked for a source of remedies⁵; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya⁶, to withstand sickness and to withstand death, to withstand pain and fever, to withstand the disease⁷, rottenness and

¹ It seems as if in the Vedas, too, Trita had been a healing god (Rig-veda VIII, 47, 13 seq.)

² Whom no weapon could wound, like Isfendiâr (Comm.)

³ Or better, Paradhâta (or Pêshdâd), 'the kings of yore,' which became the name of the first Iranian dynasty.

⁴ 'That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife (cf. Farg. VII, 44); and it appears from § 4 that he was also the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see Farg. XXII.

⁷ Doubtful.

infection which Angra Mainyu had created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals¹.

4 (15). 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena².

5 (18). 'All this (health) do we call by our blessing-spells, by our prayers, by our praises, upon the bodies of mortals³.

7 (19)⁴. 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Disease, I say avaunt⁵!

¹ The Vendîdâd Sâdah has here eight names of diseases: to withstand Sârana (head-ache), to withstand Sârastya (cold fever), to withstand Azana, to withstand Azahva, to withstand Kurugha, to withstand Azivâka, to withstand Duruka, and to withstand Astairya.

² The white Hôrn, which is the king of healing plants (see *Intro.* IV, 28). The healing plants are said to have been created ten thousand in number, in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (*Bundahis* IX; cf. *Farg.* XXII, 2). In India also, healing plants are said to have Soma for their king, and to have come down from heaven: 'Whilst coming down from heaven, the plants said: He will never suffer any wound, the mortal whom we touch' (*Rig-veda* X, 97, 17; cf. *Haurvatât et Ameretât*, §§ 46-47).

³ Or possibly, All those (plants) do we bless, all those (plants) do we pray, all those (plants) do we praise, for (the weal of) the bodies of mortals.

⁴ Vendîdâd Sâdah: 6. To withstand sickness, to withstand death, to withstand pain, to withstand fever, to withstand Sârana, to withstand Sârastya, to withstand Azana, to withstand Azahva, to withstand Kurugha, to withstand Azivâka, to withstand Duruka, to withstand Astairya, to withstand the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

⁵ Vendîdâd Sâdah: To thee, O Sârana, I say avaunt! to thee,

8 (21). 'By their might may we smite down the Drug! By their might may we smite the Drug! May they give to us strength and power, O Ahura¹!

9² (23). 'I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever³, I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

10 (25). 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas⁴, and all the wicked Gainis⁵.

11 (26). 'May the much-desired Airyaman⁶ come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 (29). 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite

O Sârastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azana, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azivâka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

¹ This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna XXXI, 4; the original text is, 'May the strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Drug!'

² The Vendîdâd Sâdah has, 'I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra.'

³ The Vendîdâd Sâdah has, 'I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârastya, I drive away Azana, I drive away Azahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Azivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya.'

⁴ See Intro. IV, 20-21.

⁵ 'Gai' (Comm.), that is *Gahi* (see Intro. IV, 5); cf. p. 89, note 1, and Farg. XXII, 2, note.

⁶ Or better, 'Airyaman, the bestower of good.' On Airyaman, see Farg. XXII. Clauses 11-12 are borrowed from Yasna LIV, 1, and form the prayer known as Airyama-ishyô.

all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *Gainis*.¹

[13. *Yathâ ahû vairîô* :—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of *Vohu-manô* shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

Kem nâ mazdâ :—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy *Âtar* and *Vohu-manô*, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

Ke verethrem gâ :—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that *Sraosha* may come with *Vohu-manô* and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta*! Perish, O fiendish *Drug*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O *Drug*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!]¹

FARGARD XXI.

Waters and Light.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2-3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4-7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8-11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

¹ From the *Vendîdâd Sâdah*.

III c (12-17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18-21). Spells against disease.

I.

1. Hail, holy bull¹! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow thy gifts upon the excellent faithful, and who wilt bestow them on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the *Gahi* kills², and the ungodly *Ashemaogha*, and the wicked tyrant.

II.

2 (3). 'Come, come on, O clouds, along the sky, through the air, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness altogether, to destroy death altogether, to destroy altogether the sickness made by the *Gaini*³, to destroy altogether the death made by the *Gaini*, to destroy altogether *Gadha* and *Apagadha*⁴.

3 (9). 'If death come at eve, may healing come at daybreak!

'If death come at daybreak, may healing come at night!

¹ The primeval bull who was created by Ormazd and killed by Ahriman with the help of the *Gahi*. The praise of the holy bull serves as an introduction to the praise of the waters. There were old myths in which a cloud was compared to a bull in the atmosphere, from whom rain was supposed to come. (See *Orm. Ahr.* § 122 seq.; cf. *Intro.* V, 5. Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, *Gr. Rav.* 386.)

² Possibly, 'who dost kill the *Gahi*' (by means of *gômêz*).

³ The *Gahi* (see *Farg.* XX, 10) as bringing sickness (cf. *Farg.* VII, 59).

⁴ Names of diseases.

‘If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

‘Let showers shower down new waters, new earth, new trees, new health, and new healing powers.

III a.

4 (15). ‘As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters¹, rise up, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way². Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way³.

5 (20). ‘Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem⁴)⁵, along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

¹ Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: ‘As light rises up from Hara Berezaiti [Alborz, the mountain by which the earth is surrounded], so waters spring up from it and come back to it’ (Bund. XX); every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alborz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alborz (Bund. VII, Gr. Rav. 431; cf. Farg. V, 15 seq.) As light comes from three different sources, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements of light.

² Waters come down from the sky to the earth and come up back from the earth to the sky (see Farg. V, 15 seq.)

³ Doubtful.

⁴ ‘If thou art a righteous man’ (Comm.)

⁵ The translation of this clause is doubtful.

6 (23). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell¹: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

7 (27). 'A woman² rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

III b.

8 (30). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth³.

9 (31). 'Up! rise up, thou moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull⁴, rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to

¹ Doubtful; the text is corrupt. The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvî Sûra, Farg. VII, 16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

² Or better, 'a female;' there are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ When the bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bund. IV, X; cf. Orm. Ahr. §§ 125 and 127).

abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 (32). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

11 (32). 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

III c.

12 (32). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything grow¹.

13 (33). 'Up! rise up, ye stars, that have in you the seed of waters², rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 (34). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make

¹ Doubtful.

² When Tistrya, the storm god who gives rain, became a star (see *Introd.* IV, 36), it was thought that there was a relation between the stars and rain.

the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

15 (34). 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 (34). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up and gather together, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along!

17 (35). 'Up! rise up! away will the *Kahvuzi*¹ fly and cry, away will *Ayêhi*² fly and cry, away will the *Gahi*, who is addicted to the *Yâtu*, fly and cry.

IV.

[18. 'I drive away *Ishirê*, I drive away *Aghûirê*, I drive away *Aghra*, I drive away *Ughra*; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away *Sârana*, I drive away *Sârasti*, I drive away *Azana*, I drive away *Azahva*, I drive away *Kurugha*, I drive away *Azivâka*, I drive away *Duruka*, I drive away *Astairya*; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which *Angra Mainyu* has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the *Yâtus* and *Pairikas*, and all the wicked *Gainis*.

20. 'May the much-desired *Airyaman* come here, for the men and women of *Zarathustra* to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward

¹ 'He who diminishes light, *Ahriman*' (Comm.)

² 'Sterility, *Ahriman*' (Comm.)

that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *Gainis*.

22. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—the will of the Lord . . .¹.

'Kēm nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me . . .¹?

'Kē verethrem gâ:—who is he who will smite the fiend . . .¹?

23. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish, away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

FARGARD XXII.

Angra Mainyu creates 99,999 diseases: Ahura Mazda applies for healing to the holy word and to Airyaman.

Airyaman is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Rig-veda he is an Âditya (Aryaman), who is seldom invoked alone, but nearly always in company with Mitra and Varuṇa. His name, like Mitra's, means, 'the friend,' and, like Mitra, he is the god of heavenly light, kind, beneficent, and helpful to man.

In the Avesta the word Airyaman has the same meaning as in the Veda; but the character of the god is more fully developed, and whereas he has no distinct personality in the Vedic hymns, he appears here in the character of a healing god, which is derived in a very natural manner from his primitive and general character.

Airyaman abides in a mansion called the mansion of Airyaman (Airyamnô nmânem), which is the same as 'the bright mansion in

¹ As in preceding Fargard, § 13.

which Mitra, Aryaman, Varuṇa abide,' according to the 'Vedas, that is to say, the sky. In later Parsism, Airyaman appears as 'the Ized of Heaven'¹.

This Fargard is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman, called out from his mansion, comes and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the Barashnûm² or some ceremony of that kind, in order to cleanse the unclean, that is to say, the sick man³, and to restore him to health by virtue of the Nirang and of the holy word. The Fargard ends therefore with spells against sickness and against death.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion⁴, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

2 (5). 'Then the ruffian looked at me⁵; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Māthra Spenta⁶, thou most glorious one!

3 (8). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up⁷ as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka⁸, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet,

¹ Aspendiârji.

² See Farg. IX; cf. *infra*, § 20, n.

³ See *Introd.* V, 14.

⁴ 'The Garotman' (*Comm.*), paradise.

⁵ And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ormazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (*Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II*).

⁶ The holy word.

⁷ Possibly, 'I offer them up as a sacrifice.'

⁸ An incarnation of weal; here invoked as procuring health.

high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 (12). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push¹; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 (16). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 (20). 'Māthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: "How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?"'

II.

7 (22). The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha²: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airya-man, and speak thus unto him:

8 (23). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the

¹ Possibly, 'in which there is no blemish.'

² The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He was originally the same as the Vedic Narâ-jansa, a name of Agni, chiefly as the sacrificial fire, that is, as the messenger that goes from the heavens to the earth, and from the earth to the heavens. Mazdeism still knows that he is a form of Âtar, the Fire (Yasna XVII, 11 [68]).

beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

9 (24). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

10 (26). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 (30). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 (34). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

III.

13 (38). In obedience to Ahura's words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying :

14 (38). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

15 (39). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

16 (40). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 (44). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up, as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 (48). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

. . . IV. . .

19 (52). Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the much-desired Airyaman, towards

the mountain of the holy questions¹, towards the forest of the holy questions.

20 (54). Nine stallions brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman².

Nine camels brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

Nine bulls brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

Nine head of small cattle brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs³; he drew along nine furrows⁴.

[21⁵. 'I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârastya, I drive away Azana, I drive away Azahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Azivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

¹ The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ormazd and Zoroaster took place (cf. Farg. XIX, 11, and Introd. 40).

² According to Aspendiârji, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht VIII, 24).

³ That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Asp.; cf. Farg. IX, 14).

⁴ To perform the Barashnûm, 'the great service of the Nirang-Dîn, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, p. 341).

⁵ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

23. 'May the much-desired Airyaman come here for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

25. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor.

'Kəm nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

'Kē verethrem gâ:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!']

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									
		III Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬙 (N) 𐬚 (ng hv)	.	.	.	.	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	.	𐬛	.	.	.	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	च	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	छ	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	kh	
15 Media	.	g	.	ज	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	.	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	झ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.	
17 " Nasalis	.	ñ	.	ञ	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.	

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	50 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	51 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	52 Tenuissima	p
43 Semivocalis	r	53 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	54 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica	sh	55 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	zh	56 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis		57 " lenis	v
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arab.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ö									
3 " labialis	ü									
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	ا	ا	ا	ا	ا	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	ا	ا	ا	ا	ا	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	li			ल						
9 " longa	lī			ल						
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र						
11 " longa	rī			र						
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	ε(e) ξ(e)	و	و	و	و	e
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	و, ی					ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आ						āi
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)			इ						ei, ēi
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			उ						oi, ōi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	و	و	و	و	و	o
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		आ	و	و	و	و	و	ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आ						āu
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			इ						eu, ēu
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			उ						ou, ōu
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						ä
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						i
26 Labialis fracta	ū			ऊ						ū
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ओ						ö

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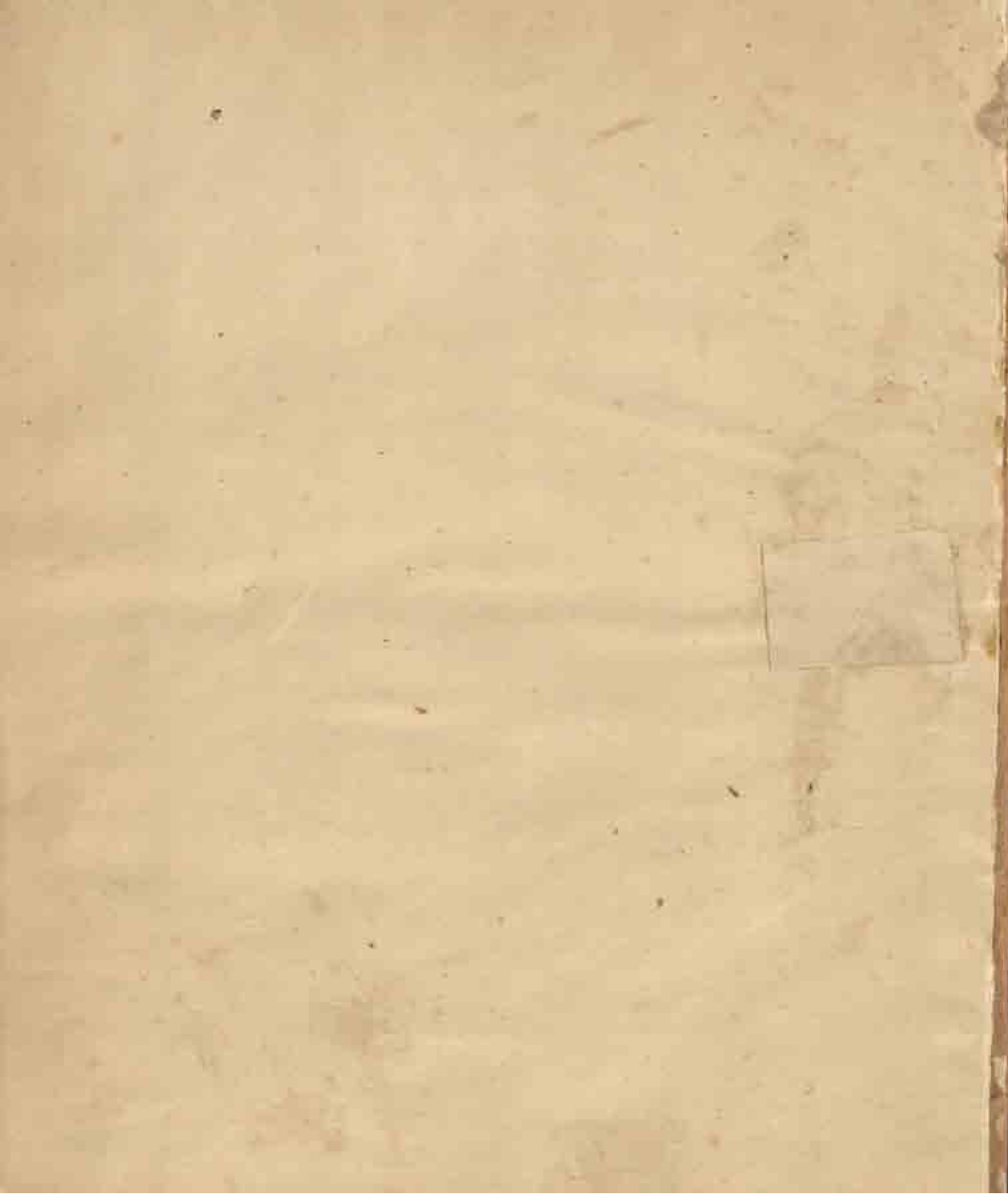
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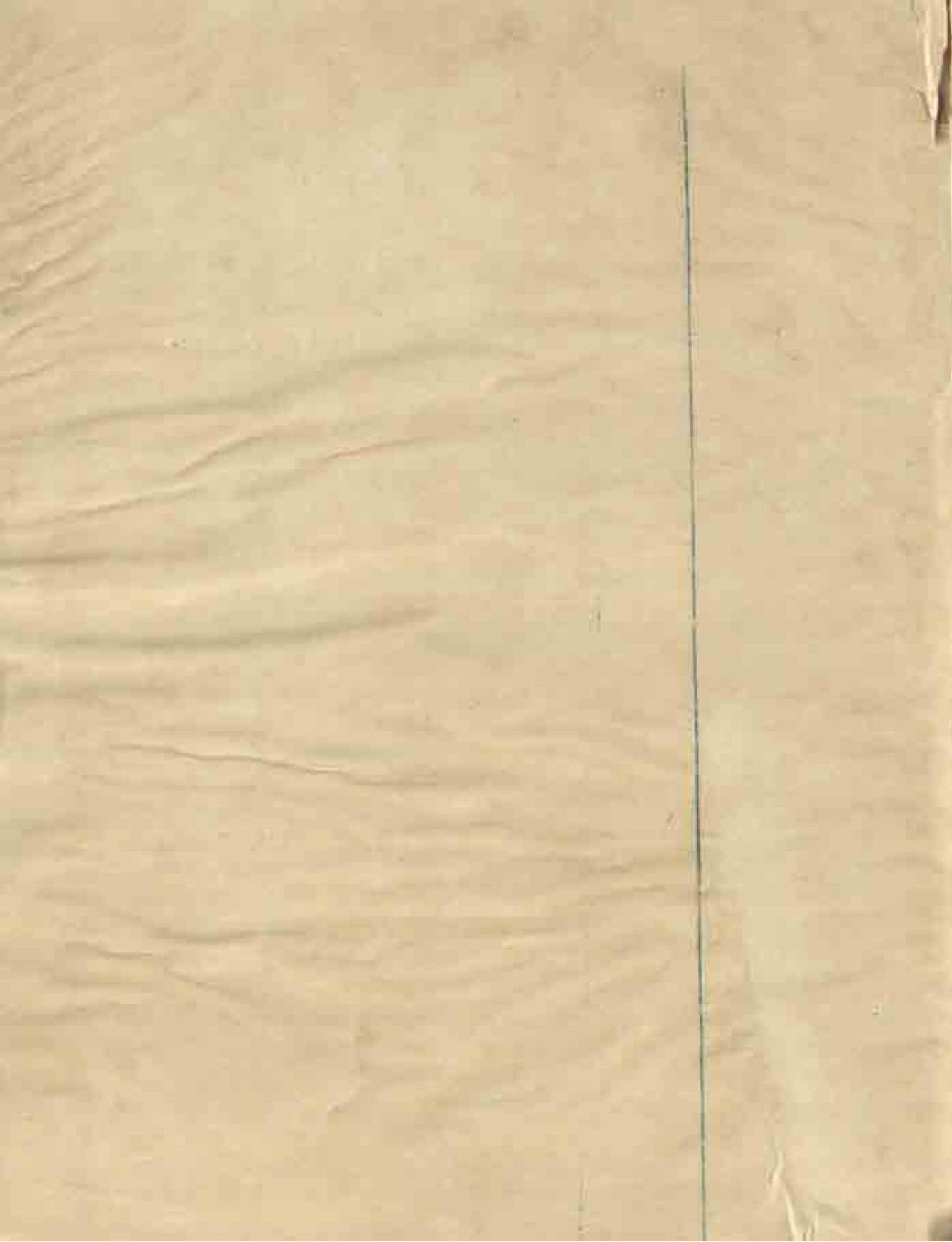
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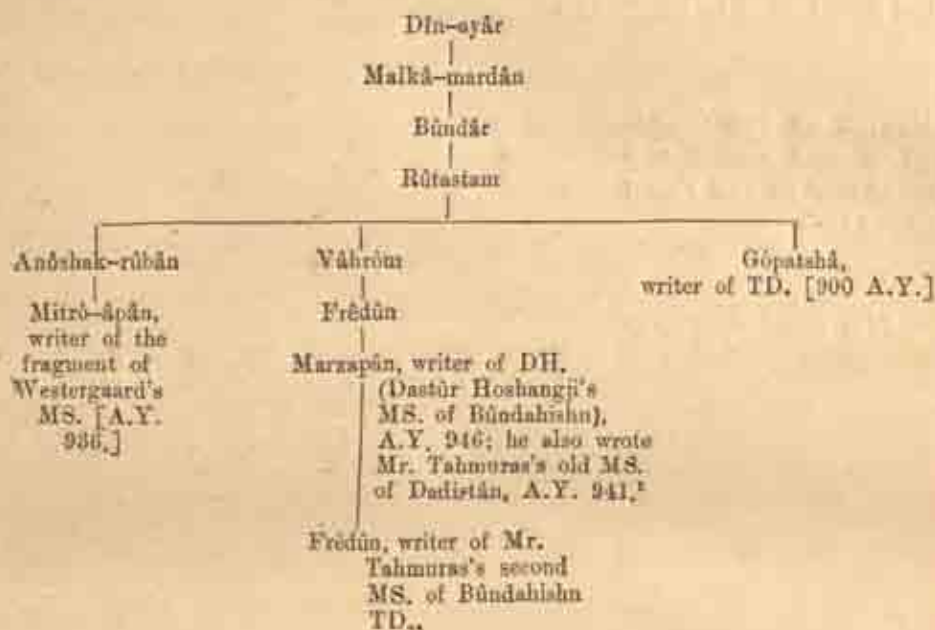
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This is the third Volume printed by the photo-zinco process under the patronage of this fund.

The manuscript of this Volume belonged to the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria. I quote from my Introduction to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume published in 1900 A. C. what I then said of the Būndahishn manuscript of Ervad Tahmuras:

"Mr. Tahmuras has two old manuscripts of the Būndahishn. The one is the TD referred to by Dr. West and written by Gōpatshā Rūstōm Būndār Malkā-mardān. Dr. West fixes its date at A. Y. 900 (A. C. 1530). The other one was written by Frēdūn Marzapān Frēdūn Vāhrōm Rūstām Būndār Malkā-mardān Dinayār. Mr. Tahmuras considers this latter manuscript written by Frēdūn to be more correct than that of Gōpatshā, and fixes its date some time between A. Y. 955 and 975. I take this opportunity of giving here the colophon of another old manuscript of Irānian Būndahishn, recently brought to light by Dastūr Kaikobād Ādarbād of Poona. It belongs to the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulamā Dastūr Dr. Hoshang Jāmāsp of Poona, in whose hands it has passed from the hands of the late Mr. Manekji Jamaspji Ashburner of Bombay. Dastūr Kaikobād refers to it in his "Text of the Pahlavi Zend-ī Vōhūman Yasht." The colophon of this old manuscript of Dastūr Hoshang runs as follows :

"The genealogical table of this family as presented by these four old manuscripts of the Bûndahishn will be as follows:—



"Dastur Kaikobâd had kindly offered his uncle's manuscript to the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet to get it printed from the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund in their hands. At the recommendation of the Committee for that fund they had resolved to get it printed by the photo-zinc process, but it was subsequently found that unfortunately the manuscript had several folios missing (192-199 and 201-209). So it is resolved to print Mr. Tahmuras's second manuscript TD₂ which, though a little later than Dastur Hoshangjî's manuscript and much later than TD (Gôpatshâ's copy), is more complete and correct."

This Volume is the result of that resolution. The Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet and the Committee of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund offer their best thanks to Mr. Behrangore Tahmuras Anklesaria, M.A., for kindly doing the work of collating and editing the work undertaken by his

¹ I now learn from Mr. Behrangore that the TD Dâdîstân MS. was written not by Marzapân but by his father's uncle Gôpatshâ.

late father, Ervad Tahmuras. The Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund Committee notes with great regret the loss sustained by Pahlavi scholarship in the death of Mr. Tahmuras.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsi Punchayet had, at the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund, arranged for the publication of a facsimile of the Iranian Būndahishn MS. TD₁, belonging to my father, in 1900. My father could not finish the work before his death, which took place on the 19th October 1903. It thus fell to my lot to watch the progress of the last sheets of the facsimile, to prepare the notes on the variants of DH, and to write this Introduction.

None can have greater reason than myself to regret that my father was not spared to write the Introduction to his MSS. himself. During the last six months of his life he was anxious that the Būndahishn should come out during his own lifetime and that of the late Dr. West, for whom he had very great esteem; but circumstances willed it otherwise. As his son and pupil I sat at his feet for eleven years, reading and working with him upon his unique Iranian MSS., and those

who knew him did not exaggerate when they said that he carried in his bosom untold wealth of Iranian lore without having had opportunities to unfold it to his contemporaries. As circumstances prevent me from writing a long Introduction, I shall content myself with touching only on the salient features of the Iranian MSS. of the Būndahishn. I regret that there should have been unavoidable delay in the publication of this work, and dedicate these few pages of Introduction to the memory of my revered father and instructor to whom I owe my all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

Three codices of the Iranian Būndahishn are at present extant: TD₁, DH and TD₂.

TD₁

The codex TD₁ was brought from Yazd to Bombay, about 38 years ago, by the late Mobad Khudābakhsh Farūd Ābādān for my father Ervad Tahmuras, along with the Dātistān MS., both written by Gōpatshā Rūs-tahm Bāndār. It is a MS. 9¼" × 7,"

containing two recent folios at the commencement,—written on European-made paper, replaced instead of the first missing folio,—101 original folios, numbered from 2 to 102, written on Iranian paper, and one loose folio at the end, undoubtedly written at a later date on Iranian paper. Of the first two later folios, fol. 1a is left blank, fols. 1b and 2a are written 15 lines to the page, and fol. 2b has only seven lines written over it, the remaining half being left blank. The original fols. 2-102 are written 17 lines to the page. The upper portions of the first 52 folios have changed their colour owing to damp, but the handwriting has not faded. The final loose folio contains the last five lines of the text written later on by Dastūr Rūstahm-i Gūshāsp Ērtashīr¹, a note of five lines made by him as regards the writer of the MS. and another note of about six lines added by Dastūr Jēmshīt Dastōbar Jāmāsp Dastūr Hakīm.² Dastūr Rūstahm-i Gūshāsp Ērtashīr notes:

¹ The writer of a similar note of approval on the unique Pahlavi Dīkarkart of the Mullā Firdā Rūstah-khānuh.

² Son of the well-known Jāmāsp Hakīm, better known as Jāmāsp Vilāyati, who had come over to Bombay about 189 years ago, and whose advent had become instrumental in making the Kadīmī faction amongst the Parsis.

دستور جشمیت داستوبار جاماسپ دستور
روستاهم گوسهاسپ اترتاشیر
این کتاب را که بنویسیده است
گوپتاشاه روستاهم بوندار
پسندیدم و آنرا در
نظم و ترتیب در آوردم
تا هر که بخواند
برای نجات جان خود
بخواند

"I, servant of the Faith, Dastūr Rūstahm-i Gūshāsp Ērtashīr, saw this book which is written by Gōpatshā Rūstahm Būndār. I liked it, I put it in order, so that any who may read it may pray for the immortality of his soul. May it be so!"

Dastūr Jēmshīt Dastōbar Jāmāsp Dastūr Hakīm notes:

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تا هر که بخواند
برای نجات جان خود
بخواند

"I, servant of the Faith, Dastūr Jēmshīt Dastōbar Jāmāsp Dastūr Hakīm, saw this book which is written by Gōpatshā Rūstahm Būndār. I read it, I liked it; on the day Amūrdat, month Artavahisht, year 1113 after the Emperor Yazdakart."

From these two notes we find that Gōpatshā Rūstahm Būndār, the writer of my father's MS. of the Dātistān

wrote this codex. The date of the codex cannot be ascertained, as Gôpatshâ's own colophon is missing; and he has not given any date in his colophon of the Second Book of Zâtsparam contained in my father's Datistân MS., written on fol. 282b, ll. 16-17 and fol. 283a, ll. 1-4. The colophon runs thus:

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"Completed with rejoicings and delight and gladness. I, servant of the Faith, Gôpatshâ Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-martân, wrote and left it. I wrote it in the auspicious land of Germân; I wrote it for the appropriation of my child Faritûn¹. May it be useful as long as religion exists! May it be according to the desire of God!"

As will appear from a description of the other two MSS., the codex TD₁ is the oldest existing MS. of the great Bûdahishbu, and it is possible that it was written about A. Y. 900². The writer of

it seems to have been a hasty scribe, but the handwriting is clear and legible. I should consider it an almost perfect copy but for the loss of the first and the final original folios. Its edges are torn and worn out, but the text is intact.

DH

The codex DH is at present in the library of the late Shams-ul-'Ulama Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji Jamaspji. It was kindly lent by him to the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet for collation. It must have at one time belonged to Mr. Manockjee Sornabjee Ashburner, whose seal is found impressed on some of the folios of the MS.¹ It is a MS. 9½" x 7", written 21 lines to the page, of which 137 folios are found. The first 159 folios are missing. Fol. 160 to fol. 230b, l. 12 contain the Bûdahishbu. Of these folios, fols. 192-199 and 202-209 in all 16 folios are missing. Fol. 230a, l. 13 to 230b, l. 12 contains the following long colophon:

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¹ The notes on the variants to be found in this MS. are given by me, and they are attached to the commencement of the Facsimile.

² See Dastur Hoshangji's *Vendidad*, Vol. I., Int. pp. xxiv-xxv.

¹ Faritûn is the nephew of Gôpatshâ, son of the latter's brother Vahârôm, see below, p. x, Col. II, l. 5.

² See S. B. E. Series, Vol. V. Int. p. xxiii.

Fol. 250*a* commences in the middle of Dinkart Book III, Chapter 417, with the words 'i chihar baén gêtâ ahvân.' Ch. 418 is omitted.

Fol. 250*a*, l. 6 commences with Ch. 419, which ends at Fol. 251*b*, l. 5.²

It is followed by "the Explanation of the Book Dinkart", which ends at fol. 252*b*, l. 6.³

After a blank of two lines Dinkart Book V. commences, which ends at Fol. 268*b*, l. 6.⁴

After a blank of four lines commences Dinkart Book IX, which breaks off at Fol. 320 coming to the end of Ch. 60 of the book.⁵

TD₂

The codex TD₂, the facsimile of the first 122 folios of which, containing the Bûdahishn, is photo-zinco-graphed, was brought from Yazd to Bombay by Dastûr Tîrandâz for my father. In Persia it was in the possession of the late Dastûr Sheheriâr Nâmdâr. It is a MS. 9½" × 7½", written 15 lines to the page. The first folio is missing. It was possibly left blank by the writer; so also is fol. 2*a* on which more recent

owners have written lines of Persian poetry. Fol. 2*b* commences with the Bûdahishn. The numbers of the first 16 folios are torn off, the upper margins being worn out. The Bûdahishn ends at fol. 122*a*.

Fol. 122*a*, ll. 8-14, contains this short colophon at the end of the Bûdahishn:—

"Completed with rejoicings and delight and gladness, on the day Âstât and month Tir, year 975, twenty years after Yazdakart, king of kings. I, servant of the Faith, Faritûn Marzpân Faritûn Vahârôm-i Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-martân Dî-ayibâr wrote *this* and left *it* for the possession and eternal success of Rûstahm Farkhō-zât Yêst-ayibâr-i Vîzan."

The last-mentioned Rûstahm may have been the nephew of Dastô-bar-i Vîzan-i Yêst-ayibâr-i Vîzan, who helped Shatriyâr Êrtêshîr-i Atrij, —the writer of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad¹, and of the Dinkart MS., in 855 A.Y.,—with a loan of his MS. He may also have been the nephew of Âtûr-gôshôsp Yêst-ayibâr Vîzan for whom the abovenamed Shatriyâr copied the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad,—which Marzpân Faritûn

¹ See Dastûr Peshotanji's *Dinkart*, Vol. IX, p. 414, l. 18. ² *Ibid* pp. 446-449. ³ *Ibid* pp. 450-452. ⁴ *Ibid* pp. 476-500; *Dinkart*, Vol. X, edited by Shams-ul-Ulûm Dastûr Durâbji Peshotanji Sa'jasa, B.A., pp. 1-28. ⁵ See S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 172-366.

¹ See Dastûr Hoshangji's *Vendidad*, Vol. I, Int. p. XXV.

copied,—from his great-grandfather Vizan Vahārāmshā Vizan's copy¹.

Fol. 122*b* contains a few lines of Persian poetry with the name of Nāmdār Kaēkhusrā, Dastūr Sheheriār's father,² written in Sarvi characters.

Fol. 123*a* commences with "Several Questions asked of the Saint Hēmit-i Asha-vaheshtān by Ātūr-gōshāsp-i Mitr-Ātāsh-i Ātūr-gōshāsp. There are in all 43 questions with their answers and they extend to fol. 163*a*, l. 10.

From fol. 163*a*, l. 10, commences another series of questions asked of Ātūr-farōbag-i Farkhōzātān, leader of the faithful. The questions end at fol. 203*a*, l. 15. They are in all 147 with answers.

Fols. 203*a*, l. 15—206*a*, l. 5, contain "Five Questions asked of Farbag-Sarōsh-i Vahārām," one of which it is not proper to write." As the heading indicates, only four questions are given with their answers. A short note of five lines gives the date of the composition: "In this manner Farbag-Sarōsh-i Vahārām decided these several questions, in the Pārsi year 357, 20 years after

Yazdakart, king of kings, descendant of Khūsrōd, king of kings, son of Aōhrmazd."

Fols. 206*a*, l. 10—212*a*, l. 8 contain twenty-eight questions asked of the Magūpatān-magūpat (*Farbag Sarōsh-i Vahārām?*) by Aērpāt Spendyāt-i Farkhō-Būrzīn in the same year.

Fols. 212*a*, l. 9—213*b*, l. 4, contain a description of the system of purifying the limbs during the 'Bareshnum' with a note of 3 lines stating: "This is what Aērpāt Shāmartān¹ said, and it ought to be done in this manner, and Bakht-āfrī² and Zartōst³ of great hopefulness and Mitr-Ātāsh-i Ātūr-gōshāsp⁴ used to do the same; may their souls be immortal!"

Fols. 213*b*, l. 9—218*a*, contain a small text of admonitions similar to what we find in the sixth book of the Dinkart.

Fol. 218*b*, commences with the commentaries of the Fragarde of Javīt-shēdā-dāt named "Vajirihā-i Dīn-i shapir-i Mazdayastān", which extend to fol. 354*a*, l. 2. These commentaries contain most of the

¹ See Dastūr Hoshangji's *Vesāhidat*, Vol. I, Int., p. xxvii; below p. xv. ² See above p. xii, Col. I. ³ See *Facsimile*, p. 228.

¹ Is he Gōparsh's great-grandfather? See above p. ix, Col. I, l. 18. ² See Dastūr Jāmšepji's *Pārsi-Texts*, p. 81; also see below p. xiv, Col. II, l. 23. ³ Son of Ātōrpāt-i Mārespandān? ⁴ See above, Col. I, ll. 11-12.

Avesta "Tahmuras Fragments" named after my father, given by Professor Darmesteter in "Le Zend Avesta", Vol. III., and in the "Sacred Books of the East Series", Vol. IV. (2nd Edition).

This text is followed by a long colophon of 23 lines, which runs as follows:—

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"I wrote these 'Decisions of the Mazda-worshipping Religion', according to the will of God, from a manuscript volume of him who serves God, who is much blessed with intelligence, a great increaser of glory, of very famous name, a great believer in religion, my father, servant of the Faith, Marzpan Faritun-i Vaharom Rustom Bander Shahr-martan. He wrote from the copy of the Leader of the holy religion, of happy soul, Gopatshah-i Rustom Bander; and he wrote from the copy of Kaekhusrov Siyavakhsh-i Shatriyar-i Bakht-afrit-i Shatriyar of immortal soul and good name. They are the copyists; may their souls individually attain to the best existence, the shining Garotman of eternal happiness.

"May I, Faritun Marzpan Faritun, who wrote the copy, have a good name on earth; and may I have immortality of the soul in the

spiritual existence! And *may* the faithful believers in religion *be* co-sharers in my good deeds, and may I be worthy of being a co-sharer in their good deeds! With the help of Aûhrimard and the Arch-angels, the Fravahars of the righteous and the righteous Fravahars, may I be a co-sharer also in the reward of good deeds and in the righteousness of the good believers on the seven kingdoms of the earth!

"I wrote *it* and left *it* on the day Fravartin, month Âwân, Pârsi year 978, twenty years after Yazdakart, king of kings, son of Shatriyâr, descendant of Khûsrôb, king, of kings, son of Aûhrmazd,

"I wrote *and* left *it* forth for the possession and eternal success of Rûstôm-i Parkhô-zât-i Yêstyâr-i Vizan; may he use it with righteousness for a hundred and fifty years! May it be according to the will of God!"

From this lengthy colophon it can be seen that this part of the codex, containing the 'Vajirihâ,' supposed to be unique, is descended from the copies of Gôpatshâ and Marzpân, the writers of TD₁ and DH, the former of whom wrote from a copy of Kaô-khûsrôv Siyâvakhsh. As to

the existence of these originals nothing is known.

Fols. 354b, l. 11—359a, l. 2, contain the Avesta "Âfrin-i Zartôst" with its Pahlavi translation. From fol. 357 to the end the margins of the MS. are torn, and some one has made attempts to restore the missing words on patches of paper applied to the margins.

Fol. 359a, l. 3 commences with the Pahlavi-Pâzend Glossary. Thirteen original folios 360-372 still survive, carefully patched up with paper with the missing words and lines written on them. Seven recent folios, written on the same quality of paper as that of the patches, by the scribe who has repaired the MS., are appended, possibly copied from the original MS., and thus the MS. breaks off abruptly.

From the dates given in the two colophons of the MS., it can be seen that the scribe has taken more than three years to complete his copy.

From the above description of the three codices TD₁, DH and TD₂, it can be seen that they are written by three descendants of the Bûndâr family: Gôpatshâ, Marzpân and Faritûn; Gôpatshâ being the grand-uncle of Marzpân and Faritûn being

Marzpan's son. The dates of the two latter, father and son, are 948 and 975-978 A. Y. It is possible, therefore, that Gôpatshâ wrote his Bândahishn and other texts during 880-900 A. Y.

K₁₃

Dr. F. C. Andreas published an old fragment of the Bândahishn appended to his facsimile of the Mainyo-i Khard in 1882. The fragment contains fols. 130-131 of the Copenhagen MS. K₁₃, presumably the last two folios of a codex containing the great Bândahishn. The first sixteen lines contain the text of the last chapter exactly agreeing with the text of TD₁, from the words 'Sâhm baén zak' up to the end of the chapter. This is followed by a colophon of 18 lines which states:

"Completed with rejoicings and delight and gladness, on the day Tir and the month Âtûr, and the Pârsi year 336, twenty years after His Majesty Yazdakart, king of kings, son of Shatr-ayibâr. I, Mitr-Âwân Anûshak-rûbân Râstahm wrote this volume of many details, with careful observation. I have written it for my own possession, and I left it. May he use it with devotion, goodness and faithfulness for a hundred

and fifty years! and may he entrust it after a hundred and fifty years to pious descendants with innate wisdom! *May he live* on earth according to the desires of his material existence, in the spiritual existence according to the desires of the soul! May he who reads and learns it and makes a copy of it, pray for the good name and pious soul of myself and of Gadman-pîrûz (A)spândâr Khûr-pîrûz for whom I copied! Hence may they be famous on earth during their material existence and may their souls be righteous in the spiritual existence."

From Mitr-Âwân's colophon appended to the Mainyo-i Khard, we learn that he has copied the text from the copy of Dastôbar Gadman-pîrûz Aspândâr-i Gadman-pîrûz, who copied from Dastôbar Yêst-ayibâr Vizan-i Khûsrûishâ's copy, who again copied from the original of Mâh-vindât-i Naremahân. This Mâh-vindât-i Naremahân may be the same as Mâh-vindât-i Naremahân-i Vahârâm Mitr-Âwân, who completed the Lînkart MS. on the day Dâē, of the month Tir in 369 A. Y. The Dastôbar Yêst-ayibâr-i Vizan-i Khûsrûishâ (?) may be the father of Dastôbar Vizan-i Yêst-ayibâr-i Vizan, who helped Shatriyâr, the

writer of the Dinkart in 855 A. Y. He may, therefore, have flourished in the early part of the ninth century after Yazdakart. If Mitr-Âwân's source of the Bândahishn be as well-descended, the loss of his MS. should be considered a great desideratum.

From the brief descriptions of TD₁, DH, TD₂ and K₂₃ given above, it can be seen that seven reputed scribes are said to have copied the Bândahishn: 1) Spendyât Mazdîn-khvâst of Zâtsparam, 2) Êrdashîr Vahârâmshât Rûstêm Vahârâmshâ, 3) Gadman-pirûz Aspândâr-i Gadman-pirûz, 4) Gôpatshâ Rûstahm Bûndâr, 5) Mitr-Âwân Anûshak-rûbân Rûstahm Shatriyâr, 6) Marzpân Faritûn, and 7) Faritûn Marzpân. The copies of the first three scribes seem to be irretrievably lost; if Spendyât were the grandson of Zâtsparam-i Gôshn-jam, he is a cousin of Frôbag-i Dâtakih-i Ashavahešt-i Gôshn-jam¹, the compiler of the so-called Bândahishn, and his must be one of the earliest and most reliable copies written very near the commencement of the fourth century A. Y. We do not know from which MS. Gôpatshâ prepared his copy. Faritûn Marzpân, too, does not men-

tion in his colophon appended to the Bândahishn, which original he selected for his copy. But Marzpân Faritûn informs us of the original he used being written by one Êrtashîr Vahârâmshât. It would be impossible to take into account the fragment of two folios of text surviving in K₂₃.

We may, therefore, make an attempt at discussing the relative values of the three copies of Gôpatshâ, Marzpân and Faritûn. But for slight variations here and there in the text, repetitions and omissions by mistake, all the three agree in the main, and seem to be derived from similar originals. Gôpatshâ is a very hasty scribe, a neat, legible and well-informed writer. Marzpân is more painstaking and accurate and as neat and legible as his grand-uncle, but the penmanship of the youngest writer of the MS., Faritûn, is fascinating and his copy supersedes both the older copies, those of his father and great-granduncle. He has not wasted his three years in vain over the preparation of his copy. All the three copies, therefore, should be indispensable to the future editor and translator of the text.

It would be interesting to note the work done by the three scribes.

¹ See *Facsimile*, p. 237, l. 15 sq.

Gôpatshâ had copied the Bândahishn and the Dâtistân codex TD,—called TK by Dr. West¹—of which fols. 71-213, 222-297 are surviving, containing a Pahlavi Revâyet (fols. 71-84), the Dâtistân (84-197), certain miscellaneous texts (197-201), the Epistles of Mânûshchîhar (201-213, 222-236), the Selections of Zâtspâram and other fragmentary texts (236-297). He had also copied the 'Vajirihâ-i Din-i Mazdayastân' as Faritûn Marzpân mentions in his colophon, and it is not known whether his copy exists. The entire remnant of his writings, so far as we at present know, are preserved in my father's library.

Marzpân's existing copies are more voluminous. Besides the texts contained in DH he wrote the codex BK² in 941 A.Y., containing all the texts found in the TD Dâtistân codex, at present in the library of the late Dastur Jamshedji Peshutanji of Valsâr, and IM, the Iranian MS. of the Vendidad belonging to the late Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji.

¹ See S. B. E. Series, Vol. XVIII, Int., p. xvi. sq. ² See S. B. E. Series, Vol. XVIII, Int., p. xv. sq. There is no doubt that BK is written by Marzpân. The handwriting is the same in the MSS. IM, BK and DH, all three of which I have carefully noticed. I cannot say who wrote K₂, which Dr. West supposes to have been written by Marzpân, as I have not seen the MS.

All these MSS. belonged at one time to the late Mânakji Sohrâbji Kâvusji Ashburner to whom they seem to have been presented by a Persian Zoroastrian named Sayâvakhsh Aûrmazdyâr Sayâvakhsh Rûstam Aûrmazdyâr in about 1853 A.D.¹ Marzpân's copy of "Vajirihâ-i Din-i Mazdayastân" referred to by his son Faritûn in his colophon, does not seem to be existing.

No other MSS., besides the unique codex TD₂, are up to now known to have been written by Faritûn Marzpân. But some interesting statements are to be found of him in a unique MS. of the Vishtâsp Yasht Sâdah in the possession of Ervad Manakji Rustamji Unvala of Bombay. This MS. was at one time in the library of the late Mânakji Sohrâbji Kâvusji Ashburner. We see from the colophon that it was written by Mânûshchîhar Êrtêshîr-i Vahârûm Spendyât Êrtêshîr for Faritûn Marzpân, and finished on the day Vohûman, of the month Khûrdat in the year 996 A.Y. At the end of the colophon, there are two folios; on the first folio in mixed Pâzend and Pahlavi handwriting we find the statement of the codex being sent

¹ See Dastur Hoshangji's *Vendidad* Int., p. xxiv.

by Faritûn Marzpân to the Dastûrs, Mōbads, and the faithful of Hendûstân, and on the second folio we find an interesting letter in Neo-Persian, written by Faritûn Marzpân to the Dastûrs, Mōbads and leaders of the faithful in Hendûstân, referring also to the advent of Bahman Asfandyâr¹ to Persia. The whole statement is enough to prove that Faritûn Marzpân was the leader of the faithful of Persia of his time.

CONTENTS OF THE GREAT BUNDAHISHN

THESE Iranian MSS. contain a text much more extensive than the Indian MSS. of the Bûndahishn. Dr. West gave a rough estimate of their contents in the Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. V,² from information supplied by my father from his MS. TD₁ in December 1877 and October 1878.

The text commences with a preface, written in imperfect Pahlavi, possibly added by a later editor, which says :

"0. Rejoicings unto the bright, glorious, all-knowing Creator Aûhr-mazd, who *is* wise, who *is* capable,

who *is* the greatest of all invisible sacred beings and of all earthly sacred beings—with good thought, good word, good deed, in meditation, utterance *and* action.

"1. With a happy *and* very auspicious lot I shall write the manuscript of the Bûndahishn, at the lucky constellation 'tanî', during the archpriestship of the friend of God, of entire wisdom, the practiser of piety, the friend of good deeds, the recogniser of God, the spiritual seer liked by the good, the archpriest of the good religion of Mazda-worshippers, Spend-dât Mâhvindât Râstôm Shatrihâr of immortal soul.

"2. From the coming of the Tâjiks to the Irân-shahr and the propagation of their heterodoxy *and* ill-will, orthodoxy has vanished from the Kayâns, and respect for the Kayâns from the upholders of the religion; deep utterances (*mīlayâihâ-î zôpr*), the reasons of things, the true reason of meditation, action and utterance, *these* have vanished from the memory and knowledge of the multitude.

"3. On account of evil times, he, too, who *is* of the noble family of Kayâns, and the Kayân upholders of religion have turned to the mercy

¹ See Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel's *Pârsi Prabhûk*, p. 13.

² *Ist. pp.* xxxv—xxxvii.

(*Arabic* 'rahm') and the path of those heterodox, and for the sake of respect, they have defiled the word, dress, worship and practices of the faithful with blemishes.

"4. He, also, whose wish was to learn this knowledge and secret, was not able to obtain it, as he should from various places, in spite of *all* his troubles and pains and difficulties."

It can be seen that this preface is added by an editor of the post-Muhammadan period. He possibly refers in § 3 to the tradition as regards the conversion of some members of the family of Yazdakart, and that of many noble families who changed their faith in order to preserve their social distinctions. The spelling used in this preface is perfectly modern. In TD₁ it is added by a later hand on recent folios, but in DH and TD₂ it is written by the authors of the codices themselves. It could not therefore have been written later than 1500 A.D.

This preface occupies twenty-one lines and a half of TD₂, immediately after which follows a summary title of the work occupying about four lines and a half, which runs thus:

"The knowledge of the commentary: first, as regards the original creation of Aûhrmazd and the opposition of the evil spirit; then, as regards the nature of the earthly creatures from the original creation till the end, as is manifest from the religion of Mazda-worshippers; then, as regards the possession held from the Kayâns;—with explanation, whereabouts and nature."

From this title it seems that the author himself names the work 'Zand-Âkâsih,' "Knowledge of the Commentary", of which the Bûdahishn, so-called, forms only one part, and the subjects treated of are divided under three heads: 1) the creation of Aûhrmazd and the counter-creation of the evil spirit, 2) the nature of the earthly creatures, 3) the Kayân dominion.

The work seems to have been divided into thirty-six chapters by the original author of the work, notes and appendices being added to nine of them. Of these Chapters I—VII may be classed under the first head: the creation of Aûhrmazd and the counter-creation of the evil spirit; Chs. VIII—XXIV, XXVIII—XXIX treat of the subject matter of the second head: the nature of the earthly creatures; Chs. XXXI—

XXXIII and XXXV can be included in the third head: the Kayân dominion. It is difficult to class the rest of the chapters under any of the three categories dealing as they do with 'the religious year' (XXV), 'the exploits of the spiritual angels' (XXVI), 'the evil doing of Aharman and the Dævas' (XXVII), 'the Chinvâr bridge' (XXX), 'Resurrection and the final material existence' (XXXIV), and 'the year computation of the Arabs' (XXXVI). It is possible that some or all of them were after-thoughts of the compiler or inserted by some persons later on in the work. Excepting the last, the other five chapters may be said to have some connection with the first head.

I. The first chapter seems to contain introductory matter. It commences abruptly, without any such heading as we invariably find at the top of all other chapters of the book. On fol. 4a, l. 2, we have by way of sub-heading: 'I mention the creation of the creatures first in a spiritual state, then in a material state.' Again on fol. 10a, l. 13 there occurs another sub-heading: 'As regards the creation of the creatures in a material state.' The chapter commences

from TD₂, fol. 3a, l. 11, w. 8, and extends to fol. 14b, l. 5. The following would be a rough summary of its contents. It treats of the eternal existence of *Aôhrmazd* during infinite time, aloft in the light, the existence of Aharman in the abysmal station in darkness, the void betwixt *Aôhrmazd* and Aharman, the relative finiteness and infinity of light and darkness, the knowledge of *Aôhrmazd* as regards the existence of the evil spirit and his wicked intentions; His creation of the spiritual creatures; the ignorance of the evil spirit as regards the existence of *Aôhrmazd*, his advent to the starry luminaries, his onset, defeat and return to the abyss; his counter-creation; *Aôhrmazd*'s offer of peace to the evil spirit, and the evil spirit declining the offer. *Aôhrmazd* appoints a period of contest with the evil spirit; the evil spirit conforms to it. *Aôhrmazd* chants the *ahdnavar*, reveals to the adversary His own final victory, the adversary's impotence, the perishability of the demons, the resurrection, the final existence, and the unopposed condition of His creatures. Seeing all this, the evil spirit reverts to the abyss where he lies for three millenniums in a stupor. In the mean-

while Aôhrmazd creates infinite time, out of infinite time finite time, out of finite time "impassability", out of impassability undisturbed progress, out of undisturbed progress intransformability, and out of intransformability the earthly creatures. He creates the earthly creatures out of His own essence, in the shape of shining white fire. He creates the body of the good wind, with whose help He creates the creatures. The evil spirit procreates his own creatures from material darkness. He produced infinite darkness out of material darkness, untruthful utterance out of infinite darkness. Aôhrmazd creates truthful utterance out of material light. His own beneficence and the production of the creatures became manifest owing to truthful utterance. He created the *âsrôk* personale out of infinite light. *Ahûnavar* springs out of the *âsrôk* personale. Out of the *ahûnavar* came forth the spiritual year, which is now half light, half dark owing to the intermingling of evil. Aôhrmazd comes to the finite archangels when they are created. He first creates the seven archangels, the seventh is He Aôhrmazd himself, eighth truthful utterance, ninth Sraosha the righteous, tenth the beneficent *mân-*

sar, eleventh *Nêryôsang*, twelfth the lofty *Rat Ratwôk Bêrsêt*, thirteenth Rashn the true, fourteenth Mitr of wide pastures, fifteenth the good Arishvang, sixteenth *Pârand*, seventeenth *Khvêb*, eighteenth Wind, nineteenth Lawfulness, twentieth beneficent Peacefulness. Of earthly creatures He creates first the sky, second the water, third the earth, fourth vegetation, fifth animals, sixth the man, and the seventh is He Aôhrmazd himself. The evil spirit for opposition first creates Akôman, Andar, Sâval, Nâhig-has, Tarômat, Tarich, Zairich and then other daevas; the seventh is he, the evil spirit himself. Aôhrmazd creates the six creations during the six periods of the year — the *Gâsân-bâr*. The six periods of the year explained. The five *gâsânîk* periods. The names of the thirty days.

From this rough summary of the contents it will be seen that this is an introductory chapter giving as it were a faithful substance of the whole portion of the book dealing with the first category, the genesis. After a close study of the language, it appears that the text has been prepared from a Pahlavi translation with commentary

of some Avesta work, such as the Dāmdāt Nask, now missing, in the same way as the "Zend-i Vohūman Yasht," and that its correct name, as given by the author himself, is "Zend-ākāsih".

II. The second chapter, entitled "As regards the Creation of the Luminaries", commences with fol. 14*b*, l. 5, w. 8, and ends at fol. 17*a*, l. 10, w. 6.

III. "As regards the Reason of producing the Creatures for contending." Fol. 17*a*, l. 10, w. 7—fol. 21*b*, l. 11.

IV. "The Rush of the Adversary on to the Creatures." Fol. 21*b*, l. 12—fol. 25*a*, l. 2.

(A) An Appendix commencing with the words: "This, too, is said that when the sole-created 'gao' passed away, it fell towards the right hand." Fol. 25*a*, l. 3—fol. 25*b*, l. 6, w. 2.

V. "As regards the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner they came spiritually for opposition, the arch-demons against the spiritual angels." Fol. 25*b*, l. 6, w. 3,—fol. 27*a*, l. 15, w. 6.

A. "As regards the horoscope of the world." Fol. 27*a*, l. 15, w. 7—fol. 29*b*, l. 3, w. 5.

B. An Appendix commencing with the words: "The Mount Albōrz is in the middle of the world." Fol. 29*b*, l. 3, w. 6—fol. 32*a*, l. 7, w. 1.

VI. "As regards the contention of the material creations against the evil spirit." Fol. 32*a*, l. 7, w. 2—fol. 37*b*, l. 11.

A. "The first battle the spirit of the sky waged with the evil spirit." Upto fol. 32*b*, l. 10, w. 2.

B. "The second battle the water waged." Upto fol. 34*b*, l. 12, w. 2.

C. "The third battle the earth waged." Upto fol. 35*b*, l. 1, w. 6.

D. "The fourth battle vegetation waged." Upto fol. 35*b*, l. 15.

E. "The fifth battle the sole-created 'gao' waged." Upto fol. 36*a*, l. 12.

F. "The sixth battle Gāyōkmar waged." Upto fol. 37*a*, l. 6, w. 3.

G. "The seventh battle the fire waged." Upto fol. 37*a*, l. 12, w. 2.

H. "The eighth battle the stars waged." Upto fol. 37*b*, l. 1, w. 2.

I. "The ninth battle the spiritual angels waged." Upto fol. 37*b*, l. 4, w. 5.

J. "The tenth, the stars adopted aloofness." Upto fol. 37*b*, l. 11.

VII. "As regards the essence of

those creations." Fol. 37*b*, l. 12—fol. 39*a*, l. 9, w. 5.

VIII. "As regards the whereabouts of the lands." Fol. 39*a*, l. 9, w. 6—fol. 40*a*, l. 6, w. 3.

IX. "As regards the whereabouts of the mountains." Fol. 40*a*, l. 6, w. 4—fol. 42*b*, l. 9, w. 2.

X. "As regards the whereabouts of the seas." Fol. 42*b*, l. 9, w. 3—fol. 44*a*, l. 9.

XI. "As regards the whereabouts of the rivers." Fol. 44*a*, l. 10—fol. 45*a*, l. 10, w. 1.

A. "As regards the particular rivers." Fol. 45*a*, l. 10, w. 2—fol. 46*b*, l. 11.

B. "The seventeen species of water mentioned in religion." Fol. 46*b*, l. 12—fol. 47*a*, l. 13, w. 4.

C. "The discontent of the rivers Mary-rüt and Hët-añmand" &c. Fol. 47*a*, l. 13, w. 5—fol. 47*b*, l. 11.

XII. "As regards the whereabouts of the lakes." Fol. 47*b*, l. 12—fol. 48*b*, l. 7.

XIII. "As regards the whereabouts of the five classes of animals." Fol. 48*b*, l. 8—fol. 52*a*, l. 2.

XIV. "As regards the whereabouts of mankind." Fol. 52*a*, l. 3—fol. 55*b*, l. 14, w. 2.

A. "As regards the whereabouts of womankind." Fol. 55*b*, l. 14, w. 3—fol. 56*a*, l. 8, w. 5.

B. An Appendix commencing with the words: "This, too, is said that Jam, when the glory departed from him." Fol. 56*a*, l. 8, w. 6—fol. 56*b*, l. 3, w. 2.

XV. "As regards the whereabouts of births from every species." Fol. 56*b*, l. 3, w. 3—fol. 58*a*, l. 14, w. 8.

A. An Appendix commencing with the words: "These four things, too, are called male and four female." Fol. 58*a*, l. 14, w. 9—fol. 59*b*, l. 2, w. 5.

XVI. "As regards the whereabouts of the plants." Fol. 59*b*, l. 2, w. 6—fol. 61*b*, l. 5, w. 1.

A. Flowers dedicated to the Archangels. Fol. 61*b*, l. 5, w. 2—fol. 62*a*, l. 3, w. 1.

XVII. "As regards the chieftainship of men, animals and every substance." Fol. 62*a*, l. 3, w. 2—fol. 63*a*, l. 1.

A. An Appendix commencing with the utterance of Añhrmazd "I did not pay consideration to the entire material existence, *i. e.*, all are equal." Fol. 63*a*, l. 2—l. 15, w. 5.

XVIII. "As regards the whereabouts of Fire." Fol. 63*a*, l. 15, w. 6—fol. 66*a*, l. 11, w. 5.

XIX. "As regards the nature of sleep." Fol. 66*a*, l. 11, w. 6—fol. 66*b*, l. 11, w. 4.

A. An Appendix: "It is not owing to industry that the earth, the water and the plants yield fruit, nor is it owing to sleepfulness and impotence that they do not yield fruit." Fol. 66*b*, l. 11, w. 5—l. 14, w. 6.

XX A. "The 'Chashârak' sound (the sound of weeping of the pious)." Fol. 66*b*, l. 14, w. 7—fol. 67*a*, l. 5, w. 5.

B. "The 'Navin' sound, the voice of the holy hymn." Fol. 67*a*, l. 5, w. 6—l. 7, w. 3.

C. "The 'stone' sound, *e. g.*, the sound produced by the mill." Fol. 67*a*, l. 7, w. 4—l. 13, w. 1.

D. "The 'water' sound." Fol. 67*a*, l. 13, w. 2—l. 15, w. 4.

E. "The 'vegetable' sound." Fol. 67*a*, l. 15, w. 5—fol. 67*b*, l. 1, w. 5.

F. "The 'earth' sound." Fol. 67*b*, l. 1, w. 6—l. 7.

XXI. "As regards the whereabouts of (A) Wind, (B) Cloud and (C) Rain."

A. Fol. 67*b*, l. 8—fol. 68*b*, l. 12, w. 7.

B. Fol. 68*b*, l. 12, w. 8—fol. 69*b*, l. 6, w. 7.

C. Fol. 69*b*, l. 6, w. 8—fol. 71*b*, l. 5.

D. A note of three lines.

E. A general Appendix on the three headings A, B, C. Fol. 71*b*, l. 8, w. 6—fol. 73*a*, l. 2, w. 2.

XXII. "As regards the whereabouts of noxious creatures." Fol. 73*a*, l. 2, w. 3—fol. 75*b*, l. 6, w. 4.

XXIII. "As regards the whereabouts of the wolf-species." Fol. 75*b*, l. 6, w. 5—fol. 76*b*, l. 8, w. 2.

XXIV. "As regards various things, *i. e.*, in what manner they are produced, and the opposition that came to them." Fol. 76*b*, l. 8 w. 3—fol. 80*b*, l. 11.

A. The Gô-karan tree, the Lizard created by Aharman in opposition to it. The two Kar fishes created by Aûhrmazd in counter-opposition to the Lizard.

B. The 'Vâs-t panchâsatvarân.'

C. The Tree of many seeds.

D. The Ass with three strides.

E. The bull Hadhayâsh.

F. The bird Chamrôsh.

G. The Karshipt.

H. "The bird Ashôk-zûsht, whom they also call the bird Zôr-barak Vohûman, the bird Vashô-kachak."

I. A digression containing a commentary as to the utility of the ferocious animals and birds; the cunningness of birds, specially the crow.

J. The white falcon.

K. The bird Kâskin.

L. The vulture, the crow, the mountain kite, the mountain ox, the wild goat, the omager.

M. The dogs.

N. The fox.

O. The weasel.

P. The great musk.

Q. The hog 'zôzag'.

R. The water-beaver.

S. The eagle.

T. The Arab horse.

U. 'Alkâ'.

XXV. "As regards the religious year." Fol. 80*b*, l. 12—fol. 83*a*, l. 1, w. 5.

XXVI. "As regards the great exploits of the spiritual angels." Fol. 83*a*, l. 1, w. 6—fol. 92*b*, l. 8, w. 1.

XXVII. "As regards the evil-do-

ing of Aharman and the Daevas." Fol. 92*b*, l. 8, w. 2—fol. 96*b*, l. 2.

XXVIII. "As regards the earthly verisimilitude of the body of man." Fol. 96*b*, l. 3—fol. 100*a*, l. 5, w. 6.

XXIX. "As regards the chieftainship of the regions." Fol. 100*a*, l. 5, w. 7—fol. 101*b*, l. 2, w. 2.

XXX. "As regards the Chinvâr bridge, and the souls of the departed." Fol. 101*b*, l. 2, w. 3—fol. 104*b*, l. 2, w. 2.

XXXI. "As regards the noteworthy districts of Airân-shatr, the abode of the Kayâns." Fol. 104*b*, l. 2, w. 3—fol. 106*b*, l. 4, w. 4.

XXXII. "As regards the abodes which the Kayâns built." Fol. 106*b*, l. 4, w. 5—107*b*, l. 3, w. 4.

XXXIII. "As regards the calamities that overtook the Airân-shatr in each millennium." fol. 107*b*, l. 3, w. 5—fol. 112*a*, l. 15, w. 3.

XXXIV. "As regards resurrection and the final material existence." Fol. 112*a*, l. 15, w. 4—fol. 116*a*, l. 5, w. 6.

XXXV. "As regards the origin and lineage of the Kayâns." Fol. 116*a*, l. 5, w. 7—fol. 120*a*, l. 12, w. 3.

A. The family of the Magûpatân. Fol. 120a, l. 12, w. 4—fol. 121a, l. 6, w. 1.

XXXVI. "As regards the years' computation of the Arabs—twelve thousand years." Fol. 121a, l. 6, w. 2—fol. 122a, l. 8, w. 5.

Colophon.

THE LACUNÆ IN K₂₀

I now give the important omissions of the text in K₂₀, the Copenhagen Iranian MS. No. 20, folios 88-129 of which contain the Bûdahishn, a fac-simile of which was edited by Professor N. L. Westergaard in 1851. It is an old codex written by the erudite Irani scribe Mihir-Âwân Kai-Khusrû at Khambayet in the year 720 A. Y. (1350 A. D.), and is thus about 180 years older than the oldest Iranian codex TD₁. It is not my purpose to give here the minor omissions of words or single lines. The codex TD₂ has got 240 sides, written 15 lines to the page; omitting to count the last 6 lines on the last page containing the colophon, it has got in all 3,593 lines of text. The Copenhagen codex has taken up 84 sides for the Bûdahishn text, written 20 lines to the page, the first side containing only 16 and the

last only 2 lines. It thus contained 1,658 lines, taking also into account the lines of its missing folio 121. Thus supposing a line of both the MSS. contained an equal number of words, matter of about 1,935 lines is missing from K₂₀. On an actual calculation of the lines contained in the lacunæ, I see that about 2,068 lines of TD₂ are wanting in the Indian Text. In the details given below, I mention the original folios of TD₂ as marked by the original numberer. The first folio and the a side of the second folio being blank, the text commences with fol. 2b.

1. Fol. 2b, l. 1—fol. 3a, l. 7, w. 4. About 21½ lines of the entire preface.¹

2. Fol. 6a, l. 2, w. 7 (*Shakbahû-nast*)—fol. 9a, l. 2. About 90½ lines in the middle of the first chapter which is introductory.

3. Fol. 9a, l. 10, w. 3 (*barihî-nîl*)—fol. 9b, l. 2, w. 0 (*—nikîh*). About 7 lines of the same chapter.

4. Fol. 9b, ll. 4-7, w. 3 (*âwê-est*). About 3½ lines.

5. Fol. 9b, l. 10, w. 4 (*âkhar*)—fol. 14b, l. 5, w. 7 (*yamallûnam*). About 146 lines of the end of Ch. I.

6. Fol. 15b, l. 4, w. 5 (*sipâh-*

¹ See above pp. XIX-XX.

patân)—fol. 21a, l. 10. About 170½ lines, comprising 51 lines of the end of Ch. II and 119½ lines from the commencement of Ch. III.

7. Fol. 22b, l. 6, w. 3 (*aighush*)—l. 10, w. 2 (*yahabûntan*) About 4 lines in the middle of Ch. IV.

8. Fol. 22b, l. 12, w. 2—l. 13, w. 2 About 1 line.

9. Fol. 22b, l. 13, w. 8 (*âsmân*)—fol. 23a, l. 2, w. 1 (*pâyak*). About 3 lines and 2 words.

10. Fol. 23a, l. 11, w. 8 (*âsmân*)—fol. 23b, l. 2, w. 7 (*yakvîminêt*). About 6 lines in the middle of Ch. IV.

11. Fol. 25b, l. 6, w. 3 (*madam*)—fol. 27a, l. 1. About 41 lines from the commencement of Ch. V.

12. Fol. 27a, l. 9, w. 8 (*amat*)—fol. 29b, l. 3, w. 6 (*hanmanat*). About 69 lines comprising 6 lines of Ch. V, followed by 63 lines of Ch. V, Ap. A.

13. Fol. 30b, l. 6, w. 5 (*meman*)—fol. 32a, l. 7, w. 1 (*kartan*). About 46 lines of the end of Ch. V, Ap. B.

14. Fol. 36a, l. 11, w. 2—fol. 39a, l. 9, w. 5. About 88½ lines, comprising about 2 lines of Ch. VI, Ap. E, 44 lines of Appendices F,

G, H, I, J, and 42½ lines containing the whole of Ch. VII.

15. Fol. 51a, l. 14, w. 8 (*awsahînêt*)—fol. 52a, l. 2. About 18 lines of the end of Ch. XIII.

16. Fol. 52a, l. 3, last letter (*m*)—l. 13, w. 5. About 9½ lines of the commencement of Ch. XIV.

17. Fol. 55b, l. 7—fol. 56a, l. 8, w. 5. About 16½ lines, comprising 7 lines and 2 words of Ch. XIV, and about 9 lines and 3 words of the whole of Ap. A to the Chapter.

18. Fol. 56b, l. 6, w. 2—l. 11, w. 8 (*yahavûnêt*). About 5½ lines near the commencement of Ch. XV.

19. Fol. 57a, l. 10, ws. 7-11.

20. Fol. 57a, l. 11—fol. 58a, l. 14, w. 8. About 34 lines of the end of Ch. XV.

21. Fol. 58b, l. 8, w. 6—fol. 59b, l. 2, w. 5. About 24 lines of the end of Ch. XV, Ap. A.

22.¹ Fol. 61b, l. 13, w. 10 (*Hâm*)—fol. 62a, l. 3, w. 1 (*yamannûnêt*). About 4½ lines of the end of Ch. XVI, A.

23. Fol. 65a, l. 4, w. 6—fol. 76b, l. 9. About 350½ lines, comprising 37 lines of the end of Ch.

¹ This lacuna is owing to the loss of fol. 121 of K_{2a}.

XVIII, Chs. XIX-XXIII and about 2 lines of heading of Ch. XXIV.

24. Fol. 83a, l. 1, w. 6—fol. 92b, l. 8, w. 1. About 291½ lines, comprising the whole of Ch. XXVI.

25.¹ Fol. 92b, l. 8, w. 2—fol. 93b, l. 7, w. 6. About 29½ lines of the commencement of Ch. XXVII.

26. Fol. 94a, l. 12, w. 4—fol. 100a, l. 5, w. 6. About 173½ lines, comprising 65¾ lines of the end of Ch. XXVII, and the whole of Ch. XXVIII.

27. Fol. 101b, l. 2, w. 3—fol. 112a, l. 15, w. 3. About 328 lines, comprising Chs. XXX—XXXIII.

28. Fol. 117a, l. 12, w. 9 (*va-Pashang*)—fol. 119a, l. 14, w. 8 (*hōmand*). About 62 lines in the middle of Ch. XXXV.

29. Fol. 120a, l. 12, w. 4—fol. 121a, l. 6, w. 1. About 23½ lines of the whole of Ch. XXXV, Ap. A.

DISLOCATION OF THE TEXT IN K₂₀

In order to show the mutilation and dislocation of the text in the old

¹ This lacuna is owing to the loss of fol. 121 of K₂₀.

codex K₂₀, I give below a summary of the contents found in it, marking the places where the important lacunæ occur, the chapters quoted being those marked by me from the Iranian MSS. I shall make use of the pages assigned by Professor Westergaard to the sides of the folio in the facsimile edited by him in 1851. I shall not refer to the details of the lacunæ as they have been already given above:—

1st Lacuna.

P. 1—p. 5, l. 11, w. 3, (Ch. I.)

2nd Lacuna.

P. 5, l. 12, w. 3—l. 18 end (Ch. I.)

3rd Lacuna.

P. 5, l. 19, w. 1—l. 20, w. 6 (Ch. I.)²

P. 5, l. 20, w. 8—p. 6, l. 2, w. 5 (Ch. I.)⁴

1 In order to make up for this omission, K₂₀ has 'yabehmānūt. Ashrmand pavan starth dharman dām dāt.' The first word is inserted so as to complete the sentence which would be imperfect without a verb, which is 'shahbāhānast' in the Iranian codices and the last six words are meant as a summary of the whole lacuna.

2 The lacuna supplies us with the verb 'hart-ātāt,' which is missing in K₂₀.

3 In the Iranian codices this follows lacuna 4.

4 K₂₀ prefixes 'Ashrmand' as the nominative which was necessitated by the change in the order of the sentences.

*4th Lacuna.**5th Lacuna.*

P. 6, l. 2, w. 6—p. 7, l. 9, w. 3
(Ch. II, beginning).¹

6th Lacuna.

P. 7, l. 9, w. 4—p. 9, l. 11, w. 1,
(Ch. III from the middle upto the
end, and beginning of Ch. IV.)²

7th Lacuna.

P. 9, l. 11, w. 2—l. 13, w. 2³
(Ch. IV.)

P. 9, l. 13, w. 3—l. 14 end
(Ch. IV.)

8th Lacuna.

P. 9, l. 15, ws. 1-6 (Ch. IV.)

9th Lacuna.

P. 9, l. 15, w. 7—p. 10, l. 4, w. 1
(Ch. IV.)

10th Lacuna.

P. 10, l. 4, w. 2—p. 12, l. 17,
w. 5 (Ch. IV, IV A. end).

11th Lacuna.

P. 12, l. 17, w. 6—p. 13, l. 4 end.
(Middle of Ch. V.)⁴

¹ The last sentence is imperfect without the words 'siphgata siphpa' with which lacuna 6 commences.

² It should be observed that this portion has no connection with the preceding matter in K₂₀, unless the last ten lines of lacuna 6 be taken into account, which give a description of the five periods of the day.

³ These lines are required before p. 9, l. 9, last word.

⁴ These lines are unintelligible without the heading which is at the commencement of lacuna 11, and without the leading words 'paran hamā-tārīh' occurring therein.

12th Lacuna.

P. 13, l. 5—p. 14, l. 17, w. 6
(Ch. V, Ap. B.)

13th Lacuna.

P. 14, l. 17, w. 7—p. 20, l. 9,
w. 2 (Ch. VI, Aps. A, B, C, D, E.)¹

14th Lacuna.

P. 20, l. 9, w. 3—p. 28, l. 4, w. 7
(Chs. VIII, IX, X, and the first four
lines of Ch. XI.)²

P. 28, l. 4, w. 8—p. 33, l. 4 end
(Ch. XIII from the commencement.)

15th Lacuna.

P. 33, l. 5, ws. 1-7 (Ch. XIV,
heading.)

16th Lacuna.

P. 33, l. 5, w. 8—p. 38, l. 12,
w. 1 (Ch. XIV.)

17th Lacuna.

P. 38, l. 12, w. 2—l. 14, w. 6
(Ch. XV, commencement.)

18th Lacuna.

P. 38, l. 14, w. 7—p. 39, l. 9 end
(Ch. XV.)

19th Lacuna.

P. 39, l. 10, ws. 1-3 (Ch. XV.)

20th Lacuna.

P. 39, l. 10, w. 4—l. 19, w. 7
(Ch. XV, Ap. A.)

¹ The last sentence in K₂₀ would be incomplete without the verb 'shadull āmāud,' with which lacuna fourteen commences.

² These four lines are repeated on p. 40, ll. 9-12.

21st Lacuna.

P. 39, l. 19, w. 8—p. 42, l. 10, w. 5 (Ch. XVIII.)

23rd Lacuna.

P. 42, l. 10, w. 6—p. 49, l. 9, w. 9 (*-talânêt*). (The entire Ch. XXIV, Aps. A-U, without the first two lines of heading.¹)

P. 49, l. 9, w. 2—p. 56, l. 13, w. 3 (Chs. XI, XI Aps. A, B, C, XII.)

P. 56, l. 13, w. 4—p. 57, l. 4, w. 2 (Ch. XIV, Ap. B.²)

P. 57, l. 4, w. 3—p. 59, l. 11, w. 3 (*vish*). (Ch. XVII, XVII A.)

P. 59, l. 11, w. 4—p. 63, l. 5, end (Ch. XXV.)

24th Lacuna.

P. 63, l. 6—p. 66, l. 20, last word '*aldlak*' (Ch. XVI, XVI Ap. A.)

¹ The 23rd lacuna supplies us with the heading of the chapter. There are interesting discrepancies in K₂₀. An amusing attempt at inventing the heading which does not seem to have been in the manuscript from which the scribe copied is to be detected in the commencement, where we read: 'Madam chigânâh pôkart darakht karîdûnd yaman-nâst pavan dîn algh jô-l nakhôst amat gogrv darakht karîdûnd bâdn erân Farâkhankart rôt'. The 'jô-l nakhôst amat' is a curious corruption of 'Hom-i septi mavan.' Only a Pehlivan of the old school like my father could detect this.

² As this appendix is separated from its original chapter, the scribe of K₂₀ or of the original from which he copied has made an attempt to give to this appendix the heading '*madam chigânâh kapti khumr*', so as to echo forth the inverse evolution theory 800 and odd years more before Darwin.

22nd and 25th Lacuna.

[Fol. 121 missing, not paged by Westergaard, may have contained (end of Ch. XVI. Ap. A. and commencement of Ch. XXVII.)]

P. 67, l. 1, w. 1—p. 68, l. 2, w. 6 (middle of Ch. XXVII.)

26th Lacuna.

P. 68, l. 2, w. 7—p. 70, l. 12, w. 3 (Ch. XXIX.)

27th Lacuna.

P. 70, l. 12, w. 4—p. 79, l. 4, w. 7 (Chs. XXXIV, XXXV commencement.)

28th Lacuna.

P. 79, l. 4, w. 8—p. 80, l. 15, w. 5 (Ch. XXXV end.)¹

29th Lacuna.

P. 80, l. 15, w. 6—p. 82, l. 2, w. 4 (Ch. XXXVI.)²

Thus we see that out of the 36 chapters of the text found in the existing Iranian codices, twelve—Chs. VII, XIX-XXIII, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX-XXXIII, are completely omitted in the Indian recension of the text in K₂₀; out of the 24 remaining

¹ On account of the 28th lacuna, the scribe of K₂₀ or of the original from which he copied makes an attempt to give this matter a heading of two words: '*madam pavannd*.'

² The corruption of '*mad-i tâjân*' into '*madâsh jâvân*' seems to be plainly due to a worn-out, tattered and faded original.

chapters, one—Ch. V, is incomplete in the beginning, the middle and the end, only two fragments being restored from the whole; three—Chs. I, XV, XXXV,—are incomplete in the middle and the end; five—Chs. II, VI, XIII, XVIII, XXVII,—are incomplete at the end; one—Ch. XIV,—is incomplete in the beginning and the middle; one—Ch. III,—is incomplete in the beginning; one—Ch. XXIV—has only lost its heading; and twelve—Chs. IV, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XXV, XXIX, XXXIV, XXXVI,—are well nigh complete with here and there some omissions of words and lines. The surviving fragments as they are put together in *K₂₀* stand thus: Chs. I-VI, VIII-X, [Ch. XI, four lines, repeated after Ch. XXIV] XIII-XV, XVIII, XXIV, XI-XII, XIV. B, XVII, XXV, XVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXXIV-XXXVI.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE IRANIAN TEXT.

This disorderly arrangement of fragmentary chapters, mostly imperfect at the beginning, middle or end, speaks for itself. As early as in 1880 Dr. West, in his Introduction to the *Bündahishn*¹, referred

to the "fragmentary character" of the Indian recension of the Text, "bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations." So also in 1896 in his Essay on the *Pahlavi Literature* in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, he declared that the "text of the Indian *Bündahishn* was of a very fragmentary character."² Instead of pre-judging the merits or demerits of the Indian text of *K₂₀* and other descended MSS. or the Iranian text just then discovered by my father, he justly said: "*Whether it be an extension of the hitherto received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined.*"³

From the lacunæ we see that out of the 29 which we have marked, there are six—2, 3, 6, 11, 14, 23,—which contain some one or more words without which the text in *K₂₀* becomes meaningless or at least ungrammatical; four chapters in the Indian Text, Chs. V, XIV, III, XXIV, are without their headings.

¹ See *Grundriss*, Band II, Lieferung 3, §§ 42-44.

² My father's Iranian *Bündahishn*.

³ S. B. E. Series, Vol. V, Int., p. xxxii. The Italics are mine.

A superficial study of the lacunæ will show that old Pahlavi texts such as Mânûshchihar's Dâtistân and his brother Zât-param's "Selections" contain references and corroborations to the matter contained in them. In lacuna 5 cf. Zât-param Ch. II, 5 with facsimile p. 20, ll. 8-11; Zâ. Sp. Ch. II, 6 with Facs. p. 20, l. 14—p. 21, l. 2; Zâ. Sp. Ch. II, 8 with p. 21, ll. 4-5. In lacuna 12 cf. Ch. V, Ap. A,¹ treating of the horoscope of the world with Zâ. Sp. Ch. IV, 7-10 and Albîrûnî, p. 55²; cf. lacuna 13 with Zâ. Sp. Ch. IV, 6 and Albîrûnî p. 55. In lacuna 14 cf. Ch. VI, Ap. F. with Zâ-Sp. Ch. IV, 5-10; Ch. VII, with Zâ-Sp. Ch. II, 6; in lacuna 27 with Ch. XXX, cf. Dâtistân-i Dinîk, Pûrsishn XX; with Ch. XXXI, cf. Pahlavi Vendidad, Fragarî I.

If we consider the question of the different arrangements of the chapters in the Iranian and Indian recensions of the text, we see that the order of chapters as given in the Iranian codices is consistent, one chapter following another in close logical sequence. The shuff-

ing up of these connected chapters in the Indian codex has brought about a dislocation, giving the text a fragmentary appearance.¹

The fact of the insertion of four lines of Ch. XI, first in their proper place and the whole chapter being re-written after Ch. XXIV, furnish an important argument in favour of the Iranian text being in proper order. The scribe himself, in this instance, seems to have first adjudged the correct position of the chapter and then to have shifted it in a wrong position, owing, perhaps, to the disintegrated condition of his original copy.

I have shown above² how new headings have been composed by the erudite scribe Mihir-Âwân Kai-Khusrû or his predecessor, presumably Rustam Mihir-Âwân, to make consistent chapters of the dislocated integers or fractions of chapters. I have also indicated two typical cases of the text being corrupted, owing to the difficulties of deciphering a worn-out original.³ From all these defects in K₂₀ I have come to the conclusion that when Rustam Mihir-Âwân and

¹ Facsimile p. 50, l. 15 sq.

² "The Chronology of Ancient Nations," Dr. G. Edward Sachau.

¹ See *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Band II, Lieferung 3, p. 102, ll. 32-39.

² p. XXXI, Col. I, ss. 1-2. Col. II, n. 1.

³ See p. XXXI, Col. I, n. 1, Col. II, n. 2.

Mihir-Âwân Kai-Khusrû came to India from Persia for the express purpose of instructing their then backward brethren, the Parsi priests of India, they both or one of them must have brought an incomplete, disarranged copy of this interesting text, popularly called the Bûdahishn, and that the indefatigable Mihir-Âwân,—to whom the Zoroastrians owe so much for having preserved in script their sacred writings and for bringing about a renaissance of religious learning, six centuries ago, among the then illiterate Parsi priests of India,—restored with emendations and new headings, where necessary, as much of the original text as was possible for him to do.

If we go to the Iranian text itself to see if it is a recent extension of the hitherto received text, we see that the preface of about 21½ lines in the commencement is written with incorrect spelling, in ungrammatical language. If we can one day learn the date of Spenddât Mâhvin-dât Rustôm Shatirihâr, during whose archpriestship the scribe declares having written the work, it is possible to get a clue to the date of this preface. In the rest of the whole text there is little which can

be called recent from the standpoint of language. In 1880, Dr. West said in his Introduction to the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V: "So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts with which he¹ has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known."² Ch. XVII of the Iranian text does not seem to me to be misplaced. The "chieftainship of men, animals and every substance" seems rightly to follow, in logical sequence, the description of the whereabouts of all created beings in nature detailed above.³

It is possible to settle the exact date when this Iranian recension of the so-called Bûdahishn was written. The author has given the names of twelve of his ancestors on the mother's side and six on the father's side.⁴ He says: "The mother of whom I was born is the daughter of Fréh-mâh, son of Ahalûbakht, son of Mâh-aylbâr, son of Mâh-bûndak, son of Mâh-tûkht Pûsândâkht, son of Martân-vêh, son of Afrôbag, son of

¹ My father Ervad Tahmuras.

² p. xxviii.

³ See S. B. E., Vol. V, p. xxviii.

⁴ See Facsimile, p. 237, l. 10 sq., p. 237, l. 15 sq.

Vindât; Vindât is well known as son of Vâlbûkht, son of Bâk, son of Vâlbûkht." "And I am named Frô-bag, son of Dâtakih, son of Ashavahisht, son of Gôshn-Jam, son of Vahârâm-shât, son of Zartôhsht, which Zartôhsht is son of Âtûrpât Mârespandân."¹ If these translations ventured be correct, the compiler of this text is, perhaps, a grand-nephew of Mânûshchihar and Zâd-sparam, sons of Gôshn-Jam, nephew of Hêmitî Ashavahishtân, and surely the sixth in descent from the 'Magûpatân-Magûpat' Saint Âdarbâd. It is almost probable that he flourished in the commencement of the fourth century after Yazdakart, the last Sasanian Emperor.

There is another clue to the age of the book found in the 21st lacuna on fol. 10a, ll. 13-15, where the *Vîhîchakîk* months Spendarmat and Tir are said to have corresponded with the vague months Fravartin and Shatriver. As the book considers the *Vîhîchakîk* month Fravartin to be the first month of the year, coinciding with the Vernal Equinox,² and as the months Fravartin and Shatriver were the 4th and 9th from the Vernal Equinox in the time of

Yazdakart Shatriyâr, 480 to 600 years must have elapsed after Yazdakart, for Fravartin to have coincided with the *Vîhîchakîk* Spendarmat so as to precede the Vernal Equinox, and for Shatriver to have coincided with Tir at the Summer Solstice.

A third direct hint as to the final compilation of the work is to be found in the last lines of the text, which really seems to be imperfect at the end. In the last chapter 'As regards the year-reckoning of the Tâjiks' the compiler states that "the 'Hunushks' of the Tâjiks established themselves upto the Pârsik year 447 and now is the Pârsik year 527." If the Pârsi year is, as it is supposed to be, the one counted from the year of the defeat of Yazdakart, the conjectures advanced above are very near the mark, and it is a real wonder that the significant passage is missing from the Indian recension of the text, which is earlier in point of date than the Iranian.

If these statements as to the authorship and age of the final inditement of the text be not doubted, the question of the Iranian text being a recent extension of the hitherto received Indian text is almost

¹ But See R. B. E. Series, Vol. V, pp. 116, 117.

² See Facsimile p. 138, l. 9 sq.

completely answered. There remains little doubt that the Iranian text gives us almost the original of Farôbag, and the "future translator of the Bûdahishn will...have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work."

THE PROPRIETY OF THE NAME BÛDAHISHN

The summary of the Nasks Dâmât and Chitradât as detailed in the Dinkart, Book VIII, Chs. V, XIII, compared with the contents of our book, tends to show that it is a misnomer to call our text Bûdahishn. The author himself named his work 'Zend-âkâsh' and a study of the summaries of the two Nasks mentioned above alongside of the contents of our text would clear up the point. It is a symposium of "informations from the commentaries" as regards the 'original creation' and the 'possession held from the Kayâns.'

Thus far my labours begun with devotion have ended in peace. In this brief and imperfect sketch of the text which I am placing before the

public exactly five years after my father's death, I have utilized many rough notes industriously made by him day after day to prepare himself for the great work, the work of publishing his unique Iranian manuscripts; but, alas! as fate would have it, the turmoils of a busy life and premature death frustrated all his noble aspirations, and he passed away leaving after him vestiges of his noble career in the devoted pupils, like my humble self, to whom he disinterestedly gave out all his knowledge, teaching them from his much-loved manuscripts, the monitions unheard of by the many, and they are all grateful to him for the instructions they received at his feet. It is at least a sad consolation that though Tahmuras was not spared to publish the Tahmuras MSS. himself, the Tahmuras MSS. have proved their indispensability to the whole civilized world engaged in Iranian studies, and the usefulness of the career of the possessor of those MSS. who spent all his life in pursuit of Iranian MSS. has begun to be recognized.

Bombay, 19th October, 1908.

B. T. ANKLESARIA.

1. S. B. E., Vol. V., Int., p. xxviii.

POSTSCRIPT.—I take the opportunity to correct an error I have made on p. XVIII, of omitting to mention the Vendidad Sâds M^{ss}. JP, still existing in the library of the late Dastâr Javâhedjî Fashotânjî of Yaskâr, written by Farîdân Marzâpân, in 987 A. Y. See Dr. Karl F. Geldner's *Archa, Prolegomena*, p. V, Col. II., ll. 20sq. and n. 1.

THE VARIANTS OF DH.



In the following notes the abbreviations used are: p. = page, l. = line, w. = word. While counting the words in a line, the conjunction ; and the possessive 3 are counted as distinct words; a portion of a word at the commencement of a line is not counted. In DH the text commences at fol. 160a.

In TD, the first line is written with red ink; in DH also its first line, which ends at 3 44444444, is so written.

P. 1, l. 1, w. 1—14444444.

w. 3—omitted.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 6—34444444.

l. 2, w. 1—44444444.

w. 3—4444.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 4, w. 5—44444444.

l. 5, w. 2—4444.

w. 3—4444 omitted.

l. 6, w. 2—44444444.

w. 3—inserted above the line.

w. 4—44444444.

l. 7, w. 1—an additional 3 before 44444444.

l. 8, w. 2—44444444.

w. 3—44444444.

w. 4—omitted.

w. 7—4444.

w. 8—omitted.

P. 1, l. 8, w. 3—14444444.

l. 9, w. 3—... 4444.

w. 5—44444444 with 4444 as an amendment above it.

l. 10 — the word written and struck off after w. 6 is omitted.

l. 11, w. 2—omitted.

w. 6—44444444.

w. 8—4444444444.

l. 12, w. 1—omitted.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 8—44444444.

l. 13, w. 6-7—44444444 with 44444444 written above it instead of the two words.

l. 14, w. 1—3 inserted before it.

w. 2—444444444444.

w. 8—44444444.

l. 15, 44444444 44444444 44444444 44444444 4444 4444

P. 2, l. 1, w. 3—3 added.

w. 8—4444.

l. 3, w. 2—3 inserted before it.

P. 2, l. 3, w. 3— ያከረ .

l. 8, w. 4—omitted.

l. 10, w. 5— የገደረ .

l. 11, w. 4— የገደረ .

l. 15, w. 4— የ inserted before it.

P. 3, l. 1, w. 7— የረዘመ .

l. 2, w. 5— የገደረ .

l. 4, w. 10— የገደረ .

l. 5, w. 3—DH. fol. 160a ends at this word.

w. 4— የገደረ .

l. 6, w. 2— የ added after it.

w. 7—omitted.

w. 8— የገደረ out of which የ is struck off.

l. 8, w. 1— የ inserted before it.

w. 5— የገደረ ...

l. 9, w. 3— የ added after it.

l. 10, w. 6—omitted.

l. 11, w. 7— የገደረ .

l. 12, w. 3—omitted.

w. 3—the insertion on the right hand margin, which is to go after the word, forms a complete line in DH.

l. on the margin, w. 3— የ .

w. 5— የ .

w. 6—the points after the word are omitted.

w. 12— የ .

w. 14— የ after the word is omitted.

l. 15, w. 5—omitted.

P. 3, l. 15, w. 4—the blank after the word is also in DH.

w. 10— የገደረ .

P. 4, l. 4, ws. 3-4—inserted above the line.

l. 5, w. 8— የረዘመ .

l. 9, w. 3— የ inserted before it.

l. 10, w. 1—it is in the middle of the line in DH.

l. 13, w. 10— የገደረ .

l. 15, ws. 5-6— የገደረ .

P. 5, l. 3, w. 7— የ inserted above the line in TD_2 is omitted in DH.

w. 8—DH. fol. 160b ends at this word.

l. 5, w. 2—omitted.

l. 7, w. 1— የ inserted above the line in TD_2 is omitted in DH.

l. 9, w. 3— የገደረ corrected to የገደረ .

w. 7— የ inserted above the line in TD_2 is omitted in DH.

l. 11, ws. 1, 7, 11—omitted.

l. 13, w. 3—omitted.

P. 6, l. 1, ws. 7-10— የገደረ የገደረ የገደረ የገደረ .

l. 2, w. 4—omitted.

l. 4, w. 5— የገደረ .

l. 6, w. 2— የገደረ .

w. 7—omitted.

l. 10, w. 3—omitted.

l. 11, w. 4—omitted.

l. 14, w. 2— የገደረ .

w. 3— የገደረ .

w. 4— የገደረ .

P. 7, l. 1, ws. 2-5— የገደረ የገደረ የገደረ የገደረ .

P. 7, l. 2, w. 4—~~၆~~ inserted above the line in TD₁

is omitted in DH.

l. 3, w. 3—omitted.

w. 8—~~၆~~ inserted above the line in TD₂

is omitted in DH.

l. 4, w. 8—~~၆~~

ws. 9-11—written and struck off in TD₁,
occur at the end of the last
line of DH, fol. 161a.

l. 5, w. 3—~~၆~~ repeated
after it by mistake.

w. 5—~~၆~~, written and struck off in TD₂,
after it, is omitted in DH.

l. 6, w. 1—~~၆~~ prefixed to it.

l. 7, w. 5—~~၆~~

l. 8, w. 5—~~၆~~ added after it.

w. 6—~~၆~~

l. 9, w. 4—~~၆~~ added after it.

w. 5—~~၆~~

l. 10, w. 2—omitted.

l. 11, w. 5—~~၆~~ added after
this on the left hand margin
in TD₁, omitted in DH.

l. 13, w. 7—~~၆~~

l. 14, w. 1—~~၆~~ inserted above the line in TD₂,
is omitted in DH.

l. 15, w. 8—~~၆~~ inserted above the line in
TD₂ is omitted in DH.

P. 8, l. 1, w. 6—omitted.

ws. 8-9—~~၆~~

l. 2, w. 9—omitted.

l. 3, w. 3—omitted.

w. 7—~~၆~~

P. 8, l. 4, w. 5—~~၆~~

l. 5, w. 1—~~၆~~ added after it.

l. 9, w. 2—omitted.

l. 12, w. 6—~~၆~~ with ~~၆~~ above.

w. 8—~~၆~~ prefixed to it.

l. 13, w. 9—~~၆~~

l. 14, w. 6—~~၆~~

P. 9, l. 2, w. 4—~~၆~~ added to it, which is the
last word of a line in DH.

l. 3, w. 3—omitted.

w. 4—~~၆~~

w. 5—DH, fol. 161b ends here.

w. 7—omitted.

w. 8—~~၆~~ with ~~၆~~ written by a
later hand over it.

l. 4, w. 9—omitted.

l. 7, w. 8—~~၆~~ omitted.

l. 8, w. 3—~~၆~~

l. 9, w. 6—~~၆~~ added to it.

l. 10, w. 2—~~၆~~

w. 9—omitted.

l. 11, w. 4—~~၆~~

l. 12, w. 1—~~၆~~ prefixed to it.

w. 8—~~၆~~

l. 13, w. 1—~~၆~~

l. 14, w. 1—~~၆~~

w. 7—~~၆~~ added to it.

P. 10, l. 1, w. 9—~~၆~~

l. 4, w. 8—~~၆~~ repeated by mistake and
struck off.

w. 12—~~၆~~

P. 10, l. 6, w. 7—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 7, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰; the word repeated above the line in TD₂ is not in DH.

l. 8, w. 8—added above the line by a later hand.

w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 9, w. 7—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 5—omitted.

l. 11, w. 7—no written and struck off in TD₂ is omitted in DH.

l. 12, w. 2—no written and struck off in TD₂ is omitted in DH.

w. 4—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 6—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 13, w. 2—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 8—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 14, wa. 10-11—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 15, wa. 7-9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 11, l. 1, w. 5—omitted.

l. 2, w. 5—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 8—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 3, w. 4—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ is not written above the line as in TD₂; DH fol. 162a ends here.

wa. 7-8—added above the line.

l. 4, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 5, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 10, w. 4—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 11, w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 11, l. 15, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 14, wa. 1-2—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 4—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 15, wa. 1-2—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 12, l. 1, w. 4—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 2, w. 1—the four words added above the line in TD₂ are omitted in DH.

l. 4, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 5, w. 7—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 7, w. 3—there is no blank space in DH after it.

l. 8, w. 2—omitted.

l. 10, w. 2—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ is prefixed to it.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 11, wa. 2-3—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 12, w. 2—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 13, w. 3—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 13, l. 3, w. 6—DH fol. 162a ends here.

l. 4, w. 5—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

w. 6—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 5, w. 5—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ is prefixed to ¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 7, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 10, w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 13, w. 3—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 15, w. 5—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 14, l. 1, w. 9—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 2, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

l. 3, w. 1—¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰.

P. 14, l. 4, w. 4—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 5, w. 1—¹ is prefixed to it.

w. 4—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 6, w. 2—¹ added to it.

l. 7, ws. 2, 4—omitted.

w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 9, ws. 1, 3—¹ is inserted after the words.

l. 10, w. 7—omitted.

l. 11, w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 14, w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 15, l. 2, w. 4—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

w. 9—¹ is omitted.

l. 3, ws. 2, 5—omitted.

l. 5, w. 6—¹ is added to it.

l. 7, w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 8, w. 7—¹ is added to it.

l. 9, ws. 4-5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ; ¹ is added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—¹ṣṣṣṣ; it is at the end of a line in HJ, and repeated by mistake in the new line.

w. 3—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 11, w. 3—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 12, ws. 5, 7—omitted.

l. 13, w. 4—¹ is added to it.

w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 15, w. 8—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 16, l. 2, w. 4—¹ is added to it.

l. 6, w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 16, l. 8, w. 6—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 9, w. 2—¹ṣṣṣṣ omitted.

w. 5—¹ is added to it.

w. 7—omitted.

l. 10, w. 3—omitted.

l. 11, w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 15, w. 4—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 17, l. 1, w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 2, w. 1—¹ is added to it.

w. 4—¹ is added to it.

w. 7—¹ is added to it.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 4, w. 2—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 5, w. 1—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 6, w. 8—omitted.

l. 7, w. 8—DH, fol. 1634 ends here.

l. 9, w. 2—¹ is added to it.

l. 11, w. 2—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

ws. 7, 9—omitted.

l. 12, w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ is added to it.

l. 13, w. 1—omitted.

l. 14, w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 18, l. 1, w. 4—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 2, ws. 2, 4, 6, 8—omitted.

l. 3, w. 5—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 4, w. 7—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 5, w. 1—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

l. 6, w. 2—omitted.

l. 7, w. 1—¹ṣṣṣṣ.

P. 18, l. 7, w. 5—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 8, w. 2—י is added to it.

w. 6—¹⁸אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 9, w. 4—¹⁶אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 10, w. 4—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 8—¹⁵אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 11, ws. 1-2—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 3—י is added to it.

l. 12, w. 4—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 13, w. 2—י is added to it.

w. 7—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 15, w. 7—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

P. 19, l. 2, w. 5—¹⁰אָפּטאָפּ; possibly repeated by mistake as it commences a new line in DH.

w. 6—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 3, w. 5—omitted.

w. 7—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 5, w. 3—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 7, w. 4—omitted.

w. 8—¹²אָפּטאָפּ written and struck off and then rewritten with the correct spelling as in TD.

l. 8, w. 5—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 10—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 10, w. 2—DH, fol. 164a ends here.

l. 11, w. 1—י prefixed to it.

w. 4—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 8—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

P. 19, l. 12, w. 4—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 13, w. 1—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 2—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 14, w. 4—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 15, w. 3—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

P. 20, l. 7, w. 2—י prefixed to it.

l. 8, w. 4—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 12, w. 4—omitted.

l. 13, w. 5—י.

l. 14, w. 7—omitted.

w. 8—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 15, w. 7—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

P. 21, l. 2, w. 3—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 3, ws. 4, 6—omitted.

l. 4, w. 5—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 5, w. 7—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 6, w. 1—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 3—¹⁴אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 8—¹³אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 7, ws. 2-3—¹²אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 5—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 9, w. 7—¹⁰אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 11, w. 3—⁹אָפּטאָפּ.

ws. 4-5—DH, fol. 164b ends here, the two words are repeated by mistake at the commencement of fol. 165a.

l. 12, w. 5—⁸אָפּטאָפּ.

w. 7—¹¹אָפּטאָפּ.

l. 13, ws. 4, 7—omitted.

l. 15, w. 2—omitted.

P. 21, l. 15, w. 5—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

P. 22, l. 3, w. 10—~~ṣṣṣ~~ corrected to ~~ṣṣṣ~~.

l. 5, w. 9—omitted.

l. 6, w. 1—~~ṣṣṣ~~.

l. 7, w. 3—omitted.

l. 13, w. 10—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 14, ws. 7, 10—omitted.

w. 8—~~ṣ~~ added to it.

l. 15, w. 5—omitted.

P. 23, l. 3, w. 2—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 4, w. 3—omitted.

w. 9—~~ṣṣ~~ instead of ~~ṣṣ~~.

w. 11—~~ṣ~~ added to it.

l. 5, w. 1—~~ṣ~~ prefixed to it.

w. 5—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

w. 12—omitted.

l. 6, w. 4—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 7, w. 3—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 9, ws. 2-3—added above the line, on the left hand margin, occurring at the end of the line.

w. 6—~~ṣ~~ added to it.

l. 10, w. 3—~~ṣṣṣ~~.

l. 11, w. 3—omitted and ~~ṣ~~ inserted instead.

w. 7—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 12, w. 3—~~ṣṣ~~ with ~~ṣṣ~~ above it; ~~ṣ~~ is inserted after it.

ws. 9, 11, 13—omitted.

l. 13, w. 5—~~ṣ~~ omitted and ~~ṣ~~ inserted instead.

w. 7—~~ṣṣ~~ with ~~ṣ~~ prefixed to it.

l. 14, w. 1—omitted.

w. 2—DH, fol. 163a ends here.

P. 23, l. 14, w. 7—added above the line.

w. 8—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 15, w. 5—omitted.

P. 24, l. 1, w. 6—written above the line, possibly by another hand.

w. 8—~~ṣṣṣ~~ written and struck off after it.

l. 2, ws. 9, 13, 15—omitted.

l. 3, ws. 2, 8, 12—omitted.

l. 4, w. 6—omitted.

l. 10, w. 7—omitted.

l. 13, w. 6—omitted.

l. 14, w. 2—omitted.

l. 15, w. 4—~~ṣṣ~~, the ~~ṣ~~ being omitted.

w. 6—~~ṣṣṣ~~.

w. 8—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

P. 25, l. 2, w. 2—~~ṣṣ~~ added to it.

w. 4—~~ṣṣṣ~~.

l. 3, w. 1—~~ṣ~~ added to it.

l. 5, w. 8—l. 6, w. 3—written with red ink both in TD₂ and DH.

l. 6, w. 2—~~ṣṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 7, w. 2—~~ṣṣ~~.

w. 5—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~ written and struck off before it.

w. 8—omitted.

l. 8, w. 1—~~ṣ~~ added to it.

w. 9—~~ṣṣṣ~~.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 9, w. 3—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

l. 11, w. 8—~~ṣ~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 2—~~ṣṣṣṣṣ~~.

P. 25, l. 12, w. 4—~~ل~~.

l. 13, w. 2—~~ل~~.

ws. 3-4—~~ل~~.

l. 14, w. 6—both ~~ل~~. It seems DH is written from an original in which the ~~ل~~ of ~~ل~~ was written so as to be mistaken for ~~ل~~.

l. 15, w. 2—DH, fol. 165b ends here.

w. 3—~~ل~~.

w. 4—~~ل~~.

P. 26, l. 1, w. 1—~~ل~~ with ~~ل~~ written above.

w. 2—~~ل~~.

w. 4—~~ل~~.

l. 2, w. 2—~~ل~~.

l. 4, ws. 6-7—~~ل~~; w. 6 is at the commencement of a new line in DH.

l. 5, w. 2—omitted.

l. 6, ws. 2, 4—omitted.

w. 5—~~ل~~ added to it.

l. 7, w. 8—~~ل~~.

l. 8, w. 4—~~ل~~ added above it.

w. 7—~~ل~~.

w. 10—~~ل~~.

l. 10, w. 6—~~ل~~.

l. 12, w. 2—omitted.

w. 5—~~ل~~.

P. 27, l. 3, w. 1—~~ل~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~ل~~.

w. 2—omitted.

P. 27, l. 4, w. 4—After this word DH repeats by mistake and strikes off the text from ~~ل~~ in l. 1 upto ~~ل~~, in all 21 words. In the repetition ~~ل~~ is spelt ~~ل~~.

l. 7, w. 3—~~ل~~.

l. 8, w. 2—TD₂. DH both have the blank after the word.

l. 10, w. 2—~~ل~~.

l. 11, w. 2—~~ل~~.

w. 5—omitted.

l. 12, w. 2—~~ل~~.

w. 4—~~ل~~.

l. 13, w. 2—DH, fol. 166a ends here.

l. 14, w. 7—~~ل~~.

w. 8—~~ل~~.

l. 15, w. 2—~~ل~~ added to it.

P. 28, l. 1, w. 1—~~ل~~.

l. 2, w. 2—~~ل~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~ل~~.

w. 5—~~ل~~.

l. 5, w. 1—~~ل~~ inserted before ~~ل~~.

l. 11, ws. 2-3—~~ل~~.

l. 14, w. 7—~~ل~~.

P. 29, l. 3, w. 2—~~ل~~ added to it.

w. 6—~~ل~~.

l. 4, w. 4—omitted.

w. 8—~~ل~~.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 5, w. 9—~~ل~~.

P. 29, l. 7, w. 1—omitted.

l. 8, w. 2—¹ added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—² added to it.

w. 3—³ added to it.

l. 10 —DH, fol. 166b ends here.

l. 13, w. 6—⁴ added to it.

l. 14, w. 4—⁵ added to it.

w. 10—⁶ added to it.

P. 30, l. 1, w. 11—omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—⁷ added to it.

l. 8, w. 1—⁸ prefixed to it.

l. 9, w. 9—omitted.

l. 10, w. 7—l. 11, w. 4—written with red ink
in both MSS.

l. 12, w. 10—⁹ added to it.

l. 13, w. 8—¹⁰ added to it.

l. 15, wa. 4, 6—¹¹ added to the words.

w. 8—omitted.

P. 31, l. 1, w. 1—¹² added to it.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 2, w. 8—omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—¹³ added to it.

l. 4, wa. 1, 7—omitted.

w. 9—¹⁴ added to it.

l. 6, w. 5—¹⁵ added to it.

w. 7—¹⁶ added to it.

l. 7, w. 10—¹⁷ added to it.

l. 9, w. 8—DH, fol. 167a ends here.

l. 12, w. 2—¹⁸ added to it.

P. 32, l. 5, wa. 2-4—¹⁹ added to it.

l. 6, w. 1—²⁰ added to it.

P. 32, l. 6, w. 5—²¹ added to it.

l. 7, w. 8—²² added to it.

l. 11, w. 5—²³ added to it.

l. 12, w. 1—²⁴ prefixed to it.

w. 3—²⁵ added to it.

l. 15, w. 4—²⁶ added to it.

P. 33, l. 2, w. 8—²⁷ added to it.

l. 3, wa. 6, 9—omitted.

l. 6, w. 7—DH, fol. 167b ends here.

l. 7, w. 2—²⁸ added to it.

l. 8, w. 3—²⁹ added to it.

w. 7—omitted.

w. 10—³⁰ added to it.

l. 9, w. 6—³¹ added to it.

l. 13, w. 9—³² added to it.

l. 14, w. 1—³³ added to it.

P. 34, l. 1, w. 1—³⁴ added to it.

w. 4—l. 2, w. 5—added above the line.

l. 2, w. 8—omitted.

l. 3, w. 1—³⁵ added to it.

w. 2—repeated by mistake.

w. 6—l. 4, w. 3—added above the line.

l. 5, w. 9—omitted.

l. 7, w. 8—³⁶ added to it.

l. 10, w. 2—³⁷ added to it.

l. 12, w. 3—omitted.

l. 14, w. 7—³⁸ added to it.

P. 35, l. 4, w. 5—³⁹ added to it.

w. 7—⁴⁰ added to it.

l. 5, w. 3—⁴¹ added to it.

l. 6, w. 10—DH, fol. 168a ends here.

P. 35, l. 7, w. 8—~~၂၅၅၅၀~~

l. 8, w. 8—omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—~~၂၅၅~~

w. 9—omitted.

l. 13, w. 9—omitted.

l. 14, w. 8—omitted.

l. 15, w. 2—~~၂၅၅၅၀~~

P. 36, l. 1, w. 7—~~၂၅၅၅~~

l. 3, w. 2—~~၂~~ added to it.

l. 7, w. 6—omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—~~၂၅၅၅၀~~

l. 12, w. 4—omitted.

w. 8—~~၂၅၅~~

l. 13, w. 2—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅၅~~

P. 37, l. 1, w. 2—~~၂၅၅၅၅~~

l. 2, w. 12—~~၂၅၅၅၅~~

l. 4, w. 4—~~၂၅၅~~

w. 11—~~၂၅၅၅~~

l. 5, wa. 2, 8—omitted.

l. 6, w. 1—DH, fol. 169^a ends here.

l. 7, w. 6—~~၂~~ added to it.

l. 11, w. 2—~~၂၅၅~~

w. 5—~~၂၅၅၅~~

w. 8—~~၂၅၅၅၅~~ inserted above the line.

l. 12, w. 6—omitted.

P. 38, l. 2, w. 5—omitted.

l. 3, w. 7—~~၂၅၅၅~~

l. 4, w. 2—omitted.

l. 5, w. 3—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

w. 4—added above the line.

l. 7, w. 6—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

P. 38, l. 7, w. 9—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

l. 8, w. 1—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅၅၅~~

l. 9, w. 3—omitted.

l. 12, w. 1—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

P. 39, l. 1, w. 3—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅၅~~

l. 3, w. 1—~~၂~~ added to it.

l. 6, w. 4—DH, fol. 169^a ends here.

l. 7, w. 4—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

w. 7—omitted.

l. 8, w. 5—~~၂၅၅၅~~ with ~~၂~~ added to it.

l. 9, w. 1—~~၂~~ added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—~~၂~~ prefixed to it.

l. 12, wa. 1-4—written with red ink in both
TD, DH.

l. 14, w. 4—~~၂~~

l. 15, w. 6—~~၂၅၅၅၅၅~~

w. 8—occurs at the end of a line in
DH.

P. 40, l. 1, w. 11—~~၂၅၅၅~~

l. 5, w. 1—~~၂၅၅၅~~ with ~~၂~~ above the line
w. 4—written above the line.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 10—~~၂၅၅~~ with ~~၂~~ written above.

l. 7, w. 13—omitted.

l. 9, w. 7—~~၂၅၅၅~~

l. 10, wa. 3, 6—omitted.

w. 4—~~၂~~ added to it.

w. 9—~~၂၅၅၅၅~~

l. 13, w. 2—~~၂၅၅~~ with ~~၂~~ written above.

w. 7—~~၂၅၅၅၅~~

l. 14, w. 1—~~၂၅၅~~ with ~~၂~~ written above.

P. 41, l. 1, w. 4—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 2, w. 6—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 3, w. 6—1211, fol. 169b ends here.

l. 4, w. 5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ḥ written above.

l. 5, w. 4—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ḥ written above.

l. 6, w. 1—inserted above the line.

l. 11, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 13, w. 3—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 14, w. 2—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 6—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

l. 15, w. 9—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

P. 42, l. 1, w. 6—thus also DH.

w. 8—omitted.

w. 9—~~ḥ~~ ^ḥ.

l. 4, w. 4—omitted.

l. 8, w. 4—omitted.

w. 9—inserted above the line.

w. 10—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 1, w. 9—omitted.

l. 14, w. 3—~~ḥ~~ seemingly struck off with

^ḥ over it.

l. 15, w. 5—omitted.

w. 9—DH, fol. 170a ends here.

w. 10—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

P. 43, l. 2, w. 4—~~ḥḥ~~.

l. 4, w. 11—omitted.

l. 5, w. 9—~~ḥ~~ repeated by mistake.

l. 10, w. 4—~~ḥ~~ prefixed to it.

w. 7—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

l. 11, vs. 1, 13—omitted.

P. 43, l. 14, w. 4—~~ḥḥḥ~~ with ^ḥ inserted above.

l. 15, w. 5—omitted.

P. 44, l. 2, w. 4—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 8—omitted.

l. 3, w. 5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 5, w. 3—~~ḥ~~.

w. 5—~~ḥ~~ added to it.

vs. 6—~~ḥ~~ ^ḥ.

l. 6, w. 7—~~ḥ~~.

l. 7, w. 1—~~ḥḥ~~.

l. 9, margin—DH also had the word on the right hand margin, where ~~ḥ~~ still remains, the first portion being cut off by the bookbinder.

l. 12, w. 5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ^ḥ above as an amendment.

l. 13, w. 3—DH, fol. 170b ends here.

l. 14, w. 1, 2—DH ~~ḥḥ~~; without the amendment above the line as in TD₂, with w. 2 ^ḥ inserted above the line.

w. 10—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 15, w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

P. 45, l. 1, w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 3, w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ^ḥ prefixed to it.

l. 4, w. 11—omitted.

l. 5, vs. 3—~~ḥ~~. It seems that ^ḥ in TD₂, wherever it occurs, is a mistaken script for ^ḥ.

w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

P. 45, l. 6, w. 6—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 9, w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 10, ws. 4-6—ws. 2-3 are at the end of the line; w. 4 𐭥 is omitted; w. 5 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is on the left hand margin; w. 6 𐭥𐭥𐭥 seems to have been cut off by the bookbinder.

l. 11, w. 6—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 15, w. 9—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

P. 46, l. 1, w. 3—~~𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 2, w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~ without the punctuation after it.

l. 3, ws. 1-6—in DH the words 𐭥𐭥𐭥 upto 𐭥𐭥𐭥 are written with red ink. In TD, the whole line is with red ink.

w. 5—omitted; it is repeated by mistake in TD.

l. 6, w. 7—omitted.

w. 8—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 7, w. 10—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 8, w. 2—omitted.

l. 9, w. 7—𐭥 added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—added above the line.

l. 11, w. 7—DH, fol. 171a ends here.

l. 14, w. 6—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

P. 47, l. 1, w. 4—𐭥 omitted.

l. 5, w. 2—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 8—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

P. 47, l. 6, w. 3—l. 7, w. 3—in TD, these nine words are written with red ink as the heading of a new chapter. In DH they are written with black ink, but a Persian heading 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is inserted above the line, written with red ink, possibly by a later hand.

w. 5—thus both TD, DH; for 𐭥𐭥.

w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 7, w. 2—repeated by mistake.

w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 8, w. 1—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 9, w. 8—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 11, w. 3—𐭥 added to it.

w. 6—𐭥 omitted.

l. 12, ws. 4, 9—𐭥 omitted.

l. 13, w. 2—𐭥 omitted.

w. 10—𐭥 instead of 𐭥.

l. 14, w. 3—𐭥 omitted.

w. 5—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 7—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 15, ws. 2, 9—𐭥 omitted.

w. 6—𐭥𐭥𐭥 inserted above the line.

P. 48, l. 1, w. 2—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 4—omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—omitted.

w. 3—𐭥 inserted after it.

w. 5—~~𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 4, ws. 3, 5, 7, 9, 12—omitted.

l. 5, ws. 4, 8—omitted.

P. 48, l. 5, w. 5— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 6, wa. 4, 10—omitted.

l. 7, wa. 2-3— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

wa. 4-5— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 9— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ omitted.

l. 8, wa. 3, 5—omitted.

w. 7—DH, fol. 171^b ends here.

l. 9, wa. 2, 4, 7—omitted.

l. 10, wa. 2, 7, 9, 12, 14—omitted.

l. 11, w. 2—w. 1 is at the end of the line in DH and w. 2 is added on the left hand margin.

w. 3—omitted.

l. 12, wa. 3, 5, 8—omitted.

w. 6— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 9— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 13, w. 1—the blank after the word is also in DH.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 14, w. 6— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 15, w. 2— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

wa. 4, 7—omitted.

P. 49, l. 2, wa. 3, 11—omitted.

w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ inserted after it.

l. 3, wa. 2, 13—omitted.

w. 11— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 4, w. 2— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 5— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 4, w. 7—l. 5, w. 5—The words ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ are inserted above the line over the words ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ out of which inserted words ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ are struck off.

P. 49, l. 5, wa. 3, 9—omitted.

l. 6, w. 4— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 7, wa. 4, 8, 10—omitted.

l. 8, w. 1— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 8—omitted.

l. 9, w. 5—omitted.

l. 10, wa. 2, 7—omitted.

l. 11, w. 4—omitted.

l. 12, w. 9— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ omitted.

l. 13, w. 1— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ inserted after it.

P. 50, l. 3, wa. 3, 9—omitted.

w. 10— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 4, w. 4—omitted.

l. 6, wa. 2, 4—omitted.

w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 9—DH, fol. 172^a ends at ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 7, w. 3— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ is inserted after it.

l. 8, w. 2—In DH the ཅུ་ of ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ is corrected to ཅུ་ .

w. 5— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ omitted.

l. 9, w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 10, w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 12, w. 3—omitted.

l. 13, w. 2— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

w. 4—omitted.

w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ .

l. 15, w. 4— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ of ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ inserted above the line.

w. 7— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ omitted.

P. 51, l. 1, w. 10—omitted.

l. 2, w. 3— ཅུ་ཕྱེད་ added to it at the end of the line.

P. 54, l. 13, w. 5—¹ inserted after it.

P. 55, l. 1, w. 8—¹ inserted after it.

l. 2, ws. 2-4—written with red ink in TD₂
and DH both.

l. 3, w. 2—¹ inserted after it.

l. 7, w. 2—written with red ink in TD₂
and DH both.

w. 7—¹ inserted after it.

l. 9, w. 5—¹ inserted after it.

l. 12, w. 1—¹ omitted.

l. 13, w. 7—¹ omitted.

l. 14, w. 8—DH, fol. 173b ends here.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 15, w. 4—¹ with ¹ written above it.
ws. 5-6—omitted. In TD₂ they seem
to have been copied from DH
through mistake.

w. 9—¹ inserted after it.

P. 56, l. 2, ws. 7, 12—omitted.

l. 3, w. 1—¹ omitted.

w. 4—omitted.

l. 4, w. 3—¹ omitted.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 6, ws. 4-6—¹ omitted.

l. 7, ws. 3-6—omitted.

l. 8, w. 6—¹ omitted.

l. 11, w. 2—l. 12, w. 3—the twelve words
are inserted above the line
and on the left hand margin.

l. 11, w. 10—omitted.

l. 12, w. 4—omitted.

l. 15, w. 3—¹ in the body of the line
struck off with ¹ written
above it.

P. 56, l. 15, w. 4—¹ inserted before it.

w. 6—¹ inserted after it.

w. 9—¹ inserted after it.

w. 10—¹ inserted after it.

P. 57, l. 1, w. 6—¹ inserted after it.

w. 11—¹ inserted after it.

l. 2, w. 5—¹ is inserted above the
line over the words ¹.

w. 6—omitted in DH; repeated by
mistake in TD₂.

l. 3, w. 1—¹ in the body of the line
struck off with ¹ inserted
over it.

l. 4, w. 10—¹ in the body of the line
struck off with ¹ inserted
over it.

l. 6, w. 6—¹ with ¹ over ¹.

w. 11—¹ with ¹ inserted
over ¹.

l. 7, w. 11—¹ inserted after it.

l. 9, w. 1—¹ inserted before ¹.

ws. 2-3—¹ instead of ¹.

w. 3—¹ inserted after it.

l. 10, w. 2—¹ inserted after it.

l. 13, w. 2—¹ inserted after it.

w. 10—¹ after ¹ omitted.

w. 11—DH fol. 174a ends here.

l. 14, w. 2—¹ omitted.

w. 3—¹ inserted after it.

w. 7—¹ inserted after it.

P. 57, l. 15, w. 6—^ج inserted after it.

P. 58, l. 1, w. 2—omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—omitted.

w. 9—^ج inserted.

l. 4, w. 2—^ج inserted after it.

w. 10—^ج inserted after it.

l. 7, w. 1—^ج inserted.

w. 4—^ج inserted.

w. 9—^ج inserted after it.

l. 9, w. 6—^ج inserted.

l. 10, w. 2—^ج added above ^ج.

w. 4—^ج inserted.

w. 5—^ج added above ^ج.

l. 11, w. 5—^ج inserted.

l. 12, w. 8—^ج inserted.

l. 13, ws. 9-10—^ج with ^ج inserted above
between ^ج and ^ج.

l. 14, w. 1—inserted above the line.

w. 4—^ج inserted after it.

l. 15, w. 2—^ج inserted after it.

P. 59, l. 1, w. 2—^ج prefixed to ^ج.

w. 11—^ج added to ^ج.

l. 2, w. 1—^ج inserted.

w. 5—^ج inserted.

l. 3, ws. 2-3—^ج inserted.

ws. 5-6—^ج inserted.

l. 5, w. 8—^ج omitted.

l. 8, ws. 10-11—^ج inserted.

l. 9, w. 1—^ج inserted.

P. 59, l. 10, w. 1—^ج prefixed to it.

w. 4—^ج added to it.

w. 6—^ج inserted.

w. 7—^ج inserted.

l. 11, w. 2—^ج inserted.

w. 6—DH fol. 174b ends here.

l. 12, w. 4—^ج added to it.

l. 13, w. 5—^ج omitted.

w. 9—^ج inserted.

P. 60, l. 3, w. 7—^ج added to it.

l. 4, w. 1—^ج inserted.

l. 6, w. 1—^ج added above the line in
TD₂ is inserted on the left-
hand margin of DH just
after this word, which is the
last word of the line, without
any mark as to where it
should be inserted. In TD₂
the word seems to have been
placed in its correct place
after this word.

l. 7, w. 2—l. 8, w. 2—in TD₂ these 7 words,
in DH only 6 words, are
written with red ink.

l. 9, w. 3—^ج inserted.

l. 10, ws. 2-4—^ج inserted.

w. 7—thus both; better omit ^ج.

w. 9—^ج inserted.

l. 11, w. 3—^ج inserted.

l. 12, w. 1—^ج added to it.

l. 14, w. 5—^ج inserted.

l. 15, w. 9—^ج added to it.

P. 61, l. 3, w. 5— ⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 6— ⲓ added to it.

l. 4, w. 1— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 6— ⲙ added above the line in DH.

Better omit.

l. 6, w. 6— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 8—omitted.

l. 7, w. 9—omitted.

l. 8, w. 1— ⲟ of ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ added above the line.

ws. 2-3— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 9, w. 3— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 10, w. 1—DH fol. 175a ends at ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 11, w. 3— ⲓ added to it.

l. 13, ws. 2, 10—omitted.

w. 7— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ with ⲟ written above ⲙ .

l. 14, ws. 4-5— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 15, w. 3— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 6— ⲓ .

w. 7—added above the line.

P. 62, l. 1, ws. 1-6—added above the line.

w. 1— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 2, w. 9— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ with ⲓ written above at the end of the line.

l. 6, w. 1— ⲟ added above the line.

l. 7, ws. 2-3— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 5— ⲓ .

w. 10— ⲓ omitted.

l. 8, w. 6— ⲓ .

w. 8— ⲓ .

l. 10, w. 2— ⲓ .

P. 62, l. 11, w. 5— ⲓ added to it.

w. 8— ⲓ omitted.

w. 10— ⲓ .

l. 12, w. 4—omitted.

w. 5— ⲓ added to it.

w. 6— ⲓ .

l. 13, w. 2— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

l. 14, w. 7—omitted.

w. 7— ⲓ added above it.

P. 63, l. 1, w. 2— ⲓ added to it.

w. 8— ⲓ omitted.

l. 2, w. 3— ⲓ omitted.

l. 9, w. 7— ⲓ .

l. 10, w. 1—DH fol. 175b ends here.

l. 11, w. 1— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

w. 3— ⲓ with ⲓ as an amendment above ⲓ .

w. 7— ⲓ added to it.

w. 8— ⲓ added to it.

l. 13, w. 4—a blank of about 5 letters after ⲓ owing to the paper being torn.

l. 15, w. 7— ⲓ .

P. 64, l. 4, w. 2— ⲓ added to it.

w. 3— ⲓ .

l. 5, w. 7— ⲓ added at the end of the line.

l. 9, ws. 8-10—DH has ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ with ⲓ added above as a variant.

l. 11, w. 8— ⲓ .

l. 14, w. 5— ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ .

P. 65, l. 1, wa. 10-11—omitted.

l. 2, w. 4—omitted.

l. 6, w. 3—omitted.

w. 5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 13—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 8, w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 9, w. 1—DH fol. 176s ends here.

l. 11, w. 8—omitted.

w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 12, w. 1—there is a blank space after it.

See note p. 63, l. 13.

w. 2—thus both ; for ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 13, w. 3—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 13—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 14, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 10—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ omitted.

l. 15, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

wa. 4-5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

P. 66, l. 1, w. 6—omitted.

l. 4, w. 2—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 6, w. 3—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to it.

l. 7, wa. 5-11—written with red ink in both
TD₂ and DH.

l. 8, w. 11—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 13—omitted.

l. 10, w. 3—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 11, w. 2—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 12, w. 4—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

wa. 5-7—repeated at the commencement
of a line in DH; better omit.

P. 67, l. 1, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ prefixed to it.

w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ written with red ink
only in TD₂.

l. 2, w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 8—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ written with red ink in
TD₂ only.

l. 3, w. 2—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to it.

w. 3—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

wa. 5-6—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added above.

l. 4, w. 2—omitted.

w. 4—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ prefixed to it.

l. 6, w. 7—omitted.

w. 8—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ with ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to it.

w. 9—DH fol. 176s ends here.

l. 7, wa. 1-2—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ written with red ink in
TD₂ only.

w. 5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

w. 7—omitted.

l. 8, wa. 4-5—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ written with red ink in
TD₂ only.

w. 8—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 9, wa. 4-7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ , ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ , ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ written with red
ink in TD₂ only.

w. 7—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ after ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ omitted and ~~ḥḥḥḥ~~
added instead, out of which
~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ is struck off.

l. 10, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 11, w. 9—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~.

l. 12, w. 1—~~ḥḥḥḥ~~ added to it.

P. 67, l. 12, ws. 2-4—no 14517 + 14518.

W. 11—دودو.

1, 13, w. 1— $\mathcal{S}$ added to it.

w. S—s omitted.

w. 4—¹³4r; there is on the left hand margin of DH ... 4r with the following letters cut off, without any signs as to where it should be placed; possibly it was a variant ¹³4r of ¹³4r.

1. 13, w. 5—rep 13.

w. 10—j added to it.

1. 14, w. 7—purely o.

l. 15, w. 8—* is omitted.

P. 68, l. 1, w. 1—written with red ink in TD,
only.

W. 3—17.

W. 5—1000300

1. 2, wa, 5-7—*ungr.*

w. 2—omitted.

wa. 10-12— 40; written with red ink in TD, only.

1. 3, w. 2—written with red ink in TD,
only.

ws. 5-6—*ردید* ; *د* being omitted.

W. 9—100401—

1. 4. w. 3— $J_{\text{eff}} S_1$.

w. 6—J added to it.

l. 5, w. 6—omitted.

wa. 8-10—115 14150 411.

l. 6, w. 8—16 added to 1717.

P. 68, l. 7, w. 4—; omitted.

w. 7—~~6~~ added to 349.

ws. 9-10 = 749d; w. 10 σ is written
with red ink in TD.

1. 8, wa. 1-5— *Sl*, written with red ink in TD₂; DH has  instead of  in w. 4.

w. 9—written with red ink in TD.

1. 9, w. 1-DH has  with  written above it. Written with red ink in TD..

l. 10, w. 2—¹⁰ DH has "ous on the left hand margin with a letter or more cut off; it cannot be determined to what it applies, perhaps to ¹⁰ of ¹⁰, which is at the end of a line

ws. 5-7— $\rightarrow$ 2: 5, 10, 16.

1. 11. w. 4—1800 yu.

was 7-8—50 x 25 mm.

l. 12, w. 4—5 added to it.

l. 13, w. 1—written with red ink in TD.

ws. 2-3—omitted

w. 7— $\frac{1}{2}$ prefixed to $\frac{1}{2}$.

1. 14, w. 3—подсуд.

1, 15, w, 2—s added to it.

w. 3—~~17~~ ¹guy added to it.

wa. 4-5—written with red ink in TD.

P. 69, l. 1, w. 3—~~6~~ with $\frac{1}{2}$ written above.

w. 4—5 added to it.

W. 8—1785, 1786.

1, 2, w, I—430000.

P. 69, l. 3, w. 2— ܐ added to it.

w. 3— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it.

w. 3— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ which is struck off
with ܐܠܗܐܝܡ above it.

l. 4, w. 1—DH fol. 177a ends here.

l. 5, w. 1— ܐ prefixed to it.

w. 2— ܐ added to it.

w. 4— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added above the line
over ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 5—omitted.

w. 8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ with ܐܠܗܐܝܡ over it.

l. 6, w. 1— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 4—omitted.

l. 6, w. 5— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 10—omitted.

l. 7, w. 7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 8, w. 2— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 4— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it.

w. 8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 9—omitted.

l. 9, w. 8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ written with red ink in TD.

l. 10, wa. 7-8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 11, wa. 5-6— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ instead of ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

wa. 9-11— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 12, wa. 1-3—omitted.

w. 2— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 13, w. 6— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 9— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

P. 69, l. 14, w. 5— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 15, w. 4— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

P. 70, l. 1, w. 1— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 3— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 5— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ omitted.

w. 9—written with red ink in TD.

l. 2, wa. 1-8—omitted.

w. 2— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 5— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it.

w. 11— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it in the middle
of the line.

l. 3, w. 1— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

wa. 3-4—written with red ink in TD.

wa. 5-8— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 4, w. 3— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it.

w. 5— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 5, wa. 6-7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 6, w. 4—written with red ink in TD.

l. 7, w. 1— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 6— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 8, w. 6— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

w. 9— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ written above it.

l. 9, w. 4— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ added to it.

w. 10—omitted.

l. 10, wa. 5-6— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

l. 12, w. 3—DH has ܐܠܗܐܝܡ ; ܐܠܗܐܝܡ written
with red ink in TD.

l. 14, w. 2— ܐܠܗܐܝܡ .

P. 70, l. 15, ws. 1-2—.

ws. 8-9—; DH fol. 1776.
ends at w. 8.

P. 71, l. 1, w. 3— written with red ink
in TD₁.

l. 2, w. 3— with added to it.

w. 4—.

w. 6— omitted.

w. 8—.

l. 3, w. 2—.

ws. 2-3—written with red ink in TD₁.

ws. 6-7—.

l. 4, w. 6— written with red ink in TD₁.

ws. 7-10— .

l. 5, w. 2—.

w. 4—.

w. 7—.

w. 9—.

l. 6, w. 8—.

w. 10—.

l. 7, w. 5— added to it.

ws. 7-8—.

l. 8, ws. 3-5— written with red ink in
TD₁.

l. 8, w. 7—.

w. 8— with added above it.

w. 11—.

l. 9, w. 2— with added above
3.

l. 10, w. 3—.

P. 71, l. 10, w. 5—omitted.

w. 8—.

l. 11, w. 1—.

l. 12, ws. 1, 4-5—written with red ink in
DH and TD₁ both.

w. 2—written with red ink in TD₁;
inserted above the line with
black ink in DH.

w. 3—omitted in DH, written with red
ink in TD₁.

w. 6—.

l. 14, w. 7— added to it.

w. 8—.

w. 10— written with red ink in TD₁;

DH has .

l. 15, ws. 1, 3-5, 8—written with red ink in
TD₁.

P. 72, l. 1, w. 1—added above the line.

l. 2, w. 1— added to it.

w. 3— repeated in the middle
of the line.

ws. 4-5— .

l. 4, ws. 8, 11—.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 5, w. 1— omitted.

w. 3—.

w. 7—.

w. 10— inserted after it.

l. 6, w. 1—.

w. 4— written with red ink in TD₁;

DH has .

l. 7, w. 2—.

P. 72, l. 7, w. 4—~~omitted~~.

w. 7—~~5~~ added to it.

w. 9—~~3~~ added to it.

l. 8, w. 4—~~1~~ added to it.

w. 9—~~3~~ added to it.

w. 10—~~no~~.

l. 10, wa. 4-5—~~no~~ added to it.

l. 11, w. 4—~~10~~.

w. 5—~~1~~ omitted.

w. 6—~~no~~ added to it.

w. 10—~~3~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 4—~~3~~ added to it.

w. 9—DH fol. 178a ends here.

l. 13, w. 1—~~no~~.

l. 14, wa. 1-2—~~no~~ inserted above ~~no~~
which is at the end of the line.

w. 4—~~no~~.

l. 15, w. 8—~~no~~.

w. 9—omitted.

P. 73, l. 1, w. 1—~~no~~.

l. 2, w. 1—~~no~~ prefixed to it.

w. 3—~~no~~ added to it.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 3, w. 7—~~no~~.

l. 4, w. 3—~~1~~ omitted.

l. 5, w. 7—~~1~~ added to it.

l. 6, w. 7—~~no~~.

w. 8—~~1~~ added to it.

l. 7, w. 5—~~1~~.

P. 73, l. 7, w. 9—~~no~~.

l. 9, w. 2—~~no~~ added to it.

l. 10, w. 1—~~no~~.

w. 6—~~no~~.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 11, w. 4—~~no~~.

l. 12, w. 1—~~no~~.

w. 2—~~no~~ added to it.

w. 8—~~no~~.

l. 13, wa. 2, 9—omitted.

l. 14, w. 1—~~no~~.

wa. 4, 7—omitted.

l. 15, w. 1—omitted.

w. 7—~~no~~.

w. 9—~~1~~ added to it.

P. 74, l. 1, w. 7—~~no~~ added to it.

l. 2, w. 11—~~no~~.

w. 14—~~no~~ added after it.

l. 3, w. 3—~~no~~.

w. 5—~~1~~ inserted after it.

l. 4, wa. 4-5—~~no~~.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 5, wa. 1-3—~~no~~.

l. 6, w. 2—omitted.

w. 6—~~no~~.

w. 7—~~1~~ added after it.

l. 7, wa. 1-4—~~no~~.

w. 6—~~no~~.

l. 8, w. 1—~~no~~.

w. 5—DH fol. 178b ends here.

P. 76, l. 5, w. 4— added to it.

ws. 7-10—omitted.

l. 6, ws. 4-6—written with red ink in TD₂.

DH.

w. 6— omitted in DH.

l. 7, w. 5—~~...~~

ws. 11-12—~~...~~

l. 8, w. 1— prefixed to it.

ws. 3-7—omitted.

w. 12—~~...~~ written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 9, w. 4—~~...~~

w. 9—.

ws. 4-5, 9-10—written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 10, w. 1—~~...~~

ws. 2-3, 8-9—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 2—.

w. 4—omitted.

w. 8—.

w. 10— added to it.

l. 11, ws. 1-2—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 1—.

ws. 3, 6, 8—omitted.

w. 7—~~...~~

l. 12, w. 2— omitted.

ws. 9-17—written with red ink in TD₂.

ws. 9, 12—.

ws. 11, 14, 16—omitted.

l. 13, ws. 7-10—~~...~~

w. 11—omitted.

l. 14, w. 1—written with red ink in TD₂.

DH has ~~...~~

P. 76, l. 14, w. 2—~~...~~ with ~~...~~ above ~~...~~.

w. 3—~~...~~ with ~~...~~ above ~~...~~.

w. 6—~~...~~

w. 9—~~...~~

l. 15, w. 2— added to it.

w. 3—a point inserted after it.

w. 5—~~...~~ added to it.

ws. 7, 9— added to them.

P. 77, l. 1, w. 2— added to it.

w. 3—~~...~~

ws. 4-6—~~...~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~...~~

l. 2, ws. 6, 9—omitted.

l. 3, w. 5—~~...~~

w. 8—~~...~~

w. 12—~~...~~

l. 4, w. 1— instead of ~~...~~.

w. 3—~~...~~ added to it.

l. 5, w. 3—~~...~~

ws. 6, 12—omitted.

w. 7—~~...~~

ws. 8-9—~~...~~

w. 10—~~...~~

l. 6, w. 1—~~...~~ written with red ink in TD₂.

DH has ~~...~~

w. 2— added to it.

w. 6—omitted.

w. 8—~~...~~

l. 7, ws. 3-4—~~...~~ omitted.

P. 77, l. 7, w. 7—~~ج~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~ج~~ added.

l. 8, w. 1—~~ج~~ added to it.

l. 9, w. 4—~~ج~~ added.

ws. 5, 12—omitted.

l. 10, w. 10—~~ج~~ added.

l. 11, w. 3—written with red ink in TD.

w. 5—~~ج~~ above the line is w. 4; w. 5

~~ج~~ in DH.

w. 6—~~ج~~ added.

w. 8—omitted.

w. 11—~~ج~~ added.

l. 12, w. 1—~~ج~~ instead of ~~ج~~.

ws. 2, 4—~~ج~~ added to it.

w. 3—~~ج~~ added to it.

l. 13, w. 3—~~ج~~ added.

w. 4—~~ج~~ added.

l. 14, w. 1—written with red ink in TD.

w. 2—~~ج~~ added.

l. 15, w. 5—~~ج~~ inserted after it.

P. 78, l. 1, w. 2—~~ج~~; DH fol. 1795 ends here.

l. 2, w. 5—~~ج~~ added to it.

l. 3, ws. 4, 8—omitted.

l. 4, w. 7—~~ج~~ added.

l. 5, w. 1—~~ج~~ added.

ws. 4, 10—~~ج~~ added.

w. 6—omitted.

w. 11—~~ج~~ added.

l. 6, ws. 5-6—Repeated at the beginning of a new line.

P. 78, l. 6, ws. 8-9—~~ج~~ omitted.

l. 7, w. 8—omitted.

l. 8, ws. 1-2—~~ج~~ added.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 7—~~ج~~ added.

l. 9, ws. 2-3—In DH ~~ج~~ with ~~ج~~ written above the two words.

l. 10, w. 8—~~ج~~ written with red ink in TD.
w. 10—omitted.

l. 11, w. 6—~~ج~~ added.

w. 11—~~ج~~ omitted and ~~ج~~ inserted after it.

l. 12, w. 9—~~ج~~ with ~~ج~~ written above it.

l. 13, w. 3—~~ج~~ added.

w. 5—~~ج~~ added.

w. 8—~~ج~~ added to it.

l. 14, ws. 1-2—~~ج~~ added.

w. 11—~~ج~~ added.

l. 15, w. 2—~~ج~~ added.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 12—~~ج~~ added.

P. 79, l. 1, ws. 2, 4, 11, 15—omitted.

w. 6—~~ج~~ added.

l. 2, ws. 3-4—~~ج~~ added.

w. 8—~~ج~~ added.

l. 3, w. 3—~~ج~~ added.

w. 6—omitted.

ws. 9-10—~~ج~~ added.

l. 4, ws. 9, 13—omitted.

w. 12—~~ج~~ added.

l. 5, w. 7—omitted.

P. 79, l. 6, w. 2—ḥḥ.

w. 3—ḥḥ.

l. 8, w. 7—ḥ added to it.

w. 8—ḥ repeated at the commencement of a new line.

w. 9—ḥḥ.

l. 9, wa. 6, 12—omitted.

w. 9—ḥḥ.

l. 10, wa. 6, 9, 13, 14—omitted.

w. 7—ḥḥ.

l. 11, w. 5—ḥ with ḥḥ written above it.
wa. 6-8, 14—omitted.

w. 9—ḥ added to it, ḥ being inserted above the line.

w. 12—ḥḥ.

l. 12, wa. 1-3—ḥḥḥ ḥḥḥ ḥḥḥ; DH
fol. 180a ends here.

w. 6—ḥ.

l. 13, w. 4—omitted.

wa. 10-12—ḥḥ struck off with ḥḥ ḥḥ
inserted above it.

l. 14, w. 5—ḥḥ.

l. 15, w. 2—ḥḥ.

w. 4—ḥḥḥ.

P. 80, l. 2, w. 10—ḥ added after ḥḥ.

l. 3, w. 9—ḥḥ.

w. 13—ḥ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1—ḥḥḥ.

w. 2—ḥ added to it.

w. 4—ḥ added to it.

P. 80, l. 2, wa. 5-6—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 5, w. 1—ḥ.

w. 6—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 6, wa. 3, 7—ḥ omitted.

w. 4—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 7, w. 3—added above the line.

w. 5—ḥḥḥḥ; ḥḥ being inserted on the
right hand margin.

w. 7—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 8, w. 1—ḥḥḥḥ.

w. 5—ḥ added to it.

wa. 8-9—ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 9, wa. 3, 5, 9—omitted.

w. 10—l. 10, w. 0—ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

l. 11, w. 4—ḥḥḥḥ.

w. 10—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 12, wa. 3-4—ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 13, w. 5—ḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

wa. 7-8—ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 14, wa. 4-5—ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥ.

w. 7—ḥḥ.

l. 15, w. 10—ḥḥ omitted.

w. 1—ḥḥḥḥ written with red ink
in TD₁.

P. 81, l. 1, w. 1—ḥḥ.

w. 7—ḥḥ.

w. 8—ḥ omitted.

l. 2, w. 2—ḥḥ written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 7—ḥ omitted.

P. 81, l. 2, ws. 8-9—~~omitted~~.

ws. 10-11—~~omitted~~.

l. 3, w. 6—~~omitted~~.

w. 10—~~omitted~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

w. 3—~~omitted~~ added to it.

l. 6, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

w. 4—~~omitted~~.

w. 7—~~omitted~~.

l. 7, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

w. 12—~~omitted~~.

l. 8, w. 3—~~omitted~~.

w. 6—~~omitted~~.

w. 9—~~omitted~~ with ~~omitted~~ added to it.

w. 11—DH. fol. 180^s ends here.

w. 13—~~omitted~~ repeated by mistake.

l. 9, ws. 3-6—written with red ink in TD₁,
DH.

w. 4—~~omitted~~.

l. 10, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

w. 5—~~omitted~~ added after it.

w. 11—~~omitted~~.

l. 11, w. 4—~~omitted~~.

ws. 5-6—~~omitted~~ written with red ink in
TD₁.

w. 8—~~omitted~~.

l. 12, w. 2—~~omitted~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 9—~~omitted~~.

l. 13, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

w. 5—~~omitted~~.

P. 81, l. 14, w. 13—~~omitted~~.

l. 15, w. 1—~~omitted~~ inserted after it.

w. 3—~~omitted~~.

w. 7—~~omitted~~.

w. 9—~~omitted~~.

P. 82, l. 1, w. 4—~~omitted~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 6—~~omitted~~.

l. 2, ws. 1-3—~~omitted~~ written with red
ink in TD₁.

ws. 12-13—~~omitted~~; ~~omitted~~ seems to have
been struck off.

l. 3, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

l. 4, w. 2—~~omitted~~.

ws. 3, 12—~~omitted~~.

l. 5, ws. 2-3—~~omitted~~ written with red ink in
TD₁.

w. 6—~~omitted~~.

l. 6, w. 7—~~omitted~~.

w. 10—~~omitted~~.

w. 12—~~omitted~~ added to it.

l. 7, w. 1—~~omitted~~.

ws. 2-4—~~omitted~~.

w. 12—~~omitted~~.

l. 8, w. 6—~~omitted~~.

w. 8—~~omitted~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

DH has ~~omitted~~.

l. 9, w. 2—~~omitted~~.

ws. 3-4—~~omitted~~.

w. 6—~~omitted~~.

P. 82, l. 9, w. 11—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 10, w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

ws. 3-4—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 12, w. 3—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 4—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 13, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 13, w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 14, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 4—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 7—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 15, ws. 4-5, 10—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 8—omitted.

l. 16, ws. 5-6—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 8—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

P. 83, l. 1, w. 3—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 5—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 7—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 9—omitted.

l. 2, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

ws. 2-3—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

ws. 10-12—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 3, w. 6—DH fol. 181a ends here.

l. 4, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ prefixed to it.

w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 6—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ omitted.

P. 83, l. 6, w. 5—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 7, w. 13—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ omitted.

l. 8, w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 9, w. 5—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 10, ws. 1-2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 3—it is at the end of a line in DH.

w. 5—l. 11, w. 3—inserted above the line later on.

l. 11, w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 12, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 13, ws. 1-2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 10—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 14, w. 3—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ omitted.

w. 10, l. 15, w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 15, ws. 5-6—omitted.

w. 9—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

P. 84, l. 1, w. 1—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 6—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ added to it.

w. 8—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

l. 2, w. 2—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

ws. 5-6—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 8—omitted.

l. 3, ws. 3-4—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 4, w. 6—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ before ^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ omitted.

w. 12—^ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

P. 84, l. 5, w. 11—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 6, w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 8— after ~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ omitted.

l. 7, w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 5—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 9—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 11—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 8, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

ws. 5-6—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 9— omitted.

w. 10—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ written and struck off after it.

w. 11— omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ added to it.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 10, ws. 1-4—written with red ink in TD,
DH.

l. 10, w. 3—omitted.

l. 11, w. 3—written with red ink in TD.

w. 4—inserted above the line over
ⲁ which commences a new
line.

w. 5—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 2—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

ws. 6, 9, 12—omitted.

w. 8—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 13, w. 3—~~ⲁ~~ instead of ~~ⲁ~~.

w. 7—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 8—omitted.

P. 84, l. 14, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ written with red ink in
TD.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 9— added to it

l. 15, w. 5—DH fol. 181b ends here.

l. 16, w. 9— added to it.

P. 85, l. 1, w. 7—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ inserted after it.

l. 2, w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 9—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

A word is written on the left
hand margin opposite DH, fol.
182a, ll. 1-3, adjacent to the
lines, but it is cut off, perhaps
~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 3, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ written with red ink in TD.

w. 2—omitted.

w. 4—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ with ~~ⲁ~~ added to it.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 5, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ written with red ink in TD.

w. 9—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 6, w. 8—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~ written with red ink in TD.

w. 12—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

l. 8, w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

w. 8—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

l. 9, ws. 1-5—inserted above the line over the
ws. 6-9, without any sign as to
where they should be carried.

w. 8—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ~~.

P. 85, l. 10, w. 1—3³—

w. 4—~~11111111~~

l. 11, w. 1—~~1~~ prefixed to 16.

w. 9—~~1~~ added to 110.

l. 12, w. 2—~~11111~~

w. 8—3³—

w. 9—~~1~~ written and struck off after it.

l. 13, w. 5—~~11111~~

w. 7—~~11111~~

l. 14, w. 5—~~11111~~

l. 15, w. 2—~~11111~~

w. 4—~~1~~ added to it.

w. 7—~~1~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~11111~~

l. 16, w. 2—3³—

w. 4—~~11111~~ written with red ink in TD₂.

P. 86, l. 1, w. 2—~~1~~ added to it.

w. 6—~~11111~~

w. 8—~~1~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 1—~~11111~~

w. 2—3³—

w. 7—~~11111~~

w. 9—3³—

l. 3, w. 5—~~11111~~

wa. 9-11—~~11111~~ omitted.

l. 4, w. 5—~~11111~~

w. 7—3³—

P. 86, l. 5, w. 3—3³—

w. 5—~~11111~~

l. 6, w. 6—3³—

w. 10—~~11111~~

l. 7, w. 6—~~11111~~ omitted.

wa. 7-8—~~11111~~

l. 8, w. 3—~~11111~~

w. 5—~~11111~~

l. 9, w. 1—~~11111~~

w. 3—~~11111~~

l. 10, w. 1—~~11111~~

wa. 2-4—written with red ink in TD₂;
the words are omitted in DH.

w. 5—3³—

l. 11, w. 5—DH fol. 182a ends here.

w. 6—omitted.

l. 12, wa. 1-3—3³—

w. 6—~~11111~~

l. 13, w. 5—~~1~~ added to it.

wa. 6-7—~~11111~~ Sp.

l. 14, w. 3—~~11111~~

w. 7—~~11111~~

l. 15, w. 5—~~1~~ omitted.

w. 11—it is at the end of the line in DH.

P. 87, l. 1, w. 1—3³—

wa. 5-6—3³—

w. 10—~~11111~~

l. 2, w. 2—~~11111~~

l. 3, w. 1—3³—

P. 87, l. 4, w. 4—၁၀၀၀၀.

ws. 5-7—written with red ink in TD₂.

ws. 8-10—၁၀၀၀၀ ၁၀၀၀၀.

l. 7, w. 4—၁ omitted.

l. 11, w. 4—၁၀၀.

w. 9—၁၀၀.

w. 12—၁၀၀.

l. 12, w. 4—၁၀၀၀၀.

ws. 6-7—၁၀ instead of ၁၀၀.

w. 9—၁၀ omitted.

w. 11—၁၀၀.

l. 13, w. 6—၁၀၀၀၀.

ws. 8-9—၁၀၀ omitted.

w. 13—l. 14, w. 0—၁၀၀၀၀.

l. 14, w. 1—၁၀၀၀၀.

ws. 4-5—၁၀၀၀.

P. 88, l. 1, w. 3—၁၀၀၀၀၀.

w. 6—၁၀၀ added to it.

l. 2, ws. 2, 9—၁၀၀၀.

w. 12—၁၀၀.

l. 4, w. 6—၁၀၀.

w. 7—၁ omitted.

l. 5, w. 3—DH fol. 182b ends here.

ws. 5-6—၁၀ ၁၀.

w. 9—၁၀.

l. 6, w. 1—၁၀.

w. 5—၁၀.

l. 7, w. 9—၁၀.

P. 88, l. 8, w. 4—၁၀.

w. 8—၁၀.

l. 9, w. 5—၁၀၀.

l. 10, w. 1—၁၀၀၀.

l. 11, w. 6—၁၀၀.

w. 9—၁၀ omitted.

w. 12—၁ omitted.

l. 12, w. 4—၁၀၀၀.

w. 6—၁ added to it.

w. 9—၁၀၀.

l. 13, w. 1—၁၀၀.

w. 3—၁၀.

l. 14, w. 1—၁၀.

ws. 6-7—၁၀.

l. 14, ws. 11-12—၁၀၀ ၁၀.

l. 15, w. 3—၁၀.

w. 8—၁၀၀.

P. 89, l. 1, w. 9—၁ added to ၁၀.

l. 2, w. 3—၁၀; the point after it is omitted in DH.

l. 3, w. 1—၁၀၀.

w. 3—၁ added to it.

w. 4—၁၀၀.

w. 5—၁၀ omitted.

l. 4, w. 2—၁ omitted.

w. 6—၁၀.

w. 7—၁ added to it.

w. 8—၁.

P. 89, l. 5, w. 2—3¹ .

l. 6, wa. 2, 4, 6—¹ omitted.

w. 10—3¹ .

l. 7, w. 7—¹ written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 11—.

l. 8, w. 1—¹ instead of ¹.

wa. 7, 10—¹ omitted.

w. 11—.

l. 9, w. 1—¹ omitted.

w. 4—.

w. 9—¹ added to it.

w. 10—3¹ ⁵ with ¹ inserted above ⁶.

l. 10, w. 2— instead of .

w. 7— written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 11, w. 1—.

w. 3—¹ inserted above the line.

wa. 4-5— .

w. 6—¹ prefixed to it.

w. 7—.

l. 12, wa. 3, 8—written with red ink in TD₂;
DH has  instead of w. 3.

w. 9—¹ added to it.

l. 13, w. 3—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 4—¹ added to it.

w. 6— with ¹ added to it.

w. 8—.

l. 14, wa. 1, 6—written with red ink in TD₂.

P. 89, l. 15, w. 1—¹ added to it.

w. 3—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 5—omitted.

w. 6—¹ added to it.

P. 90, l. 1, wa. 1, 5—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 3—DH fol. 183a ends here.

w. 6—.

l. 2, w. 1—.

w. 2—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 3—¹ added to it.

wa. 5-6— .

l. 3, wa. 1, 7—¹, ⁶ written with red ink in TD₂; DH has .

.

w. 3—¹ omitted.

w. 5—.

l. 4, w. 1—.

w. 2— written with red ink in TD₂; DH has .

w. 9—¹.

l. 5, wa. 2, 9—written with red ink in TD₂;
DH has  instead of w. 2.

l. 6, w. 4—.

w. 5—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 9—.

l. 7, w. 1—.

w. 6—written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 7, w. 9—¹ added to it.

l. 8, w. 1—.

w. 3—¹ omitted.

P. 90, l. 8, w. 6—~~۱۶~~ omitted and ~~۱۶~~ written above
 ۱۶ in TD₂, ۱۶ is in its place in
 DH.

l. 9, w. 3—~~۱۶~~.

w. 6—~~۱۶~~ written with red ink
 in TD₂; DH has ~~۱۶~~.

l. 10, w. 7—~~۱۶~~.

w. 9—written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 11, w. 9—~~۱۶~~.

l. 12, w. 1—~~۱۶~~.

w. 5—~~۱۶~~.

ws. 2-9—DH repeats these words after
 l. 12, w. 9.

l. 13, w. 1—~~۱۶~~.

w. 7—~~۱۶~~ added to ~~۱۶~~.

w. 8—~~۱۶~~ written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 14, w. 3—~~۱۶~~.

l. 15, w. 8—~~۱۶~~ added to it.

P. 91, l. 1, ws. 1-2—~~۱۶~~.

l. 2, w. 2—~~۱۶~~.

w. 4—~~۱۶~~.

l. 3, w. 4—~~۱۶~~.

w. 7—~~۱۶~~.

w. 12—~~۱۶~~ omitted.

l. 4, ws. 1, 13—~~۱۶~~ written with red ink
 in TD₂.

w. 6—~~۱۶~~.

ws. 9-11—~~۱۶~~.

l. 5, w. 5—~~۱۶~~ written with red ink in TD₂;
 DH has ~~۱۶~~.

P. 91, l. 5, w. 8—~~۱۶~~.

w. 10—~~۱۶~~.

l. 6, w. 4—~~۱۶~~.

w. 6—~~۱۶~~ written with red ink in
 TD₂.

l. 7, w. 5—~~۱۶~~.

w. 8—~~۱۶~~ omitted.

l. 8, w. 1—repeated.

w. 2—~~۱۶~~.

w. 9—~~۱۶~~.

l. 9, w. 1—~~۱۶~~.

w. 2—~~۱۶~~ omitted.

w. 7—~~۱۶~~.

l. 10, ws. 1-2 ~~۱۶~~; DH fol. 1335
 ends here.

w. 3—~~۱۶~~.

w. 6—~~۱۶~~.

l. 11, w. 2—~~۱۶~~.

w. 3—~~۱۶~~.

w. 5—~~۱۶~~.

l. 12, ws. 1-3—written in TD₂ with red ink.
 DH has ~~۱۶~~ inserted
 above the words with red
 ink.

w. 10—~~۱۶~~ omitted.

l. 13, w. 4—~~۱۶~~ added to it.

w. 7—~~۱۶~~.

l. 15, w. 3—~~۱۶~~.

ws. 5, 10, 15—omitted.

P. 92, l. 1, ws. 2, 12—~~۱۶~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 6—~~۱۶~~.

P. 92, l. 4, ws. 2-3—^كدو.

w. 9—^لدو.

l. 6, w. 1—^ل prefixed to it.

w. 9—^لدو.

l. 7, w. 1—^ل omitted.

l. 7, w. 11—^لدو.

l. 8, w. 4—^ل added to it.

w. 5—^لدو.

l. 9, w. 1—^ل prefixed to it.

ws. 2, 13—^ل omitted.

w. 7—^لدو.

w. 10—^لدو.

l. 11, ws. 6, 9—^ل omitted.

w. 10—^ل with ^ل added above it.

l. 12, w. 9—^لدو.

l. 13, w. 9—^لدو.

l. 15, w. 4—^لدو.

ws. 6-8—^لدو.

P. 93, l. 1, w. 1—^كدو prefixed to it.

w. 2—^ل omitted.

w. 7—^لدو.

l. 2, w. 1—^كدو written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 5—^لدو.

w. 10—^ل omitted.

l. 3, w. 1—^كدو.

w. 5—^ل added to it.

w. 6—^ل added to ^ك.

w. 7—^ل omitted.

P. 93, l. 3, w. 9—^كدو.

w. 11—^كدو.

l. 4, w. 1—^كدو.

w. 9—^كدو.

l. 5, w. 7—^كدو.

l. 6, w. 1—DH fol. 184a ends here.

w. 2—^كدو.

w. 4—^كدو.

l. 7, w. 7—^كدو.

w. 9—^ك added to it.

l. 8, ws. 1-5—written with red ink in TD₂.
ws. 3-5 only with red ink in DH, but ^لدو added above ws. 1-2 with red ink instead. In DH the text is written continuously, the points of punctuations at the beginning and end of the line in TD₂ are omitted in DH.

l. 9, w. 4—^ك omitted.

l. 10, ws. 8-10, 12—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 9—^ك instead of ^ل.

l. 11, w. 2—^ك.

w. 6—^ك added after it.

w. 8—^ك omitted.

ws. 10-12—^كدو. A variant of w. 12 seems to have been written on the right hand margin of DH, out of which only a slight trace of the third letter and the fourth letter ^ل now remain.

l. 12, w. 4—^ك.

l. 13, ws. 1-2—^كدو.

P. 93, l. 13, w. 13—omitted.

l. 14, w. 4— 𐎧 inserted above the line before

𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 and 𐎧 added to it.

ws. 6-8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 15, w. 6— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 9— 𐎧 omitted.

P. 94, l. 1, w. 1— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 prefixed to it, and 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 inserted above the line to go after it.

w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

ws. 6-7— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 9— 𐎧 omitted.

l. 2, w. 6— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 4, w. 1— 𐎧 added to it.

w. 3— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 with 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 above it.

l. 5, w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

ws. 6-7—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 9— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 instead of 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 6, w. 1— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 omitted, with 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 in its stead.

ws. 10, 13— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 11— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 omitted, with 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 in its stead.

l. 7, w. 2— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 6— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 8, w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 9, w. 5— 𐎧 omitted.

w. 8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂.

P. 94, l. 10, w. 3— 𐎧 omitted.

w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 11, w. 1— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 12, w. 2— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 4— 𐎧 omitted.

ws. 8-9— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 13— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 13, w. 4— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 5—repeated by mistake.

w. 8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 14, w. 5— 𐎧 .

w. 8— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 9— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 15, w. 4—DH fol. 184b ends here.

ws. 6, 8, 10— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂. DH has 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 instead of w. 3.

w. 7— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 with 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 above it.

P. 95, l. 1, w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 11— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 2, w. 4— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

w. 5—written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 6— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 added to it.

w. 7— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

l. 3, w. 3— 𐎧 omitted.

ws. 5-8— $\text{𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢}$.

w. 10— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 4, w. 5— 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD₂. DH has 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢 .

P. 95, l. 5, w. 3—~~𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

l. 6, w. 3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to it.

w. 4—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 7, wa. 7-8—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 10—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 8, wa. 2-5, 10—written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ instead of ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to it.

l. 9, wa. 3, 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

wa. 4-5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 8—written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 10, w. 9—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ after ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

w. 11—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 11, w. 4—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted and ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ in its stead.

l. 12, w. 4—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 7—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 13, w. 2—written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ with ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ inserted as an amendment above ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 14, wa. 1-2—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

w. 5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 14, w. 7—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 15, w. 5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

P. 95, l. 15, w. 7—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

wa. 9-10—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 11—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

P. 96, l. 1, w. 3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 8—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ before ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 0—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

wa. 1-2—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

wa. 5-6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 3, w. 1—written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 10—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 4, w. 3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

w. 4—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 9—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 5, wa. 1-3—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

wa. 4-5—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ with ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ inserted above.

w. 6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

wa. 7-9—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 10—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 12—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

w. 13—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ added to ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 6, wa. 2, 6, 11—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~, ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~, ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ omitted.

wa. 7-8—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

w. 13—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

l. 7, w. 1—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ prefixed to it.

wa. 5-6—~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~ ~~𐎠𐎢𐎡~~.

P. 97, l. 12, wa. 7-8—^١١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨

l. 13, wa. 1-3—^١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩

w. 5—^١ added to it.

wa. 6-9—^١٢٣٤٥ written with red ink in

TD₁; DH has ^١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥

with ^١ inserted above

٥

l. 14, w. 5—^١٢٣٤٥٦

wa. 6-7—^١٢٣

w. 9—^١٢٣٤٥٦

w. 12—^١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨

l. 15, w. 1—^١٢٣٤٥

w. 7—^١٢٣٤٥٦

w. 8—^١٢٣٤ with ^١ inserted above ^١

P. 98, l. 1, w. 4—^١٢٣٤٥٦ inserted after ^١

l. 2, w. 2—^١ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 8—^١٢٣٤

w. 10—^١٢٣

l. 3, w. 1—DH fol. 185b ends here.

w. 6—^١٢٣ written with red ink in TD₁;

DH has ^١ ٢ ٣

w. 7—^١٢٣٤

wa. 9-10—^١٢٣٤٥

l. 4, w. 6—^١ omitted.

w. 7—^١٢٣٤٥٦

w. 9—^١ instead of ^١ ٢

w. 12—^١٢٣٤٥٦

l. 5, w. 8—^١ omitted.

P. 98, l. 6, w. 1—^١٢٣٤٥٦

w. 6—^١ added to ^١ ٢.

l. 7, w. 10—^١ omitted.

l. 8, w. 4—^١٢٣٤٥

w. 9—^١ omitted.

l. 9, w. 9—^١ omitted.

l. 10, wa. 7-8—^١ ٢ omitted.

l. 12, wa. 2, 7—^١ added to ^١ ٢ and ^١

w. 5—^١ omitted.

w. 14—^١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨

l. 13, w. 10—^١ omitted.

l. 14, wa. 4, 8—^١٢٣٤٥٦٧

w. 8—^١ prefixed to it.

l. 15, w. 6—^١٢٣٤٥٦٧

P. 99, l. 1, w. 1—^١٢٣٤٥٦

wa. 11-12—^١ ٢ omitted.

l. 2, w. 1—^١٢٣٤٥٦

wa. 7-8—^١٢٣

w. 11—^١ prefixed to ^١ ٢٣.

l. 3, w. 1—^١٢٣٤٥٦

l. 4, w. 5—^١٢٣

w. 6—^١ omitted.

l. 5, w. 5—^١٢٣٤٥ written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 6—^١٢٣٤٥٦ inserted after ^١ ٢٣.

l. 6, wa. 1, 5, 7—^١ ٢, ٣, ٤ omitted.

P. 99, l. 6, ws. 10, 12—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂; ^{۱۰۰} inserted after w. 10 ^{۱۰۰} in DH.

l. 7, w. 3—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂;

DH has ^{۱۰۰}.

w. 9—^{۱۰۰} added to it.

l. 8, w. 3—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 5—^{۱۰۰}.

ws. 8, 11—^{۱۰۰}, ^{۱۰۰} omitted.

w. 10—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 9, w. 2—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 8—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 10, w. 8—^{۱۰۰} added above ^{۱۰۰} ^{۱۰۰}.

l. 11, w. 1—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂.

ws. 8-9—^{۱۰۰} ^{۱۰۰}.

l. 12, w. 5—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 13—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 13, w. 11—DH fol. 186a ends at ^{۱۰۰}.

w. 12—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 15, ws. 5-6—^{۱۰۰} ^{۱۰۰} with ^{۱۰۰} ^{۱۰۰} inserted above.

w. 8—^{۱۰۰} added to it.

w. 10—^{۱۰۰}.

P. 100, l. 1, w. 1—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 3—^{۱۰۰} written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 5—^{۱۰۰} instead of ^{۱۰۰}.

ws. 7-9—^{۱۰۰} ^{۱۰۰}.

P. 100, l. 1, w. 12—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 2, w. 1—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 3, ws. 1-3—written with red ink in TD₂.
in DH ws. 1-2 are written with black ink with ^{۱۰۰} in red ink inserted above, and w. 3 is written in red ink, but no space is left before w. 1 and after w. 3.

w. 6—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 4, w. 6—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 5, w. 2—^{۱۰۰} omitted.

w. 5—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 8, w. 2—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 4—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 10—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 9, w. 1—^{۱۰۰} omitted.

w. 2—^{۱۰۰} added to it.

w. 5—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 7—^{۱۰۰}.

w. 12—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 10, w. 3—^{۱۰۰} prefixed to ^{۱۰۰}.

w. 6—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 11, w. 11—^{۱۰۰} added to ^{۱۰۰}.

l. 12, w. 2—^{۱۰۰} omitted.

l. 13, w. 8—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 14, w. 9—^{۱۰۰}.

l. 15, w. 1—^{۱۰۰} prefixed to it.

w. 7—^{۱۰۰} omitted.

w. 9—^{۱۰۰}.

P. 101, l. 1, ws. 1, 9—u written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 7—u written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 2, ws. 1-2—u written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 3—u written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 7—u added to u.

l. 3, w. 2—u.

w. 9—u.

w. 12—u omitted.

l. 4, w. 4—u.

w. 8—u; u being omitted.

l. 5, w. 6—u added to u.

l. 6, w. 1—u.

w. 7—u instead of u, with u affixed to it.

w. 12—u.

w. 4—u added to u.

w. 7—u; u being omitted.

l. 9, w. 4—u.

w. 5—u omitted.

w. 10—DH fol. 186b ends here.

l. 10, w. 5—u inserted after u.

l. 12, w. 1—u.

w. 4—u written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 9—inserted on the left hand margin, w. 8 being at the end of the line.

w. 10—u omitted.

P. 101, l. 13, w. 7—u added to u.

w. 12—u after u omitted.

l. 14, w. 6—u.

l. 15, w. 9—u.

P. 102, l. 1, w. 1—u.

w. 8—u added after w. 8.

l. 2, ws. 2-3—u.

w. 8—u.

l. 3, ws. 1, 3—u prefixed to them.

w. 9—u.

l. 4, w. 6—u instead of u.

l. 5, ws. 2-3—u.

ws. 9-10—u.

l. 6, ws. 8-4—u.

l. 7, w. 1—u.

w. 2—u added to u.

w. 4—u.

ws. 7, 10, 12—u before u, u, u omitted.

l. 8, ws. 3-4, 9—u omitted.

w. 7—u.

l. 9, w. 3—u.

w. 7—u.

l. 11, ws. 3-4—u.

w. 7—u before u omitted.

w. 13—u after u omitted.

l. 14, w. 3—u omitted.

P. 105, l. 1, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 with 𐎠𐎢 inserted after it.

l. 2, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 prefixed to it.

ws. 4-5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 7—omitted.

w. 9— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 10—written with red ink in TD_2 .

l. 3, w. 4— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

ws. 7-8— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎢 .

w. 9— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 omitted.

l. 4, w. 2— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 7— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 5, w. 4— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

ws. 11-12— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎢 .

l. 6, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 6—omitted.

w. 10— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 7, w. 2— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 added to 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 9, ws. 1, 11— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD_2 .

l. 10, w. 7— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 added to 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 8— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 11, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 3— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 added to it.

w. 6— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 added to 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 12, w. 3— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 added to 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 12, w. 6— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

P. 105, l. 12, w. 10— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 13, w. 3— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in

TD_2 .

w. 8— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 14, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

ws. 3, 4— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 inserted after each of them.

w. 9— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 10— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 omitted.

l. 15, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 , with 𐎧𐎠𐎢 inserted after it.

w. 2— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD_2 ; DH has 𐎧𐎠𐎢 inserted above.

w. 9— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 instead of 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

P. 106, l. 1, ws. 2-3— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎢 .

w. 9— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD_2 .

l. 2, w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD_2 .

ws. 6-7— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎢 .

w. 11— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 omitted.

l. 3, w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 with 𐎧𐎠𐎢 inserted after it.

w. 8— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 prefixed to 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

l. 4, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 instead of 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 4— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 ; 𐎧𐎠𐎢 being omitted.

w. 5— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 written with red ink in TD_2 .

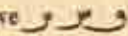
l. 5, w. 1— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 2— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 omitted.

w. 3— 𐎧𐎠𐎢 .

w. 6—DH fol. 182a ends here.

P. 106, l. 5, w. 7— added to .

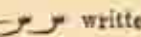
l. 6, wa. 3-4—inserted above  over the line.

wa. 5, 8—,  written with red ink in TD₁.

l. 7, w. 1— prefixed to it.

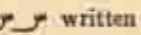
w. 6— instead of .

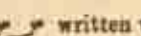
wa. 7-8— omitted.

w. 14— written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 8, w. 2— omitted.

w. 6— inserted after it.

w. 8— written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 9, w. 8— written with red ink in TD₂.

w. 10— omitted.

w. 12— omitted.

l. 10, w. 1— omitted.

w. 2— omitted.

l. 11, w. 1— inserted after it.

w. 6— omitted.

w. 7— prefixed to .

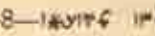
w. 10— omitted.

l. 12, w. 3— omitted.

w. 5— omitted.

l. 13, w. 4— omitted.

l. 14, w. 3— omitted.

wa. 7-8— after w. 8
 inserted.

l. 15, w. 14— omitted.

P. 107, l. 1, wa. 1-2— added to .

w. 7— omitted.

w. 9— added to .

l. 2, w. 1— written with red ink in TD₁.

w. 8— added to .

w. 11— omitted.

l. 3, wa. 3, 10—,  written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 4, w. 3— written with red ink in TD₂.

DH has .

l. 5, w. 3— omitted.

w. 5— prefixed to .

l. 6, w. 3— omitted.

l. 7, w. 6— prefixed to .

w. 8— omitted.

l. 8, wa. 1, 2—,  written with red ink in TD₂. DH has  in both the places.

w. 4— omitted.

l. 9, w. 2— omitted.

wa. 5, 6—,  omitted.

w. 7— omitted.

w. 11— omitted.

l. 10, wa. 3-4—,  omitted.

wa. 9, 12— omitted.

w. 10— written with red ink in TD₂.

l. 11, w. 1— omitted.

w. 5— added to .

P. 107, l. 12, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 6—~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ omitted.

w. 7—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 18, w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 9—~~ⲁ~~ written with red ink in TD.

w. 11—~~ⲁ~~ prefixed to and ~~ⲁ~~ inserted
after ~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 13—~~ⲁ~~.

ws. 14-15—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

l. 14, w. 1—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

ws. 3-6—written with red ink in TD.

In DH ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~ is
inserted above the line with
red ink over the words ~~ⲁⲓ~~
~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~ and ~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ is
inserted over the right-hand
margin, the first few letters
possibly ~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ being cut off.

P. 108, l. 1, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 2—DH fol. 188b ends here.

w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ out of which ~~ⲁⲓ~~ is
obliterated.

ws. 4-5—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 7—~~ⲁ~~ before ~~ⲁⲓ~~ omitted.

l. 2, ws. 9-11—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

l. 3, w. 4—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

ws. 8-2—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~ⲁ~~.

ws. 5-6—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

l. 5, w. 4—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

P. 108, l. 5, w. 12—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 6, w. 2—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 8—~~ⲁ~~ after ~~ⲁⲓ~~ omitted.

l. 7, ws. 2, 9—~~ⲁ~~ omitted after ~~ⲁⲓ~~, and ~~ⲁ~~.

w. 3—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 7—~~ⲁ~~ instead of ~~ⲁ~~.

w. 12—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 8, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

ws. 3-5—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲁⲓ~~ ~~ⲁ~~.

l. 9, w. 8—~~ⲁ~~ added to ~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 10—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 10, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 3—~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 4—~~ⲁ~~ added to ~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

ws. 8, 10—~~ⲁⲓ~~ and ~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 4—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 10—~~ⲁ~~ after ~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

l. 13, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 6—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 14, w. 1—~~ⲁⲓ~~.

w. 5—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

l. 15, w. 3—~~ⲁ~~ omitted.

w. 5—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 11—~~ⲁⲓ~~.

P. 109, l. 1, w. 7—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

w. 11—~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓ~~.

P. 109, l. 2, was 4-5—into ¹—²—

1. 2, w. 11-1. 3, w. 0—~~20-4~~ instead of

۱۴۰۰

l. 3, ws. 2-8—written with red ink in TD,
and DH. In DH, ws. 7-8 are
inserted above the line over
the words ~~no word~~^{me}. It seems
the scribe had kept a certain
space for words to be inserted
with red ink and the space
was not enough to contain all
the words.

W.B. 3-5—11744-55 201703

w. 8—the punctuation after the word
is omitted in DIL.

1. 4. w. 6—7.5

w. 11—3, omitted.

1. 5, ws. 7-8—3115 3115.

w. 10—11 pages.

1, 6, w, 8—

w. 9—t added to ψ^{11} .

w. 12—~~13~~ S. DH fol. 189a ends here.

1. 7, w. 2— μ instead of μ'

w. 2—40 instead of 40.

W. 12—1741104-

1. 8. w. 2—251^m.

ms. 7-8—(1860) omitted.

w. 10— omitted.

l. 9, w. 4—~~er~~ added to ~~re~~ ~~er~~.

L. 10, wa. 8-9—12. 11. 10. 10.

L. 11, w. 1—HOLMBO-

P. 109, l. 11, w. 3— π ; ω being omitted.

1. 12, w. 4—*sublimis*.

l. 12, w. 2—l. 13, w. 0—~~wp~~; ~~w~~ being omitted.

L. 13, w. 1—*Agave*

W. 3.—*Ischnura elegans*.

ws. 5, 6—1 prefixed to each of them.

W. 9—1866

1. 14, w. 2—wavy.

l. 15, w. 2—~~ex~~ omitted.

W. 5—P²55.

W. 9—1001103-

P. 110, l. 1, w. 8—3 after ~~are~~ omitted.

1, 2, w. 1—ع added to م.

w. 3.—⁵ in the body of the line with
 11* inserted above as an emen-
 dation.

1. 3, w. 1—PC41-

w, 3—t before ~~w~~ omitted.

w. 8—149495-

W. 10—1-3-21.

l. 4, w. 1—† prefixed to it.

w. 4—1 after 45 omitted.

w. 10—¹ instead of ~~and~~ with
added to it.

1. 5, w. 1—1000.

W. 4—HCAI

W. 9—45094

L. 6, w. 1— prefixed to *g/v*

P. 112, l. 6, ws. 10-11—¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ 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P. 115, l. 9, ws. 11-12—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} written with red ink

in TD₁; DH ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} with ^ⲁ
struck off later on.

w. 12—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} inserted after ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 10, ws. 2-3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 4—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 7-8—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 10—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 12-13—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 11, ws. 3-6—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

w. 7—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} written in the body of the
line out of which the letters
^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} are struck off with
^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} inserted above as an
amendation.

l. 12, w. 8—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} inserted
after ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 13, ws. 2-3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

l. 14, w. 4—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} added to ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 6—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} instead of ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 8—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} prefixed to ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 15, w. 1—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 5—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} with ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} inserted over ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}
as an amendation.

w. 7—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 9—DH fol. 191a ends here.

w. 10—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

w. 12—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

P. 116, l. 1, w. 7—worm eaten, being the last word
of the first line of fol. 191b.

P. 116, l. 2, w. 8—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 9—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

l. 3, w. 3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 4, w. 2—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} with ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} inserted above
^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} as an amendation.

w. 4—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

ws. 8-9—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} written with red
ink in TD₁.

l. 5, w. 3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

w. 4—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 6, w. 7—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 10-12—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 7, w. 1—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} omitted.

ws. 3-6—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 7-9—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 11—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 8, w. 2—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 4-5—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 8—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 8, w. 12—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 9, w. 1—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 9—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 10, w. 3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

ws. 6-7—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

w. 10—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} prefixed to ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 11, w. 7—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} added to ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

l. 12, ws. 2-3—^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ} ^{ⲉⲃⲓⲛ}.

P. 116, l. 12, w. 5— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 7— ḡ added to $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 12, w. 1— ḡ omitted.

ws. 4-7— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 14, w. 1— ḡ added to it.

w. 2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 15, w. 1— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ with the first ḡ corrected to ḡ .

P. 117, l. 1, w. 11— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 2, w. 2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ omitted.

w. 12— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 3, w. 4— ḡ added to $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 10—after ḡ there are in DH the following 17 words:—

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

l. 4, ws. 1-2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 7— ḡ repeated.

ll. 5-6—omitted in DH.

l. 7, w. 1— ḡ omitted.

w. 2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ omitted.

w. 6— ḡ prefixed to ḡ .

w. 8— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ instead of $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 10— ḡ .

l. 8, w. 1— ḡ omitted.

ws. 2-7— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

P. 117, l. 8, w. 11—before $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ omitted.

l. 9, w. 1— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 4— ḡ prefixed to $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 5— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ with $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$ added to it.

w. 7— ḡ added to $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 9— ḡ instead of ḡ .

l. 11, w. 1— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

w. 5— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$; DH fol. 191b ends here; fols. 192-199 are missing.

The following words on the pages mentioned are written with red ink in TD:—

P. 119, l. 5, ws. 3-4— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 120, l. 3, w. 2—l. 4, w. 2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

$\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$

P. 122, l. 2, ws. 1-3— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 15, w. 6-1. 16, w. 1— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 123, l. 9, w. 2— ḡ .

P. 125, l. 14, w. 6— ḡ .

P. 126, l. 4, w. 8— ḡ .

P. 128, l. 11, ws. 7-11— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 129, l. 14, w. 9—l. 15, w. 1— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 131, l. 8, ws. 1-7— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 133, l. 12, w. 8— ḡ .

P. 139, l. 6, ws. 1-2— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

l. 7, ws. 6-7— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 142, l. 2, ws. 3-6— $\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$.

P. 143, l. 14, w. 9—DH fol. 200a commences with it, but it ($\text{ḡ} \text{ḡ}$) is obliterated along with ḡ of the next word.

P. 143, l. 15, w. 3— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ prefixed to ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

w. 5— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ instead of ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

P. 144, l. 1, w. 1— ⲉ obliterated, it being the first word of the 2nd line in DH.

ws. 1-2— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

ws. 4-5— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 9— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 2, ws. 8-10— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 3, w. 1— ⲉ prefixed to ⲉ .

w. 5— ⲉ

l. 4, w. 1— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 4— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 9— ⲉ instead of ⲉ .

w. 12— ⲉ after ⲉ omitted.

l. 5, w. 1— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 3— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 6— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 7— ⲉ added to ⲉ .

l. 6, w. 6— ⲉ with ⲉ added to it.

w. 7— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 7, w. 7— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 9— ⲉ added to it.

w. 10— ⲉ instead of ⲉ .

l. 8, w. 0— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 2— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 10— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ instead of ⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

l. 9, w. 8— ⲉ before ⲉ omitted.

w. 10— ⲉ added above ⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

P. 144, l. 10, w. 2— ⲉ instead of ⲉ .

w. 3— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 4— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ added to ⲉ .

l. 11, w. 2— ⲉ prefixed to ⲉ .

w. 3— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 12— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ instead of ⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

l. 12, w. 2— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ with ⲉ prefixed to it.

w. 3— ⲉ added to it.

w. 8— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 10— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 13, w. 0— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ omitted.

w. 1— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ with ⲉ inserted after it.

w. 5— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 7— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 14, w. 2— ⲉ after ⲉ omitted.

w. 3— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

ws. 4-5— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 15, w. 1— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 7— ⲉ prefixed to ⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

w. 8— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

P. 145, l. 2, ws. 1-2— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 4— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 3, w. 4— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

w. 6— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

l. 4, w. 3— ⲉ omitted.

w. 6— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ with ⲉ inserted above the line over ⲉ instead of ⲉⲣⲟⲩ .

l. 5, w. 4— ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

P. 146, l. 10, w. 5— ၂ omitted.

w. 7— ၂ added to ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 11, ws. 2, 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

ws. 3, 5— ၂ and ၂ omitted.

ws. 7-8— ၁၃၃၁၁ ၂၄ .

w. 10— ၂ inserted after it.

l. 12, w. 6— ၂ .

l. 12, w. 9— ၂ instead of ၁၃ .

w. 10— ၂ ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 13, w. 3— ၂ ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 7— ၂ prefixed to ၁၃ .

l. 14, w. 2— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 15, w. 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ instead of ၁၃၃၁၁ .

P. 147, l. 1, w. 3— ၂ prefixed to ၁၃ .

ws. 5-6— ၁၃၃၁၁ omitted.

w. 7— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 2, w. 1— ၂ added to it.

w. 4— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 3, w. 5— ၂ before ၁၃၃၁၁ omitted.

w. 8—DH fol. 200b ends here.

l. 4, ws. 4, 7, 10— ၁၃ .

l. 4, w. 11—l. 5, w. 0— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 5, w. 1— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 6, ws. 5-9—Written with red ink in TD,
DH; in DH ၁၃၃၁၁ added with
red and black inks.

P. 147, l. 7, w. 1— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 6— ၂ added to ၁၃ .

l. 8, w. 1 sq.— ၁၃ ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁
 ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 9, w. 3— ၂ prefixed to ၁၃ .

w. 7— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 11— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 10, w. 6— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

ws. 7-8— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 10— ၂ omitted.

w. 13— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 11, w. 7— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

ws. 9, 11— ၂ and ၂ omitted.

w. 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 12, ws. 1-4— ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 9— ၁၃၃၁၁ omitted.

l. 13, w. 6— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 14, w. 8— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 15, w. 2— ၁၃၃၁၁ prefixed to ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 6— ၂ after ၁၃ omitted.

P. 148, l. 1, w. 6— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

w. 9— ၁၃၃၁၁ prefixed to ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 2, w. 1— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

ws. 2-3— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

ws. 9-10— ၁၃၃၁၁ .

l. 3, w. 4— ၁၃၃၁၁ omitted.

w. 7— ၁၃ instead of ၁၃ .

P. 148, l. 4, w. 3— ལུ་ཤི་ .

w. 9— ལུ་ prefixed to ལུ་ .

l. 6, wa. 6-7— ལུ་ལུ་ + ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 9— ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 10— ལུ་ omitted.

w. 12— ལུ་ instead of ལུ་ .

l. 7, w. 4— ལུ་ .

w. 7— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 8, wa. 3-5— ལུ་ instead of ལུ་ .

w. 8— ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 9, w. 4— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 10, w. 1—omitted.

w. 2— ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 11, wa. 2-3— ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ instead of ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 6— ལུ་ added to ལུ་ .

w. 7— ལུ་ .

l. 12, w. 4— ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 6— ལུ་ omitted.

w. 7—DH fol. 201a ends here.

l. 13, w. 1— ལུ་ .

l. 13, w. 4— ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 8— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 14, wa. 2, 5— ལུ་ and ལུ་ omitted.

w. 7— ལུ་ added to ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 15, w. 1— ལུ་ prefixed to it.

P. 149, l. 1, w. 2— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 1, w. 3-4, w. 4—Inserted above the line
over the words ལུ་ལུ་ ལུ་
 ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ ལུ་

P. 149, l. 1, wa. 5-7— ལུ་ instead of ལུ་ ལུ་ .

w. 8— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 2, w. 4—Repeated in the body of the line.

w. 8— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 3, w. 5— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 4, w. 5— ལུ་ prefixed to ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 6— ལུ་ལུ་ omitted.

w. 8— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 5, wa. 2-3— ལུ་ ལུ་ལུ་ .

w. 8— ལུ་ .

w. 9— ལུ་ omitted.

l. 6, w. 3— ལུ་ omitted.

wa. 8-9— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 7, wa. 3-4— ལུ་ omitted.

w. 5— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 8, w. 1— ལུ་ prefixed to ལུ་ .

l. 8, w. 3-4, 9, w. 6—The 14 words are written with red ink in TD₂. In DH only the first ten words are so written.

l. 8, w. 9— ལུ་ instead of ལུ་ .

l. 9, w. 4— ལུ་ omitted.

w. 6— ལུ་ after ལུ་ omitted.

l. 10, wa. 9-10— ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 11, w. 2— ལུ་ .

w. 7— ལུ་ omitted.

l. 12, w. 7— ལུ་ལུ་ .

l. 13, w. 1— ལུ་ལུ་ .

wa. 6-7— ལུ་ལུ་ལུ་ ལུ་ .

P. 149, l. 13, w. 11 𐰇𐰆 omitted.

l. 15, w. 4—𐰇 omitted.

ws. 8-10—𐰇𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆.

P. 150, l. 1, ws. 2-4—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆 𐰇𐰆.

w. 6—𐰇 omitted.

w. 7—𐰇𐰆.

w. 9—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

l. 2, w. 3—𐰇 omitted.

w. 8—𐰇 added to 𐰇𐰆.

l. 3, w. 10—𐰇𐰆 instead of 𐰇𐰆.

l. 4, w. 1—𐰇 omitted.

ws. 4-5—𐰇𐰆𐰆.

w. 8—𐰇𐰆 written with red ink in TD₂;

DH has 𐰇𐰆 in the line with

𐰇 inserted above 𐰇 of the following word.

l. 5, w. 12—𐰇 omitted.

l. 6, w. 8—𐰇 omitted.

ws. 14-15—𐰇𐰆𐰆.

l. 7, w. 2—𐰇𐰆 omitted.

w. 11—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

l. 8, w. 4—𐰇𐰆𐰆 omitted.

w. 9—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

w. 10—DH fol. 201b ends here; fols. 202-209 are missing.

The following words on pages mentioned are written with red ink in TD₂.

P. 157, l. 12, ws. 1-4—𐰇𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆.

P. 162, l. 1, w. 6-1, 2, w. 2—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆

𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

P. 176, l. 5, w. 9—DH fol. 210a commences with

𐰇𐰆.

l. 6, w. 1—𐰇𐰆 added to 𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

ws. 2-3—𐰇𐰆𐰆.

w. 5—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

w. 9—𐰇𐰆.

l. 7, w. 4—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

w. 6—𐰇 omitted.

l. 8, w. 2—𐰇𐰆.

w. 7—𐰇𐰆.

l. 9, w. 6—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

w. 7—𐰇 omitted.

l. 10, w. 2—𐰇 omitted.

w. 6—𐰇𐰆𐰆 instead of 𐰇𐰆𐰆.

l. 11, w. 3—𐰇 omitted.

w. 10—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

l. 12, ws. 1-5—These five words are omitted here and inserted after l. 13.

w. 5 𐰇𐰆𐰆; they are in the beginning of l. 7 of DH.

w. 8—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆.

l. 13, w. 6—𐰇𐰆 omitted.

l. 14, w. 1—𐰇𐰆𐰆.

ws. 2-3—𐰇𐰆𐰆.

l. 15, ws. 5-6—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰆.

P. 177, l. 1, w. 9—𐰇 omitted.

l. 2, w. 6—𐰇𐰆𐰆𐰆𐰆.

P. 177, l. 3, w. 8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ added to $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 4, w. 5— א prefixed to $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 5, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב} \text{א} \text{ב}$.

wa. 3, 8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 9— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 7, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ with $\text{א} \text{ב}$ added above.

w. 10— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 8, wa. 5-8— $\text{א} \text{ב} \text{א} \text{ב} \text{א} \text{ב} \text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 9, w. 3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ instead of $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 7— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 10, w. 2— א prefixed to $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ repeated on a new line.

w. 5—Omitted.

l. 11, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 2— א omitted.

w. 7— א instead of $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 9— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 12, wa. 2-3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ instead of $\text{א} \text{ב}$ inserted above the line over $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 11— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 13, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

wa. 2, 4, 10— א , ב and א omitted.

l. 14, w. 3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 7— א inserted over $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 9— א after $\text{א} \text{ב}$ omitted.

l. 15, wa. 5, 12-13— א and $\text{א} \text{ב}$ omitted.

w. 7— א prefixed to and א inserted after $\text{א} \text{ב}$, after which there is a blank of about $\frac{1}{2}$.

P. 178, l. 1, w. 3—DH fol. 210a ends here.

wa. 6, 9— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ and א omitted.

wa. 7-8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 2, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 4— א omitted.

w. 8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ with א inserted over it.

l. 2, — $\text{א} \text{ב}$ is inserted on the right hand margin of DH against l. 2, the first portion of the word being cut off.

l. 3, w. 8— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 4, wa. 2-3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ instead of $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

wa. 9, 11— א and א omitted. The words inserted above the line 4 in TD₂ go after w. 8 $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 5, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$ omitted in DH and $\text{א} \text{ב}$ inserted within the line in its stead.

w. 2— א added to $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

wa. 4, 6— א and א omitted.

w. 12— א corrected to א in DH.

l. 6, w. 1— א prefixed to it.

w. 11— א instead of א before $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

l. 7, wa. 1-3— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 7— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 8— א omitted.

l. 8, w. 1— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

w. 6— א before א omitted and א inserted instead.

l. 9, w. 2— $\text{א} \text{ב}$.

P. 178, l. 9, ws. 3-4—¹¹אבא—

w. 6—¹ instead of ².

w. 8—³ omitted.

w. 9—⁴ inserted after ⁵אבאאבא.

ws. 10-11—⁶אבא—

l. 10, ws. 9-10—⁷אבא—

l. 11, w. 4—⁸אבא omitted.

w. 5—⁹ prefixed to ¹⁰אבא.

w. 9—¹¹אבא—

l. 12, w. 7—¹²אבא—

l. 14, ws. 2, 10—¹³ and ¹⁴ omitted.

w. 6—¹⁵אבא—

w. 7—¹⁶אבא added to ¹⁷אבא.

w. 9—¹⁸אבא—

w. 11—¹⁹אבא—

l. 15, w. 4—²⁰אבא—

w. 7—²¹ prefixed to ²²אבאאבא.

P. 179, l. 1, ws. 10, 12—²³אבא and ²⁴ omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—²⁵אבא—

l. 4, ws. 1-2—²⁶אבא—

w. 7—²⁷ omitted.

l. 5, ws. 7-8—²⁸אבא—

l. 6, w. 2—²⁹ omitted.

w. 5—³⁰אבאאבא—

l. 7, ws. 6-8—³¹אבאאבא—

l. 8, w. 7—³²אבא—

ws. 8-9—³³אבאאבא—

P. 179, l. 9, w. 1—³⁴אבא instead of ³⁵אבאאבא.

l. 10, w. 2—³⁶ prefixed to ³⁷אבא.

w. 3—³⁸אבא—

w. 7—³⁹אבא. DH fol. 210b ends here.

l. 11, ws. 3-4—⁴⁰אבאאבא—

w. 7—⁴¹ prefixed to ⁴²אבא.

w. 9—⁴³אבא—

l. 12, w. 2—⁴⁴ instead of ⁴⁵אבא.

l. 13, ws. 6-9—⁴⁶אבאאבא—

l. 14, w. 1—⁴⁷ prefixed to it.

w. 2—⁴⁸אבא—

ws. 5, 10—⁴⁹ omitted.

l. 15, w. 6—⁵⁰ omitted.

P. 180, l. 1, w. 2—⁵¹אבא—

w. 7—⁵²אבא—

w. 8—⁵³ added to ⁵⁴אבא.

l. 2, w. 4—⁵⁵ omitted.

ws. 6-7—⁵⁶אבאאבא—

l. 3, ws. 3-4—⁵⁷אבא instead of ⁵⁸אבא.

l. 4, ws. 4-5—⁵⁹אבאאבא—

l. 5, w. 7—⁶⁰ after ⁶¹אבא omitted.

l. 6, w. 1—⁶²אבא—

w. 7—⁶³ added to ⁶⁴אבא.

w. 8—⁶⁵ added to ⁶⁶אבא.

w. 10—⁶⁷אבא—

l. 7, w. 7—⁶⁸אבא—

l. 8, w. 1—⁶⁹אבא with ⁷⁰אבא added to it.

P. 180, l. 8, ws. 7-8—3 added after 3.

l. 9, w. 4—3 added after 3.

l. 11, w. 3—1 prefixed to 6.

ws. 5-7—1 and 3 omitted.

l. 13, w. 1—1 omitted in DH with 3 instead.

w. 2—3.

l. 14, w. 1—3 added to 3.

w. 2—3 added to 3.

P. 181, l. 1, w. 1—1 prefixed to it.

w. 12—1.

l. 2, ws. 4-7—Inserted above the line over the words 3 3 3.

l. 3, ws. 1-2—3 3.

w. 5—3 3.

w. 10—3 instead of 3.

w. 11—3 3.

l. 4, w. 1—1 prefixed to 3.

l. 4, w. 4—3 3.

l. 4, w. 5-1. 5, w. 2—Added above the line and over the left hand margin.

l. 4, ws. 9-10—3 instead of 3.

l. 5, w. 2—3 added to 3, w. 4 in l. 4, after which follows the insertion above the line.

l. 6, w. 4—DH, fol. 311a ends at 1.

w. 7—3 3.

ws. 12-14—3; 1 before and 3 after it being omitted.

P. 181, l. 7, w. 4—3 added after 3.

l. 7, w. 5-1. 8, w. 1—The 8 words from 3 to 3, repeated by mistake in TD, are omitted in DH.

l. 8, ws. 2-7 written with red ink in TD, DH. w. 6—1 before 3 omitted.

l. 9, w. 9—3 after 3 omitted.

l. 10, ws. 7-8—3 3.

l. 11, w. 5—3.

l. 12, w. 2—1 prefixed to 3.

l. 13, ws. 10-12—3 3.

l. 15, w. 3—3 instead of 3. w. 7—3.

P. 182, l. 1, w. 4—3 3.

w. 12—3 omitted.

l. 2, w. 9—3 3.

w. 11—1 prefixed to 3.

l. 2, w. 12-1. 3, w. 0—3 3.

l. 3, w. 1—3 3 prefixed to 3.

w. 9—3 omitted.

l. 4, ws. 8-10—3 3.

l. 5, w. 2—3 3.

l. 5, w. 8—3 omitted.

l. 6, w. 5—3 3.

l. 7, w. 5—3 3.

l. 8, w. 6—3 3.

l. 9, ws. 4-5—3 3.

l. 11, w. 2—3 3.

P. 182, l. 11, w. 4—¹ omitted.

w. 5—² omitted.

w. 7—³ omitted.

l. 12, w. 1—⁴ omitted.

ws. 2-3—⁵ omitted
in DH.

l. 13, w. 8—⁶ omitted.

l. 14, w. 4—⁷ omitted.

w. 5—⁸ omitted.

w. 9—⁹ omitted.

l. 15, w. 6—¹⁰ in the body of the line
with ¹¹ inserted below
it and ¹² written on the
right hand margin.

P. 183, l. 1, w. 5—¹³ omitted.

w. 8—¹⁴ inserted above ¹⁵
in DH.

w. 9—¹⁶ omitted.

l. 3, w. 1—¹⁷ repeated above the line; it is
the last word of DH fol. 2116.

w. 6—¹⁸ omitted.

ws. 10-12—¹⁹ omitted.

l. 5, ws. 4-6—²⁰ omitted.

l. 6, ws. 2-3—²¹ omitted.

ws. 5-6—²² omitted.

w. 8—²³ omitted.

w. 9—²⁴ omitted.

l. 7, w. 1—²⁵ omitted.

w. 7—²⁶ added to ²⁷.

P. 183, l. 8, w. 2—²⁸ after ²⁹ omitted.

w. 7—³⁰ omitted.

l. 9, ws. 4-6—³¹ omitted.

l. 10, w. 1—³² omitted.

w. 6—³³ omitted.

w. 7—it occurs at the end of a line in
DH; on the left hand margin
... ³⁴ is written (the
other letters being cut off)
possibly to clear ³⁵ in the
line which is spoiled.

l. 11, ws. 1-3—³⁶ omitted.

ws. 8-9—³⁷ omitted.

l. 12, w. 10—³⁸ omitted.

l. 13, ws. 1-3—³⁹ omitted.

l. 13, w. 2-1. 14, w. 3—⁴⁰ omitted.

l. 14, w. 7—⁴¹ omitted.

w. 9—⁴² omitted.

l. 15, ws. 1-2—⁴³ omitted.

w. 5—⁴⁴ omitted.

w. 7—⁴⁵ omitted.

P. 184, l. 1, ws. 2, 6—⁴⁶ prefixed to ⁴⁷ and ⁴⁸.

w. 7—⁴⁹ omitted.

l. 2, w. 5—⁵⁰ omitted.

l. 3, w. 1—⁵¹ omitted.

w. 3—⁵² omitted.

ws. 4, 6—⁵³ omitted.

l. 4, w. 5—⁵⁴ prefixed to ⁵⁵.

w. 6—⁵⁶ inserted after it.

P. 184, l. 5, wa. 2-3—~~ወገን ወገን~~

w. 9—~~ወገን~~ with ~~ወ~~ of ~~ወ~~ amended to

ገ and ~~ወ~~ to ~~ወ~~

l. 6, wa. 3-6—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

l. 7, w. 1—~~ወገን~~

w. 3—~~ወገን~~

w. 10—~~ወገን~~

l. 8, wa. 9-11—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

l. 9, w. 2—~~ወገን~~ added to ~~ወገን~~

w. 5—~~ወገን ወገን~~

wa. 9-10—~~ወገን ወገን~~

l. 10, w. 3—~~ወገን~~

w. 7—~~ወገን~~

w. 8—~~ወገን~~ omitted.

w. 12—~~ወገን~~

l. 11, wa. 1-4—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

w. 5—DH fol. 212a ends here.

l. 12, w. 1—~~ወገን~~

w. 4—the ~~ወ~~ after ~~ወገን~~ omitted in DH.

w. 7—~~ወገን~~ written and struck off after ~~ወገን~~ at the end of the 1st line in DH.

w. 9—~~ወገን~~

l. 14, w. 12—~~ወገን~~

l. 15, w. 3—~~ወገን~~ with ~~ወ~~ inserted above

w. 4—omitted.

w. 5—~~ወገን~~

P. 185, l. 2, wa. 4-6—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

w. 8—~~ወገን~~ instead of ~~ወገን~~

l. 3, w. 4—~~ወገን~~ omitted.

w. 7—~~ወገን~~

l. 4, w. 1—~~ወገን~~

w. 3—~~ወገን~~ instead of ~~ወገን~~

l. 5, w. 7—~~ወገን~~

l. 6, wa. 1-4—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

l. 8, w. 2—~~ወገን~~

wa. 5-6—~~ወገን~~ ~~ወገን~~ being inserted above the line between ~~ወገን~~ and ~~ወገን~~

w. 8—~~ወገን~~ added to ~~ወገን~~

w. 9—~~ወገን~~ instead of ~~ወገን~~

l. 9, wa. 6-11—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን~~ with ~~ወ~~ inserted above ~~ወ~~ of ~~ወገን~~

l. 10, w. 11—~~ወገን~~

l. 11, w. 2—~~ወገን~~

w. 7—~~ወገን~~

w. 8—~~ወገን~~ omitted.

l. 12, wa. 6-8—~~ወገን ወገን ወገን~~

l. 13, w. 1—~~ወገን~~

w. 3—~~ወገን~~ prefixed to ~~ወገን~~

w. 8—~~ወገን~~ omitted.

l. 14, w. 5—~~ወገን~~

wa. 7, 9—~~ወገን~~ in both the places.

l. 15, w. 3—~~ወገን~~

w. 10—~~ወገን~~

P. 186, l. 1, wa. 3-5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ and ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 2, wa. 3-8—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 3, w. 3—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

wa. 7, 12—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ and ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 4, w. 12—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 5, wa. 6, 9, ṣṣṣṣṣṣ and ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 6, w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ added to it; DH. fol. 212b ends here.

w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ prefixed to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ; repeated by mistake at the commencement of the new page.

w. 6—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 7, w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ with ṣṣṣṣṣṣ amended to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ as to make it ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 7, wa. 9-10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 8, w. 1—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 7—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ prefixed to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 9, wa. 1-2, 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ and ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 11, w. 12—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 12, w. 1—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

wa. 7-9—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 13, w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ instead of ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 11—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 14, wa. 3-4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

P. 186, l. 14, w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ added to it.

w. 7—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 15, w. 6—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 9—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

P. 187, l. 1, w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ instead of ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 2, w. 10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ before ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 6—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 8—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 4, w. 11—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ prefixed to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 5, w. 2—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 6—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ before ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 6, w. 1—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ prefixed to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

wa. 7, 9—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ before ṣṣṣṣṣṣ and after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 7, wa. 6-7—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ prefixed to ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 8, w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 10—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 10, w. 4—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ with ṣṣṣṣṣṣ added above.

w. 5—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ before ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

w. 9—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

w. 11—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

l. 12, w. 8—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ after ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

l. 13, w. 1—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ before ṣṣṣṣṣṣ omitted.

wa. 2-3—ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣ.

P. 187, l. 13, w. 5— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

wa. 7-9— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ out of which the last ܐܠ is struck off and w. 9 is changed to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ moreover ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ was inserted in the left hand margin against the line out of which ܐܠ is cut off.

l. 14, w. 1—omitted in the body of the line.

w. 5— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

wa. 7, 9— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ after ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ and ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

w. 11— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ with ܐܠ prefixed to it.

l. 15, wa. 2-5— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ with ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above.

P. 188, l. 1, w. 11— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ instead of ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ ; DH fol. 213 ends here.

l. 2, wa. 1-3— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 3, w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 8— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ after ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 11— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ added to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 5, wa. 1-2— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ punctuation and ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 6— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 12— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ before ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

l. 6, w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ prefixed to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 7— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ before ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

w. 11— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above the line over ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

P. 188, l. 8, wa. 2-7—Instead of ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ 16

DH has ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ 16

w. 8— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 9, w. 1— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ added to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 2— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ after ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ is omitted and ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ added to l. after which are inserted the 5 words ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ 16

ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ of l. 8.

wa. 4-10— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ with ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 14— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ prefixed to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 10, w. 3— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ out of which ܐܠ is struck off, with ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 8— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ instead of ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 11, w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 10— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ after ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

w. 12— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ prefixed to ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 13, w. 1— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

wa. 5-6— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ with ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above.

w. 10— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 14, w. 1— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ at the end of a line.

w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ instead of ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

l. 15, w. 3— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 5— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 9— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ omitted.

P. 189, l. 2, w. 1— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

w. 4— ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ with ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ inserted above ܐܠܗܝܡܢܐ .

P. 189, l. 3, ws. 1-6—written with red ink in TD,
DH.

w. 4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

w. 6—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ added after ~~ḥ~~ written
with red ink.

w. 9—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 4, w. 1—~~ḥ~~ added to ~~ḥ~~.

l. 5, ws. 1-2—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ ~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

w. 8—~~ḥ~~ added to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

l. 6, ws. 2-3—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

w. 8—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

l. 7, w. 3—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

l. 8, w. 4—~~ḥ~~ after ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ omitted.

w. 8—~~ḥ~~ added to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

w. 9—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ omitted.

l. 9, w. 6—~~ḥ~~ before ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ omitted.

w. 11—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ added to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ at the end
of the last line of folio 2135.

l. 10, ws. 4, 8—~~ḥ~~ added to ~~ḥ~~ and ~~ḥ~~.

w. 13—~~ḥ~~ before ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ omitted.

l. 11, w. 1—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

w. 2—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

w. 11—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 13, ws. 1, 6, 10—~~ḥ~~, ~~ḥ~~ and ~~ḥ~~ omitted.

w. 2—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥ.

w. 11—~~ḥ~~.

l. 14, w. 1—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

l. 15, ws. 5-6—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥ.

w. 8—~~ḥ~~ prefixed to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

ws. 10-11—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ instead of ~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

P. 190, l. 1, w. 3—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

ws. 8-9—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥ.

ws. 11-12—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 2, ws. 8-9—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 3, ws. 1-2—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

w. 5—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

l. 5, w. 3—~~ḥ~~ after ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ omitted.

w. 9—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

l. 6, ws. 6-7—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

l. 7, w. 4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ.

l. 8, w. 10—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

l. 9, ws. 4-5—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

l. 10, w. 4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

ws. 10-11—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ omitted.

l. 12, ws. 2-4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

ws. 6-7—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

l. 13, ws. 1, 13—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

w. 2—~~ḥ~~ḥḥ added to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

w. 4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

w. 7—~~ḥ~~ prefixed to ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ.

l. 14, w. 3—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥ.

w. 6—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ omitted.

l. 15, ws. 1-2—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

w. 6—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥ inserted after ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

P. 191, l. 1, w. 8—~~ḥ~~ after ~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ omitted.

l. 3, w. 4—~~ḥ~~ omitted.

l. 5, w. 2—DH. fol. 214a ends here.

w. 4—~~ḥ~~ḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥḥ.

P. 101, l. 5, wa. 6-8—^ḥ with ^ḥ inserted
above ^ḥ.

l. 6, w. 2—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

w. 10—^ḥ.

l. 7, w. 4—^ḥ omitted.

l. 8, w. 1—^ḥ.

l. 9, w. 3—^ḥ.

w. 5—^ḥ.

l. 11, w. 3—^ḥ added to ^ḥ.

w. 10—^ḥ before ^ḥ omitted.

l. 12, wa. 6-7—^ḥ instead of ^ḥ.

l. 13, w. 7—^ḥ added to ^ḥ.

w. 9—^ḥ.

l. 14, w. 9—^ḥ after ^ḥ omitted.

l. 15, w. 9—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

. 102, l. 1, w. 4—the ^ḥ of ^ḥ written so as to
resemble ^ḥ.

l. 1, w. 7—l. 3, w. 9—24 words from ^ḥ
upto ^ḥ omitted in
DH. They seem to be repeat-
ed by mistake in TD.

l. 3, w. 10—^ḥ with ^ḥ inserted above ^ḥ
written and struck off before
^ḥ; ^ḥ . . . with the
first letters cut off is also
written on the right hand
margin.

w. 11—^ḥ added to ^ḥ.

l. 4, wa. 4-5—^ḥ.

l. 5, wa. 7, 9—^ḥ omitted.

P. 102, l. 5, wa. 11-14—^ḥ written and struck
off—inserted above ^ḥ ^ḥ.

l. 6, w. 7—^ḥ before ^ḥ omitted.

w. 10—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

l. 7, w. 8—^ḥ inserted above ^ḥ of ^ḥ.

l. 8, w. 1—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

w. 6—^ḥ.

l. 9, w. 1—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

w. 5—^ḥ after ^ḥ omitted.

l. 11, w. 2—^ḥ.

w. 9—^ḥ.

l. 12, wa. 1-2—^ḥ ^ḥ.

l. 13, w. 10—^ḥ before ^ḥ omitted.

w. 11—DH fol. 214 ends here.

l. 14, w. 2—^ḥ prefixed to ^ḥ.

w. 4—^ḥ.

w. 6—^ḥ corrected to ^ḥ,
with ^ḥ written above the
line.

w. 8—^ḥ before ^ḥ omitted.

l. 15, wa. 1-2—^ḥ ^ḥ.

P. 103, l. 1, w. 1—^ḥ.

w. 6—^ḥ omitted.

w. 10—^ḥ.

l. 2, w. 2—^ḥ before ^ḥ omitted.

w. 11—^ḥ.

l. 3, wa. 6-7—^ḥ ^ḥ.

l. 4 —the words added above l. 4 go
after l. 4, w. 2 ^ḥ.

P. 194, l. 10, ws. 8-12—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000—

l. 11, ws. 1-2—¹⁰111000 with ¹⁰111000 inserted above.

w. 6—¹⁰111000.

l. 12, ws. 3-4—¹⁰111000 1 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

w. 7—1 prefixed to ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

w. 8—¹⁰111000.

l. 13, ws. 2-3—¹⁰111000, 1 being omitted.

ws. 5-6—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

l. 14, ws. 8, 12—1 before ¹⁰111000 and ¹⁰⁰⁰111000 omitted.

l. 15, ws. 1, 3—1 prefixed to ¹⁰⁰⁰111000 and ¹⁰111000.

P. 195, l. 1, w. 1—¹⁰111000 prefixed to ¹⁰111000.

ws. 2-3—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

ws. 6, 8—1 before ¹⁰111000 and ¹⁰⁰⁰111000 omitted.

ws. 9-10—¹⁰111000 1 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

w. 12—¹⁰111000 omitted.

l. 2, w. 2—¹⁰111000.

l. 3, ws. 7-8—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

w. 10—¹⁰111000.

l. 7, w. 2—¹⁰111000.

w. 9—¹⁰111000.

l. 8, w. 4—¹⁰111000.

w. 10—1 omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—¹⁰111000.

w. 3—¹⁰111000.

w. 10—¹⁰111000.

P. 195, l. 10, w. 2—¹⁰111000.

w. 9—¹⁰111000 instead of ¹⁰111000.

w. 12—¹⁰111000.

l. 12, w. 5—DH fol. 215b ends here; the word ¹⁰111000 is repeated on the new page.

w. 9—¹⁰111000.

l. 13, ws. 4, 11—¹⁰111000 and 1 before ¹⁰⁰⁰111000 omitted.

l. 14, w. 1—¹⁰111000.

l. 14, w. 6-7—¹⁰111000.

w. 9—1 prefixed to ¹⁰111000.

w. 10—¹⁰111000.

l. 15, w. 1—1 added to ¹⁰111000.

w. 2—1 added to ¹⁰111000.

w. 5—¹⁰111000 amended to ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

P. 196, l. 1, w. 2—1 prefixed to ¹⁰111000.

l. 2, ws. 3-4—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

ws. 6-7—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

l. 3, w. 3—1 omitted.

ws. 4-6—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

l. 4, w. 1—¹⁰111000.

ws. 3-4—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

l. 5, ws. 2-4, 8—¹⁰111000, ¹⁰⁰⁰111000 omitted.

l. 5, w. 9—l. 6, w. 1—written with red ink in TD₂, DH.

l. 5, w. 10—1 added to ¹⁰111000.

l. 6, ws. 2-4—¹⁰111000 ¹⁰⁰⁰111000.

w. 7—¹⁰111000.

P. 196, l. 6, w. 9—‡ omitted.

w. 10—‡ omitted.

l. 7, w. 4—‡ omitted.

w. 9.—‡ omitted; the final ‡ being omitted.

l. 8, w. 3—the ‡ before ‡ omitted.

ws. 5-6—‡ omitted.

l. 9, ws. 1-2—‡ omitted.

w. 4—‡ omitted.

l. 10, w. 1—‡ omitted.

w. 5—‡ omitted.

w. 7—‡ omitted.

l. 11, w. 3—‡ omitted; the final ‡ being omitted.

w. 5—‡ omitted.

l. 12, ws. 1-4—‡ omitted.

w. 9—‡ omitted.

l. 13, w. 3—‡ inserted above the line over

‡.

w. 7—‡ omitted.

w. 11—‡ omitted.

l. 14, w. 9—‡ prefixed to ‡.

ws. 10-11—‡ omitted.

l. 15, w. 7—‡ omitted.

P. 197, l. 1, w. 5—‡ after ‡ omitted.

l. 2, w. 3—‡ omitted.

w. 11—‡ after ‡ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1—‡ inserted above the line between ‡ and ‡.

P. 197, l. 4, w. 5—‡; the ‡ after it being omitted.

w. 8—‡ omitted.

w. 9—‡ omitted.

l. 5, w. 1—‡ inserted above the line over ‡.

w. 9—‡ prefixed to ‡.

w. 11—DH. fol. 216a ends here; the word ‡ is repeated by mistake on the new page.

l. 6, w. 9—‡ omitted.

l. 7, w. 1—‡ with ‡ inserted after it above the line.

ws. 4-12—nine words ‡ ‡ omitted, instead of them ‡ inserted above the line over the words—‡ ‡.

l. 8, ws. 3-5—‡ omitted.

w. 9—‡ omitted.

l. 9, w. 4—‡ omitted.

w. 8—‡ added above the line over ‡.

w. 9—‡ omitted.

l. 10, w. 8—‡ instead of ‡.

l. 11, w. 5—‡ omitted.

w. 7—‡ after ‡ omitted.

l. 12, ws. 1-3—‡ omitted.

ws. 5-6—‡; the ‡ after ‡ being omitted.

l. 12, w. 9—l. 13, w. 0—‡ omitted.

l. 13, ws. 4-5—‡ omitted.

P. 197, l. 14, w. 3—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 4—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 15, w. 10—~~א~~ omitted.

P. 198, l. 1, ws. 1-4—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 10—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 3, w. 6—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 12—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 5, w. 2—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 6—~~א~~ added to ~~א~~.

w. 8—~~א~~ added to ~~א~~.

l. 6, wa. 6, 8—~~א~~ and ~~א~~ omitted.

w. 7—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 7, w. 1—~~א~~ added to ~~א~~.

w. 6—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 8, w. 3—~~א~~ with ~~א~~ written and struck off before it.

l. 8, w. 9—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 9, ws. 5-6—~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 9-10—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 10, w. 3—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 7—~~א~~ added to ~~א~~.

l. 11, w. 1—~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 6-8—~~א~~ omitted, ~~א~~ added.

l. 13, w. 1—~~א~~ prefixed to ~~א~~.

w. 2—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 6—~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 9-10—~~א~~ omitted.

P. 198, l. 14, w. 1—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 3—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 4—~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 6-7—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 15, w. 2—DH fol. 2166 ends here.

ws. 7-10—~~א~~ omitted.

P. 199, l. 1, w. 2—~~א~~ repeated by mistake at the commencement of the new line.

w. 8—~~א~~ inserted over ~~א~~.

w. 9—~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 10-11—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 2—~~א~~ after ~~א~~ omitted.

ws. 3-7—~~א~~ written with red ink in TD₂; in DH the words are first written with black ink and then red ink is laid over the letters, the same words being re-written with red ink on the top margin of the page.

w. 3—~~א~~ instead of ~~א~~.

w. 6—~~א~~ added to ~~א~~.

l. 4, w. 1—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 3—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 5—~~א~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 5, w. 10—~~א~~ after ~~א~~ omitted.

l. 6, w. 11—~~א~~ omitted.

l. 7, w. 12—~~א~~ prefixed to ~~א~~ in the middle of the line.

l. 8, w. 2—~~א~~ omitted.

P. 198, l. 8, w. 4—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ omitted; but 𐭠𐭣 inserted
above 𐭠 of 𐭠𐭣 instead.

w. 11—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 9, w. 1—~~𐭠~~ omitted.

w. 11—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 10, ws. 10, 13—~~𐭠~~ before 𐭠𐭣 and 𐭠𐭣
omitted.

l. 11, w. 3—~~𐭠~~.

w. 6—~~𐭠~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 12, w. 2—~~𐭠~~ prefixed to 𐭠𐭣.

w. 6—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 13, w. 4—~~𐭠~~ prefixed to 𐭠𐭣.

w. 9—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 14, w. 7—~~𐭠~~.

l. 15, w. 2—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 7—~~𐭠~~ prefixed to 𐭠𐭣.

P. 200, l. 1, w. 4—~~𐭠~~ added to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

w. 5—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 7—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 2, w. 1—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 4—~~𐭠~~.

ws. 7-8—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 3, w. 3—~~𐭠~~ prefixed to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

w. 7—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 8—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 4, w. 3—~~𐭠~~.

P. 200, l. 4, w. 9—8 words 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 inserted

after 𐭠𐭣.

ws. 10-11—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 4, w. 14—l. 6, w. 3—14 words from 𐭠𐭣
to 𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣 omitted.

l. 6, w. 5—~~𐭠~~.

w. 8—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 7, w. 3—~~𐭠~~ added to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

w. 4—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 8—DH fol. 217a ends here.

l. 8, w. 10—~~𐭠~~ added to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

ws. 14-15—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ omitted.

l. 9, ws. 1-5—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ inserted above
the line over the words
𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣; w. 5 𐭠𐭣
is repeated in the body of
the line.

l. 10, w. 11—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ instead of 𐭠𐭣.

l. 11, w. 1—~~𐭠𐭣~~ instead of 𐭠𐭣.

w. 10—~~𐭠𐭣~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 1—~~𐭠~~ prefixed to 𐭠𐭣.

w. 3—~~𐭠~~ after 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 omitted.

ws. 11-12—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

l. 13, w. 1—~~𐭠~~ before 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 omitted.

l. 14, w. 9—~~𐭠~~ after 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 omitted.

l. 15, w. 6—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~.

w. 8—~~𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥~~ omitted.

P. 204, l. 11, w. 2—၂၀.

l. 12, w. 9— before ၁၄ omitted.

l. 15, w. 3—၂၃၅၁၃.

P. 205, l. 1, w. 3—၃၃၃၃.

l. 2, w. 2— prefixed to ၃၃၃၃.

l. 2, w. 3—l. 3, w. 1—written with red ink
in TD, and DH.

l. 2, w. 6—၁၃.

w. 10— prefixed to ၂၃

l. 3, w. 1—၁၃; the punctuation after it is
omitted in DH.

l. 3, w. 4—DH fol. 218 ends here.

l. 4, w. 1—၆၂.

w. 2— omitted.

w. 7— added to ၂.

l. 5, w. 9— prefixed to ၂၃၃၃၃.

l. 6, ws. 5-7—၃၃၃၃၃၃ ၆ ၃၃၃၃၃.

l. 7, w. 8— prefixed to ၂၃.

w. 13— added to ၃၃.

l. 8, w. 5—၁၃.

l. 9, w. 3—၁၃.

l. 10, w. 5—၁၃.

w. 10— after ၂၃ omitted.

l. 12, w. 1—၃၃၃၃.

ws. 3-5—၁၃၃၃၃ ၁၃၃၃၃.

l. 14, w. 1— prefixed to ၁၃၃၃.

w. 3—၁၃.

l. 15, w. 1—၁၃.

P. 206, l. 2, w. 2— added to ၃၃၃.

w. 6—၁၃၃၃.

l. 5, w. 6—၁၃.

l. 6, w. 2—၁၃၃.

l. 7, w. 7—၁၃၃ with ၆ inserted above the
line.

l. 10, w. 1—၂၃.

w. 3—၁၃ with the final ၁ amended

to ၁၃.

l. 12, w. 10—၁၃၃၃၃၃.

l. 13, w. 2— omitted.

w. 8—DH fol. 219 ends here.

w. 10— added to ၁၃၃၃.

l. 14, w. 2—၁၃၃၃၃.

P. 207, l. 1, w. 1— prefixed to ၁၃.

w. 7— prefixed to ၁၃.

l. 4, w. 1—၁၃၃ amended to ၁၃၃၃.

l. 5, w. 1—၂၃.

w. 3—၁၃၃၃၃.

w. 4— after ၁၃ omitted.

l. 7, w. 7—၁၃၃၃၃.

l. 8, w. 8—၁၃၃.

l. 9, w. 1—၁၃.

w. 3—၁၃၃.

l. 10, ws. 1-2—၁၃၃၃ ၁၃၃၃.

w. 9—၁၃.

l. 11, w. 1—၁၃.

w. 6—၁၃၃၃၃.

P. 207, l. 15, w. 4—~~4~~.

P. 208, l. 1, w. 4—~~4~~.

l. 4, w. 4—~~4~~; ~~4~~ is written and struck off after it.

l. 5, wa. 8-9—~~8-9~~.

l. 6, wa. 1, 10—~~1, 10~~.

w. 11—~~11~~.

l. 7, wa. 1-2—~~1-2~~; DH. fol. 219b ends here.

w. 3—~~3~~.

wa. 4-11—~~4-11~~ . . . ~~4-11~~
inserted above the line over
the words ~~4-11~~ upto
~~4-11~~ occupying l. 8 in TD.

wa. 6-7—~~6-7~~.

l. 8, wa. 3-4—~~3-4~~.

w. 6—~~6~~.

l. 11, w. 3—~~3~~.

w. 8—~~8~~ omitted and ~~8~~ inserted
above the line over ~~8~~ instead.

l. 12, w. 5—~~5~~.

l. 13, w. 8—~~8~~.

P. 209, l. 3, w. 2—~~2~~.

w. 7—~~7~~.

l. 5, wa. 6-7—~~6-7~~.

l. 6, w. 4—~~4~~ after ~~4~~ omitted.

l. 7, w. 3—~~3~~.

w. 13—~~13~~ before ~~13~~ omitted.

l. 9, w. 7—~~7~~.

P. 209, l. 12, w. 1—~~1~~ omitted.

l. 13, w. 5—~~5~~.

l. 14, wa. 9, 11—~~9, 11~~ after ~~9, 11~~ and ~~9, 11~~ before
no omitted.

l. 15, w. 3—~~3~~ added to ~~3~~.

w. 5—~~5~~ after ~~5~~.

P. 210, l. 1, w. 13—DH. fol. 220a ends here.

l. 4, w. 8—~~8~~.

l. 5, wa. 9-11—~~9-11~~.

l. 6, w. 3—~~3~~.

l. 7, w. 2—~~2~~.

l. 8, w. 7—~~7~~ inserted above the line over ~~7~~.

l. 9, w. 1—~~1~~.

w. 7—~~7~~.

l. 11, w. 2—~~2~~.

w. 3—~~3~~ written above ~~3~~ in TD, is
not in DH.

w. 11—~~11~~.

l. 12, wa. 3-6—~~3-6~~.

l. 13, w. 8—~~8~~.

w. 12—~~12~~.

l. 14, w. 8—~~8~~.

l. 15, w. 8—~~8~~ after ~~8~~ omitted.

P. 211, l. 1, w. 10—~~10~~ inserted above the line
over ~~10~~.

l. 3, w. 5—l. 4, w. 2—Written with red ink
in TD, and DH. The blank
after w. 2 is also left in DH.

l. 5, wa. 3-4—~~3-4~~.

P. 211, l. 5, w. 10—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 8, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 11—DH. fol. 220a ends here.

l. 9, w. 1—~~၃~~

l. 11, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 12, ws. 3-5—~~၁၃၃၃~~ ~~၃၃~~

w. 9—~~၁၃၃၃~~ ~~၃၃~~

l. 13, w. 6—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 14, w. 4—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 15, w. 10—~~၁၃၃၃~~

P. 212, l. 1, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 7—~~၁၃၃၃~~ ~~၃၃~~

w. 10—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 3, w. 1—~~၁၃၃၃~~ instead of ~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 4—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 4, w. 7—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 5, w. 6—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 9—~~၁~~ after ~~၁၃၃၃~~ omitted.

w. 11—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 6, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 11—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 7, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 10—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 11, w. 11—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 12, w. 11—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 14, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~ ~~၃၃~~

w. 4—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 15, w. 1—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

P. 212, l. 15, w. 4—~~၁၃၃၃~~

P. 213, l. 1, w. 3—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 5—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 6—DH fol. 221a ends here.

w. 7—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 2, w. 5—~~၁၃၃၃~~ written and struck off
before ~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 4, w. 1—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 5, w. 6—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 8, w. 5—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 8, w. 10—l. 9, w. 1—~~၁၃၃၃~~ inserted
above ~~၁၃၃၃~~ at the end of
the line.

l. 9, w. 2—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 10, w. 8—~~၁~~ omitted.

l. 11, w. 7—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 9—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 12, w. 5—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 13, w. 8—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 14, ws. 1-2—~~၁၃၃၃~~ ~~၃၃~~

ws. 6, 9—~~၁~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 15, w. 2—~~၁~~ after ~~၁~~ omitted.

w. 5—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 6—~~၁၃၃၃~~

w. 9—~~၁၃၃၃~~

P. 214, l. 3, w. 6—~~၁~~ prefixed to ~~၁၃၃၃~~

l. 5, w. 5—~~၁၃၃၃~~

P. 214, l. 5, w. 7— ⲁ after ⲛ omitted.

w. 10— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 6, ws. 10-11— ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 7, ws. 1, 6— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 2— ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 8, w. 6— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 9, w. 1— ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 11—DH. fol. 221b ends at ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 10, w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 12, w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 6— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 13, w. 1— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 3— ⲛ before ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 14, w. 8— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 15, ws. 2-3— $\text{ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ}$.

w. 9— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

P. 215, l. 1, w. 2— ⲛⲓⲛ .

ws. 5, 8— ⲛ before ⲛⲓⲛ and ⲁ before ⲛⲓⲛ omitted.

w. 12— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 2, w. 5— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 3, w. 3— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 4, w. 2— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

ws. 6-7— ⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 6, w. 1— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

ws. 3-4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 7, w. 1— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 2— ⲛⲓⲛ .

P. 215, l. 8, w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 9, w. 6— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 8— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 11, w. 1— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 6— ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 12, w. 2— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 4— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 6— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 13, w. 7— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 9— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 14, w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 6— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

P. 216, l. 2, w. 3— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 3, w. 4—DH fol. 222a ends here.

l. 4, w. 3— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ with ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ inserted above it as an amendment.

w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 5, w. 1— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 6, w. 3— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 8— ⲛ with ⲁ prefixed to it.

l. 7, w. 4— ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 6— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

l. 8, w. 7— ⲁ omitted.

w. 8— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 11— ⲛ instead of ⲁ .

l. 9, w. 5— ⲛ prefixed to ⲛⲓⲛ .

w. 7— ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ .

P. 216, L. 10, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་} with three dots laid over the first ལྟ་ rubbed off.

ws. 2, 4—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 11, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 14, w. 5—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 15, w. 4—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

P. 217, L. 1, w. 5—^{ལྟ་བུ་} after ལྟ་བུ་ omitted.

l. 3, w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 4, w. 7—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 7, w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 12—^{ལྟ་བུ་} omitted.

l. 8, ws. 1-2—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 10, w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་} added to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 11, w. 5—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 8—DH. fol. 222a ends here.

l. 13, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 15, w. 5—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 9—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

P. 218, L. 2, w. 10—^{ལྟ་བུ་} with ལྟ་ inserted above
ལྟ་ as an emendation.

l. 4, w. 7—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 10—^{ལྟ་བུ་} added to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 5, w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་} with ལྟ་བུ་ inserted above
as an emendation.

l. 6, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་} omitted.

l. 7, w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་} corrected to ལྟ་བུ་.

P. 218, L. 8, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 9, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

ws. 3-4—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 11, w. 10—^{ལྟ་བུ་} omitted.

l. 12, w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 13, w. 5—^{ལྟ་བུ་} after ལྟ་བུ་ omitted.

ws. 6-7—^{ལྟ་བུ་} occur at the end of
the line in DH, and on the
left hand margin . . . ལྟ་
is written; ལྟ་ are cut off.

l. 14, ws. 5-6—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 15, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

w. 4—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 6—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

P. 219, L. 1, w. 3—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 13—^{ལྟ་བུ་} prefixed to ལྟ་བུ་.

l. 2, w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 13—^{ལྟ་བུ་} added to ལྟ་བུ་ at the end
of a line.

l. 3, w. 2—^{ལྟ་བུ་} with ལྟ་བུ་ inserted above
as an emendation.

l. 5, w. 2—DH. fol. 223a ends here.

l. 6, w. 4—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 7—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 8, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

w. 8—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

l. 9, w. 1—^{ལྟ་བུ་}.

P. 219, l. 9, w. 4—Six words 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙

P. 221, l. 11, w. 5— prefixed to ᲗᲗ .

w. 7— ᲗᲗ .

w. 9— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ with Თ inserted above
the line before ᲗᲗ .

l. 13, w. 9— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 15, w. 3— Თ omitted.

w. 7— Თ added to ᲗᲗ .

P. 222, l. 5, w. 1— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 7, w. 3— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 7— Თ before ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

l. 8, w. 1— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 4— Თ after ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

w. 5— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 12— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 9, w. 5— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 12— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 10, w. 2—DH fol. 224 ends here.

w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 11, wa. 4-7— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ with ᲗᲗᲗᲗ inserted
over ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 13, w. 5— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 13, w. 9— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 14, w. 5— Თ added to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 8— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ added to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ out of
which Თ is struck off.

l. 16, w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

P. 223, l. 2, wa. 6-7— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

P. 223, l. 2, w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 3, w. 3— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 7— Თ before ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

w. 14— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1—omitted.

wa. 3-4— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 7— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 5, w. 1— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 4— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ with Თ inserted above ᲗᲗᲗᲗ
as an amendment. It is the
first word of a line in DH
and on the right hand margin
is inserted ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ... as another
emendation.

l. 5, w. 6— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 7, w. 1— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

wa. 10-12— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 8, w. 3— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

w. 6— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 10, w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ occurs at the end of a line
in DH.

l. 11, w. 3— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

l. 12, w. 5— prefixed to ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

wa. 4-7— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ inserted
above ᲗᲗᲗᲗ at the
commencement of a line.

l. 13, w. 5— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ occurs at the end of a line.

w. 6— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

w. 8— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ instead of ᲗᲗᲗᲗ .

l. 14, w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ before ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

l. 15, w. 10— ᲗᲗᲗᲗ after ᲗᲗᲗᲗ omitted.

P. 224, l. 2, w. 4—^د inserted above the line over

w. 11—^د inserted above the line over

—^د—

l. 3, w. 5—^د—

l. 4, w. 5—^د—

l. 5, w. 3—^د omitted.

w. 10—^د—

w. 13—^د—

l. 6, w. 2—^د—

l. 7, wa. 6-7—^د corrected to ^د.

w. 8—^د after ^د omitted.

w. 9—^د inserted above the line

over —^د—

l. 8, wa. 9-11—^د & ^د omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—^د—

l. 10, w. 1—^د with ^د inserted above

as an emendation.

l. 10, w. 8—^د before ^د omitted.

w. 11—^د instead of ^د.

l. 11, w. 1—^د omitted.

w. 4—^د inserted after ^د.

w. 7—^د prefixed to ^د.

l. 12, w. 5—^د before ^د omitted.

l. 13, w. 4—^د before ^د omitted.

w. 6—^د omitted.

w. 8—^د added above ^د.

w. 9—^د—

l. 14, w. 10—^د—

P. 224, l. 15, wa. 1-2—^د instead of ^د.

w. 3—^د added to ^د.

w. 7—^د—

l. 16, w. 2—^د before ^د omitted.

P. 225, l. 2, w. 10—^د—

l. 3, wa. 1, 6—^د and ^د omitted.

w. 2—^د—

w. 11—^د—

l. 6, w. 6—^د—

l. 7, w. 1—^د prefixed to ^د.

w. 4—^د—

w. 6—^د prefixed to ^د.

w. 11—^د—

l. 8, w. 4—^د before ^د omitted.

w. 10—^د—

l. 10, w. 9—DH fol. 225a ends here.

l. 12, w. 6—^د before ^د omitted.

l. 14, w. 9—^د—

l. 16, w. 10—final ^د omitted.

P. 226, l. 1, w. 2—^د—

w. 9—^د—

l. 3, w. 1—^د added to ^د.

wa. 3-5—^د—

l. 5, w. 1—^د—

l. 6, w. 2—^د—

l. 8, w. 1—^د prefixed to ^د.

w. 2—^د omitted.

w. 7—^د—

P. 229, l. 9, w. 8—¹⁴אמ omitted.

l. 10, w. 4—¹³אמאמא

l. 11, w. 5—¹⁴אמאמאמא

l. 12, w. 4—¹⁴אמאמא

w. 8—¹⁴אמ

l. 13, w. 4—¹⁴ before אמא omitted.

ws. 11-13—¹⁴אמאמאמא out of which
א is struck off.

l. 14, w. 1—¹⁴אמא

l. 15, ws. 3-4—¹⁴אמאמא אמא

w. 7—¹⁴אמאמא

P. 230, l. 1, ws. 7-9—¹⁴אמאמאמא

l. 2, w. 7—¹⁴אמאמא inserted above the line
over—¹⁴אמא

l. 3, w. 8—¹⁴אמא

l. 4, ws. 1-11—The 11 words are inserted
above the line with the last
two words extending to the
left hand margin.

ws. 3, 7—¹⁴אמא

l. 5, w. 3—¹⁴ added to אמא

w. 5—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 6, w. 8—¹⁴אמאמא; DH fol. 226b ends here.

l. 7, ws. 3-4—¹⁴אמאמאמא

w. 6—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 8, w. 3—¹⁴אמאמא

w. 5—¹⁴אמאמאמא

w. 7—¹⁴אמא

l. 9, ws. 1-2—¹⁴אמא אמא

P. 230, l. 10, w. 5—¹⁴ prefixed to אמא

l. 12, w. 5—¹⁴אמא

ws. 9, 11—¹⁴ omitted.

l. 13, w. 2—¹⁴ before אמא omitted.

w. 5—¹⁴אמא

ws. 10-11—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 14, w. 3—¹⁴אמא

l. 15, w. 1—¹⁴אמא

P. 231, l. 1, w. 1—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 4, w. 4—¹⁴ before אמא omitted.

w. 6—¹⁴אמא

ws. 8-9—¹⁴אמא אמא

l. 5, w. 1—¹⁴ omitted.

ws. 3-5—¹⁴אמאמא אמאמאמא

w. 8—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 7, w. 8—¹⁴אמאמא out of which א is struck
off and אמא is inserted above
אמא as an emendation.

l. 8, w. 8—¹⁴ instead of א before אמא

l. 9, w. 1—There is no blank left after א
in DH.

l. 10, w. 1—¹⁴אמאמא

l. 11, w. 1—¹⁴אמא

w. 2—¹⁴אמא

w. 4—¹⁴אמאמא

ws. 6-7—¹⁴אמאמא with א inserted above א
as an emendation.

l. 11, w. 8-l. 12, w. 0—¹⁴אמאמא

P. 231, l. 12, w. 2—~~...~~

ws. 3-4—~~...~~; the ~~...~~ after ~~...~~ being omitted.

ws. 7-8—~~...~~; the full point after ~~...~~ being omitted.

l. 13, w. 8—~~...~~ after ~~...~~ omitted.

ws. 9-10—~~...~~.

l. 14, w. 1—~~...~~; ~~...~~ being omitted.

l. 15, w. 7—~~...~~.

P. 232, l. 1, w. 1—DH fol. 227a ends here.

ws. 3-4—~~...~~.

w. 9—~~...~~ before ~~...~~ omitted.

l. 2, w. 4—~~...~~.

ws. 6-8—~~...~~.

l. 3, w. 8—~~...~~ before ~~...~~ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1—~~...~~.

w. 5—~~...~~ before ~~...~~ omitted.

w. 9—~~...~~.

l. 5, w. 3—~~...~~; the ~~...~~ after ~~...~~ being omitted.

w. 6—~~...~~ added to ~~...~~.

w. 7—~~...~~.

l. 7, ws. 2, 7—~~...~~ before ~~...~~ and ~~...~~ omitted.

w. 10—~~...~~.

l. 8, w. 1—~~...~~.

w. 4—~~...~~.

ws. 5-6—~~...~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~...~~ ~~...~~ added to ~~...~~.

P. 232, l. 10, w. 8—~~...~~ after ~~...~~ omitted.

l. 11, ws. 9-10—~~...~~; ~~...~~ being at the commencement of a line.

l. 14, w. 7—~~...~~ after ~~...~~ omitted.

w. 8—~~...~~.

P. 233, l. 1, w. 5—~~...~~; the insertion ~~...~~ above the line in TD₂ is omitted in DH.

l. 2, w. 8—~~...~~.

l. 3, w. 4—~~...~~ after ~~...~~ omitted in DH.

l. 6, w. 11—~~...~~ omitted.

l. 7, ws. 2-3—~~...~~.

l. 8, w. 6—DH fol. 227b ends here.

w. 9—~~...~~ omitted.

l. 9, w. 1—~~...~~.

ws. 7-8—~~...~~.

l. 10, w. 5—~~...~~.

l. 11, w. 12—~~...~~ prefixed to ~~...~~.

w. 13—~~...~~ after ~~...~~ omitted.

l. 12, w. 4—~~...~~ omitted with ~~...~~ instead.

l. 13, w. 3—~~...~~ with ~~...~~ inserted above the line after ~~...~~.

w. 6—~~...~~.

l. 14, ws. 4-8—~~...~~ ~~...~~ inserted above the line over the words ~~...~~.

l. 15, w. 2—~~...~~.

P. 234, l. 1, w. 3—~~...~~.

l. 2, ws. 2-3—~~...~~.

P. 234, l. 4, w. 6-1. 5, w. 1-8 words from 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣—

upto 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 inserted above the
line over 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣...𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 8, w. 3—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

ws. 5-8—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 11, ws. 1-2—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 with 𐎠 inserted
above the line after 𐎠.

l. 13, w. 1—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 7—𐎠 written and struck off after
𐎠𐎡.

l. 14, w. 4—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 15, w. 2—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 4—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

P. 235, l. 1, ws. 9-10— before 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 omitted; DH
fol. 228a ends here.

w. 12—𐎠 omitted.

l. 2, w. 1—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 5—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 3, ws. 5-8—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 4, w. 0—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣; the 𐎠 after 𐎠𐎡, which
commences a new line is
omitted.

ws. 5-6—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 5, w. 1—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 5—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 7—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 7, ws. 8-9—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 8, ws. 5, 7—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 10, w. 11—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

P. 235, l. 11, w. 3—𐎠 prefixed to 𐎠𐎡.

w. 10—𐎠 instead of 𐎠 after 𐎠𐎡.

l. 13, ws. 3-4—𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 8—𐎠 prefixed to 𐎠𐎡.

l. 14, w. 1—𐎠 prefixed to 𐎠𐎡.

w. 6—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 7—𐎠 omitted.

l. 15, w. 6—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 added to 𐎠.

P. 236, l. 2, w. 3—𐎠 prefixed to 𐎠𐎡.

w. 10—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 3, w. 8—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 10—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 4, w. 5—𐎠 before 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 omitted.

w. 8—𐎠 after 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 omitted.

l. 5, ws. 6-9—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 7, ws. 1-2—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 9, w. 3—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 7—𐎠𐎡 instead of 𐎠𐎡.

w. 11—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 10, w. 4—DH fol. 228b ends here.

l. 11, ws. 1, 10—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

w. 8—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 14, w. 1—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 15, w. 4—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

ws. 6-7—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

P. 237, l. 1, w. 2—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 2, w. 1—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

l. 3, w. 4—𐎠 omitted.

P. 239, l. 5, w. 5— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

ws. 8-10— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 6, w. 2— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$; in which ḥ seems to be corrected from an original ḥ .

w. 5— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 7— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 7, w. 5— ḥ .

w. 7— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 8, w. 2— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 9, w. 2— ḥ .

w. 3—In DH the blank left after ḥ is about $\frac{1}{2}$.

ws. 6-7— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 8—DH fol. 229b ends here.

l. 10, w. 1— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 3— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 8— ḥ after ḥ omitted.

l. 11, w. 2— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 9— ḥ after ḥ omitted.

w. 10— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 12, w. 1— ḥ prefixed to ḥ .

P. 239, l. 12, w. 4— ḥ .

w. 9— ḥ before ḥ omitted.

l. 13, w. 6— ḥ .

l. 14, w. 9— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 15, ws. 2, 9— ḥ before $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ and $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ omitted.

P. 240, l. 1, w. 2— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 4— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 2, w. 8— ḥ before ḥ omitted.

l. 4, w. 1— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

ws. 3-4— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ out of $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ omitted.

l. 5, w. 3— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

l. 7, w. 9— ḥ after ḥ omitted.

w. 14—final ḥ omitted.

l. 8, w. 1— $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

w. 6—There is no blank left after it in DH. Here follows in DH a colophon of twenty lines and two words on fol. 239a, l. 13—fol. 239b, l. 12, for which see Introduction.

1. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

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॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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وَقَدْ قَرَأْتُ الْقُرْآنَ فِي حُسْنٍ وَأَسْمَىٰ

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فَلَوْ سَافَرْتُ إِلَى سَقِيَّةٍ فِي لَيْلَةِ سَبْعَةِ ١١٠ ق ١١١ ١١٢ ١١٣ ١١٤ ١١٥ ١١٦ ١١٧ ١١٨ ١١٩ ١٢٠

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سید محمد علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام

کلمہ اولیٰ فی کلاس ووی وی بی اے اوسوسکی۔ اکا سوس قتی

10 سَمَاءُ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالْمَرْجِ وَالْهَيْدَرِ وَالْقَوْسِ وَالْكَوْكَبِ وَالنَّجْمِ وَالشَّمْسِ وَالْقَمَرِ وَالْكَوْنِ وَالْخَلْقِ وَالْحَيَاةِ وَالْمَوْتِ وَالْآخِرَةِ وَالْأُولَى وَالْغَيْبِ وَالظُّهُورِ وَالْبَاطِنِ وَالظَّاهِرِ وَالْغَائِبِ وَالْصَّادِقِ وَالْكَاذِبِ وَالْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ وَالْعَالِمِ وَالْمَعْلُومِ وَالْمَغْفُوبِ وَالْمَغْفُورِ وَالْمُعَذَّبِ وَالْمُنَجَّى وَالْمُسْتَغْنَى وَالْمُسْتَغْنَى وَالْمُسْتَغْنَى وَالْمُسْتَغْنَى

کلاس اول و دوم و سوم و چهارم و پنجم و ششم و هفتم و هشتم و نهم و دهم و یازدهم و دوازدهم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

شماره اول - ۲۵ - ویرایش اول - ۱۳۰۵ - قلم و خط اول

۱۵۰ || س و و و و || و و و و || ا ج ب د ه || س ن و ا ب || س و و و و ||

15 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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۵ اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلٰى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلٰى اٰلِهِٖ وَآلِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ

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سید محمد علی و فرزند سید ابوالحسن و سید احمد و سید اسماعیل و سید

وَمَا كُنَّا بِمُؤْمِنِينَ بِهِ قَبْلَ الْوَعْدِ إِنَّهُمْ جَنَّاتُ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

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نہ سو اے دینا کہ ہے اس کے سوا اور کوئی نہیں

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॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

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سید الشہداء علیہ السلام و آلہ و صحبہ

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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و اما در این باب که در این کتاب است و در این باب که در این کتاب است

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॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

10 سورة البقرة

[illegible]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ملکوت الہیہ فیکمہ سے سبک دے کر ہم کو یہودیوں کے ساتھ ملا کر دو

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15 - ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय - ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय - ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

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۱۵۰ و ۱۶۰ و ۱۷۰ و ۱۸۰ و ۱۹۰ و ۲۰۰ و ۲۱۰ و ۲۲۰ و ۲۳۰ و ۲۴۰ و ۲۵۰ و ۲۶۰ و ۲۷۰ و ۲۸۰ و ۲۹۰ و ۳۰۰

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۱۱۱ و سید و زید و حسن و احمد و محمد و علی و ابی و سعید و قاسم و یحیی

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

سید محمد علی صاحبزادہ مولانا غلام حسن صاحب

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

10 سید محمد رفیع بن علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام

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۴۹۱ سم ۴۹۲ سم ۴۹۳ سم ۴۹۴ سم ۴۹۵ سم ۴۹۶ سم ۴۹۷ سم ۴۹۸ سم ۴۹۹ سم ۵۰۰ سم

॥ लोचन ॥ स्रग्भक्ति ॥ २५ ॥ चित्त ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

اسماء و اسماء بنو النضير - بني النضير و بني النضير و بني النضير

سنة ١١٠٠ هـ في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١١٠٠ هـ في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١١٠٠ هـ

سید الفیض بن محمد بن علی بن ابی طالب

5 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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اسماء بنت ابی بکر بن عبد المطلب

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ॥ ਅੰਗ ੧ ॥

[illegible][illegible]

الله اعلم بالصواب

سید محمد علی صاحبزادہ قزوینی

۱۱۰ و ۱۱۱ و ۱۱۲ و ۱۱۳ و ۱۱۴ و ۱۱۵ و ۱۱۶ و ۱۱۷ و ۱۱۸ و ۱۱۹ و ۱۲۰

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

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۱۹۳
السلامة في سعة اليد تروى في مسند أبي داود ورواه مسلم ورواه أحمد ورواه ابن ماجه

[illegible]

سید احمد علی - سید محمد علی - سید محمد علی - سید محمد علی

وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَتَحِيَّاتُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَتَحِيَّاتُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

5. *وَلَا تَقْرَأُ الْكِتَابَ طَرَفًا* (Do not read the book from a side)

اسم شتر اقس۔ ۱۰۱۱ اس ص ۶۸ کا نام ۱۱۱۱ کہ اسم ۷۱ کی س ۵۴ ۵۳ ۵۲ ۵۱ ۵۰

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

وَأَمَّا الْفُلُ فَأَنزَلْنَاهُ ذِكْرًا لِّعِبَادِنَا إِنَّهُ لَكَبِيرٌ مَّكِينٌ

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॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك ووصفك

للمؤمنين والذين آمنوا قلوبهم مسلمات - الاحزاب - سورة الاحزاب -

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

15 كذا في نسخة أخرى في المخطوطات

190
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سید بنوری - سید احمد - سید محمد - سید علی - سید ابوالحسن

سکون و صحت و شادی و سلامتی و خوشبختی و سعادت و رفاه و عافیت و

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

کتاب الفقه فی المسائل اوقاف و سائر مسائل

5
 ۱۳۸۰ هجری قمری در روز پنجشنبه ۲۵ شعبان ۱۳۸۰

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

اسی کی سی "فہرست" و کتابوں کا شمار ہے۔

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰

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الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

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॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

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سنة ١٢٨٥ هـ الموافق ١٩٦٧ م

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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مذہب سے جو وہ سوا ہے اس میں نہ کسی کا کوئی حصہ ہے۔

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سید شمس الدین علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام

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۱۲۵ ۱۲۶ ۱۲۷ ۱۲۸ ۱۲۹ ۱۳۰ ۱۳۱ ۱۳۲ ۱۳۳ ۱۳۴ ۱۳۵ ۱۳۶ ۱۳۷ ۱۳۸ ۱۳۹ ۱۴۰

سید احمد علی ۱۱ اسد ۱۲۵۰ ۱۳۴۷

15 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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سے سے اس کی طرف سے وہ سوویہ اسی و ان کے لیے لکھی۔

کتابخانه ملی ایران - تهران

۵
 انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

۱۳۵۱ هـ ۲۰ شوال ۱۲۸۷ ق

المستحقين من العفو والصفح

[illegible]

اسی اسے وینو اور مکمل مدرسہ و مکمل اولیہ و اس کے وینو

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

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॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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אשר יצא מן המדבר ויאמר אל כל ישראל ויאמר להם

אל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר

אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר

5 אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר

אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

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אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר

אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

15 תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר

אמרתי לכם ואל תאמרו כדבר אשר אמרתי לכם ואל

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

سید محمد علی علیہ السلام و سید محمد علیہ السلام و سید محمد علیہ السلام

[illegible]

السلامة يومه من كل يوم - اسعد - ليله - من كل ليلة

وَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ يَّهْدِي اللَّهُ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ

[illegible][illegible]

۱۰ سیم، و سیکه سوخته و سیل قلاعه سه کله و سیل وایو و اوصلاتی

١٢٠

وہ یہ کہ میں نے اپنے امیر و اسرار و مددگاروں سے

ایک و کھوے گا اللہ سے وہاں وہی قولہ کہ اللہ سے

سید محمد (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) امام احمدیہ و کلمۃ اللہ علیہ السلام

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⁵ سوره نعل، اقصاء و انعام، نحل و اسراء، طه و النمل، القصص

[illegible]

فصل ۱۱۱ - کتب اسلامیه و فوائدها و فواید آنها - اسلامیه

[illegible][illegible]

10 مَنْ يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ مَخْرَجًا وَيَرْزُقْهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا يَحْتَسِبُ وَمَا يَذْكُرُ إِلَّا إِلَٰهَ الْعِزَّةِ الْمَظْجِرَ

وَمِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ مُحَمَّدٌ وَآلِهِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَسَلَّمَ

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یہ ہیں سب کاف ا ل ل سو م سو و ا ل ل سو و ف ل ا ل و و و ای ی ا ل ل سو م سو

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible][illegible]

महाराजस्य राज्याभिषेकस्य दिनाङ्कः

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

لا انا ولا احد من اولادى

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜਗਦੰਬਾ ਦੇਵੀ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਭਗਤਿ ਅੰਗੁ ॥

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

اسی کے لئے اس کی نیت اور اس کی فکر

[illegible][illegible]

سید محمد علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام

[illegible][illegible]

منه من الله تعالى و من الله تعالى و من الله تعالى

[illegible]

سورة بقره اقصا | سورة آل عمران | سورة النور | سورة الاحزاب | سورة المائدة | سورة الانعام | سورة البقرة

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

البريه والى من سوره النور في سورة النور

سید محمد علی قزوینی

[illegible]

١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ١٠ ١١ ١٢ ١٣ ١٤ ١٥ ١٦ ١٧ ١٨ ١٩ ٢٠ ٢١ ٢٢ ٢٣ ٢٤ ٢٥ ٢٦ ٢٧ ٢٨ ٢٩ ٣٠ ٣١ ٣٢ ٣٣ ٣٤ ٣٥ ٣٦ ٣٧ ٣٨ ٣٩ ٤٠ ٤١ ٤٢ ٤٣ ٤٤ ٤٥ ٤٦ ٤٧ ٤٨ ٤٩ ٥٠ ٥١ ٥٢ ٥٣ ٥٤ ٥٥ ٥٦ ٥٧ ٥٨ ٥٩ ٦٠ ٦١ ٦٢ ٦٣ ٦٤ ٦٥ ٦٦ ٦٧ ٦٨ ٦٩ ٧٠ ٧١ ٧٢ ٧٣ ٧٤ ٧٥ ٧٦ ٧٧ ٧٨ ٧٩ ٨٠ ٨١ ٨٢ ٨٣ ٨٤ ٨٥ ٨٦ ٨٧ ٨٨ ٨٩ ٩٠ ٩١ ٩٢ ٩٣ ٩٤ ٩٥ ٩٦ ٩٧ ٩٨ ٩٩ ١٠٠

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

لله يومه لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

میں نے یہ کہہ کر ان سے ہٹ کر بیٹھ گیا۔

۵ لے ۱۱ و ۱۲ کو، ۱۳ و ۱۴ کی ۱۱ ۱۲ کی ۱۳ ۱۴ کی ۱۵ ۱۶ کی ۱۷ ۱۸ کی ۱۹ ۲۰ کی ۲۱ ۲۲ کی ۲۳ ۲۴ کی ۲۵ ۲۶ کی ۲۷ ۲۸ کی ۲۹ ۳۰ کی ۳۱ ۳۲ کی ۳۳ ۳۴ کی ۳۵ ۳۶ کی ۳۷ ۳۸ کی ۳۹ ۴۰ کی ۴۱ ۴۲ کی ۴۳ ۴۴ کی ۴۵ ۴۶ کی ۴۷ ۴۸ کی ۴۹ ۵۰ کی ۵۱ ۵۲ کی ۵۳ ۵۴ کی ۵۵ ۵۶ کی ۵۷ ۵۸ کی ۵۹ ۶۰ کی ۶۱ ۶۲ کی ۶۳ ۶۴ کی ۶۵ ۶۶ کی ۶۷ ۶۸ کی ۶۹ ۷۰ کی ۷۱ ۷۲ کی ۷۳ ۷۴ کی ۷۵ ۷۶ کی ۷۷ ۷۸ کی ۷۹ ۸۰ کی ۸۱ ۸۲ کی ۸۳ ۸۴ کی ۸۵ ۸۶ کی ۸۷ ۸۸ کی ۸۹ ۹۰ کی ۹۱ ۹۲ کی ۹۳ ۹۴ کی ۹۵ ۹۶ کی ۹۷ ۹۸ کی ۹۹ ۱۰۰ کی ۱۰۱ ۱۰۲ کی ۱۰۳ ۱۰۴ کی ۱۰۵ ۱۰۶ کی ۱۰۷ ۱۰۸ کی ۱۰۹ ۱۱۰ کی ۱۱۱ ۱۱۲ کی ۱۱۳ ۱۱۴ کی ۱۱۵ ۱۱۶ کی ۱۱۷ ۱۱۸ کی ۱۱۹ ۱۲۰ کی ۱۲۱ ۱۲۲ کی ۱۲۳ ۱۲۴ کی ۱۲۵ ۱۲۶ کی ۱۲۷ ۱۲۸ کی ۱۲۹ ۱۳۰ کی ۱۳۱ ۱۳۲ کی ۱۳۳ ۱۳۴ کی ۱۳۵ ۱۳۶ کی ۱۳۷ ۱۳۸ کی ۱۳۹ ۱۴۰ کی ۱۴۱ ۱۴۲ کی ۱۴۳ ۱۴۴ کی ۱۴۵ ۱۴۶ کی ۱۴۷ ۱۴۸ کی ۱۴۹ ۱۵۰ کی ۱۵۱ ۱۵۲ کی ۱۵۳ ۱۵۴ کی ۱۵۵ ۱۵۶ کی ۱۵۷ ۱۵۸ کی ۱۵۹ ۱۶۰ کی ۱۶۱ ۱۶۲ کی ۱۶۳ ۱۶۴ کی ۱۶۵ ۱۶۶ کی ۱۶۷ ۱۶۸ کی ۱۶۹ ۱۷۰ کی ۱۷۱ ۱۷۲ کی ۱۷۳ ۱۷۴ کی ۱۷۵ ۱۷۶ کی ۱۷۷ ۱۷۸ کی ۱۷۹ ۱۸۰ کی ۱۸۱ ۱۸۲ کی ۱۸۳ ۱۸۴ کی ۱۸۵ ۱۸۶ کی ۱۸۷ ۱۸۸ کی ۱۸۹ ۱۹۰ کی ۱۹۱ ۱۹۲ کی ۱۹۳ ۱۹۴ کی ۱۹۵ ۱۹۶ کی ۱۹۷ ۱۹۸ کی ۱۹۹ ۲۰۰ کی ۲۰۱ ۲۰۲ کی ۲۰۳ ۲۰۴ کی ۲۰۵ ۲۰۶ کی ۲۰۷ ۲۰۸ کی ۲۰۹ ۲۱۰ کی ۲۱۱ ۲۱۲ کی ۲۱۳ ۲۱۴ کی ۲۱۵ ۲۱۶ کی ۲۱۷ ۲۱۸ کی ۲۱۹ ۲۲۰ کی ۲۲۱ ۲۲۲ کی ۲۲۳ ۲۲۴ کی ۲۲۵ ۲۲۶ کی ۲۲۷ ۲۲۸ کی ۲۲۹ ۲۳۰ کی ۲۳۱ ۲۳۲ کی ۲۳۳ ۲۳۴ کی ۲۳۵ ۲۳۶ کی ۲۳۷ ۲۳۸ کی ۲۳۹ ۲۴۰ کی ۲۴۱ ۲۴۲ کی ۲۴۳ ۲۴۴ کی ۲۴۵ ۲۴۶ کی ۲۴۷ ۲۴۸ کی ۲۴۹ ۲۵۰ کی ۲۵۱ ۲۵۲ کی ۲۵۳ ۲۵۴ کی ۲۵۵ ۲۵۶ کی ۲۵۷ ۲۵۸ کی ۲۵۹ ۲۶۰ کی ۲۶۱ ۲۶۲ کی ۲۶۳ ۲۶۴ کی ۲۶۵ ۲۶۶ کی ۲۶۷ ۲۶۸ کی ۲۶۹ ۲۷۰ کی ۲۷۱ ۲۷۲ کی ۲۷۳ ۲۷۴ کی ۲۷۵ ۲۷۶ کی ۲۷۷ ۲۷۸ کی ۲۷۹ ۲۸۰ کی ۲۸۱ ۲۸۲ کی ۲۸۳ ۲۸۴ کی ۲۸۵ ۲۸۶ کی ۲۸۷ ۲۸۸ کی ۲۸۹ ۲۹۰ کی ۲۹۱ ۲۹۲ کی ۲۹۳ ۲۹۴ کی ۲۹۵ ۲۹۶ کی ۲۹۷ ۲۹۸ کی ۲۹۹ ۳۰۰ کی ۳۰۱ ۳۰۲ کی ۳۰۳ ۳۰۴ کی ۳۰۵ ۳۰۶ کی ۳۰۷ ۳۰۸ کی ۳۰۹ ۳۱۰ کی ۳۱۱ ۳۱۲ کی ۳۱۳ ۳۱۴ کی ۳۱۵ ۳۱۶ کی ۳۱۷ ۳۱۸ کی ۳۱۹ ۳۲۰ کی ۳۲۱ ۳۲۲ کی ۳۲۳ ۳۲۴ کی ۳۲۵ ۳۲۶ کی ۳۲۷ ۳۲۸ کی ۳۲۹ ۳۳۰ کی ۳۳۱ ۳۳۲ کی ۳۳۳ ۳۳۴ کی ۳۳۵ ۳۳۶ کی ۳۳۷ ۳۳۸ کی ۳۳۹ ۳۴۰ کی ۳۴۱ ۳۴۲ کی ۳۴۳ ۳۴۴ کی ۳۴۵ ۳۴۶ کی ۳۴۷ ۳۴۸ کی ۳۴۹ ۳۵۰ کی ۳۵۱ ۳۵۲ کی ۳۵۳ ۳۵۴ کی ۳۵۵ ۳۵۶ کی ۳۵۷ ۳۵۸ کی ۳۵۹ ۳۶۰ کی ۳۶۱ ۳۶۲ کی ۳۶۳ ۳۶۴ کی ۳۶۵ ۳۶۶ کی ۳۶۷ ۳۶۸ کی ۳۶۹ ۳۷۰ کی ۳۷۱ ۳۷۲ کی ۳۷۳ ۳۷۴ کی ۳۷۵ ۳۷۶ کی ۳۷۷ ۳۷۸ کی ۳۷۹ ۳۸۰ کی ۳۸۱ ۳۸۲ کی ۳۸۳ ۳۸۴ کی ۳۸۵ ۳۸۶ کی ۳۸۷ ۳۸۸ کی ۳۸۹ ۳۹۰ کی ۳۹۱ ۳۹۲ کی ۳۹۳ ۳۹۴ کی ۳۹۵ ۳۹۶ کی ۳۹۷ ۳۹۸ کی ۳۹۹ ۴۰۰ کی ۴۰۱ ۴۰۲ کی ۴۰۳ ۴۰۴ کی ۴۰۵ ۴۰۶ کی ۴۰۷ ۴۰۸ کی ۴۰۹ ۴۱۰ کی ۴۱۱ ۴۱۲ کی ۴۱۳ ۴۱۴ کی ۴۱۵ ۴۱۶ کی ۴۱۷ ۴۱۸ کی ۴۱۹ ۴۲۰ کی ۴۲۱ ۴۲۲ کی ۴۲۳ ۴۲۴ کی ۴۲۵ ۴۲۶ کی ۴۲۷ ۴۲۸ کی ۴۲۹ ۴۳۰ کی ۴۳۱ ۴۳۲ کی ۴۳۳ ۴۳۴ کی ۴۳۵ ۴۳۶ کی ۴۳۷ ۴۳۸ کی ۴۳۹ ۴۴۰ کی ۴۴۱ ۴۴۲ کی ۴۴۳ ۴۴۴ کی ۴۴۵ ۴۴۶ کی ۴۴۷ ۴۴۸ کی ۴۴۹ ۴۵۰ کی ۴۵۱ ۴۵۲ کی ۴۵۳ ۴۵۴ کی ۴۵۵ ۴۵۶ کی ۴۵۷ ۴۵۸ کی ۴۵۹ ۴۶۰ کی ۴۶۱ ۴۶۲ کی ۴۶۳ ۴۶۴ کی ۴۶۵ ۴۶۶ کی ۴۶۷ ۴۶۸ کی ۴۶۹ ۴۷۰ کی ۴۷۱ ۴۷۲ کی ۴۷۳ ۴۷۴ کی ۴۷۵ ۴۷۶ کی ۴۷۷ ۴۷۸ کی ۴۷۹ ۴۸۰ کی ۴۸۱ ۴۸۲ کی ۴۸۳ ۴۸۴ کی ۴۸۵ ۴۸۶ کی ۴۸۷ ۴۸۸ کی ۴۸۹ ۴۹۰ کی ۴۹۱ ۴۹۲ کی ۴۹۳ ۴۹۴ کی ۴۹۵ ۴۹۶ کی ۴۹۷ ۴۹۸ کی ۴۹۹ ۵۰۰ کی ۵۰۱ ۵۰۲ کی ۵۰۳ ۵۰۴ کی ۵۰۵ ۵۰۶ کی ۵۰۷ ۵۰۸ کی ۵۰۹ ۵۱۰ کی ۵۱۱ ۵۱۲ کی ۵۱۳ ۵۱۴ کی ۵۱۵ ۵۱۶ کی ۵۱۷ ۵۱۸ کی ۵۱۹ ۵۲۰ کی ۵۲۱ ۵۲۲ کی ۵۲۳ ۵۲۴ کی ۵۲۵ ۵۲۶ کی ۵۲۷ ۵۲۸ کی ۵۲۹ ۵۳۰ کی ۵۳۱ ۵۳۲ کی ۵۳۳ ۵۳۴ کی ۵۳۵ ۵۳۶ کی ۵۳۷ ۵۳۸ کی ۵۳۹ ۵۴۰ کی ۵۴۱ ۵۴۲ کی ۵۴۳ ۵۴۴ کی ۵۴۵ ۵۴۶ کی ۵۴۷ ۵۴۸ کی ۵۴۹ ۵۵۰ کی ۵۵۱ ۵۵۲ کی ۵۵۳ ۵۵۴ کی ۵۵۵ ۵۵۶ کی ۵۵۷ ۵۵۸ کی ۵۵۹ ۵۶۰ کی ۵۶۱ ۵۶۲ کی ۵۶۳ ۵۶۴ کی ۵۶۵ ۵۶۶ کی ۵۶۷ ۵۶۸ کی ۵۶۹ ۵۷۰ کی ۵۷۱ ۵۷۲ کی ۵۷۳ ۵۷۴ کی ۵۷۵ ۵۷

[illegible]

الاسم واللقب في النسخة الأصلية

سیدنا ابی ہریرہؓ سے روایت ہے کہ میں نے رسول اللہ ﷺ کو دیکھا کہ وہ اپنے ہاتھ میں ایک کھنڈی (مٹی کی برتن) لیے ہوئے تھے اور اس میں سے پانی پیتے ہوئے تھے۔

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

10
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

[illegible]

والله وسع الصدور

سورۃ الاحقاف ۱۰۵ من سورۃ النمل ۲۸ من سورۃ القصص ۳۰

॥ श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

15

(محمود و محمد و علی و حسین و ابی طالب و امیرالمومنین و ائمه الهدی و صلوات الله علیهم)

[illegible]

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[illegible]

ਸ੍ਰੀ ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

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5 *Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a continuation of the previous line.*

سوال و جواب در علم طب

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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سید قاسم محمد و وصی علی بن علی و وصی علی بن علی و وصی علی بن علی

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

سرسر و کرم اب - اذ سم لایم لم یلین و انما یلیه صا۱۴ فک م سوا 15

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ملک از سلطان که در سال ۱۰۵۷ هجری قمری و در روز یکشنبه ۲۹ شهریور ماه ۸۴۳ سنه ۱۰۵۷

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

مَكْرَهًا وَاِنْ اَنْتُمْ اِلَّا قَوْمٌ مِّنْ لَّدُنِي ۝۱۱۱ وَتِلْكَ اَیَّاتُ الْكِتَابِ الَّتِي كُنَّا نَقُولُ لَكَ قُرْءَانًا نَّجْوًى ۝۱۱۲

[illegible]

سے قیام، ادا کی سب سے سب سے اس کے قیام، حج اور واپس کے لئے

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّىْ اَسْأَلُكَ بِرَبِّكَ وَرَبِّىْ وَرَبِّ الْعَالَمِیْنَ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اکثر مکاتیب اس سلسلہ سے سکواں و فکرم ایو سلسلہ سے سکواں ایو سہ ایلوی۔ سن ۱۵

[illegible]

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖ ਨਾਨਕ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਮੋਢੀ ਭਾਈ

[illegible]

(۱) (۲) (۳) (۴) (۵) (۶) (۷) (۸) (۹) (۱۰)

۱۴۰۵ هـ / ۱۳۲۶ م - وفات در سن ۸۷ سالگی

5 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

המלך המשיח יבא ויגאל את ישראל ויחיה את כל הדור

[illegible]

X ۱۵۳۹۰۰۰ لکھنؤ ۱۸۷۲ء

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ । ਸਤ ਨਾਮੁ ਪੁਰਾਣੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮਲੋਕ - ਸਤਨਾਮ

10 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ਜਮਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਪਾਠਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ॥੧॥੧੫੭ ਪੰਨਾ ੩੫।੧੫੭੭

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

15 ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਥ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਥ ਵਿਚ

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پیچ ۱۲ اسلک ۱ و ۱۵ سلی - سوو ام که او - اس سو و - اس سو و ۱۱

سید اقبال سید امجد علی قہار لکھنؤ الی۔ اکبر سن ۱۰۸۵

وہی سے لے کر سووی ام کہیں یہ کی قہ نہ سوس و لکھوں و سیکس

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وہی سہ ماہی سو لاکھ سو اسی ہزار فی ایک سو اسی لاکھ سو اسی ہزار

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فقد كان الله حكيمًا خبيرًا

[illegible]

سم الله وسبحه سبحا اسبحا اي يكون له ١١ سجده ١٢ و ان الله

سر سید کا نام و اووم، کارو نوم اور ان سووم، سری سر

هنگامی که یک فرد در یک مکان خاص قرار می‌گیرد و به یک شیء خاص توجه می‌کند، این عمل را مشاهده می‌گویند.

از کلمات و جملات و عبارات و اشعار و ...

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॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

سمیعی و اجماعی و اهل بیت و اهل بیت و اهل بیت

فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمَلَائِكَةَ قَالَتْ مَا يَنْصُرُكُمْ سِوَى اللَّهِ فَذَكِّرُوا

5 سو سو واره ای سرب - له سو سو ص م سو سو م ا ق اص لک

۱۴۰۵ - ۱۳۸۵ - ۱۳۶۵ - ۱۳۴۵ - ۱۳۲۵ - ۱۳۰۵

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ନେତ୍ରପାତ୍ର - ନିଜର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତା ପାଇଁ ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ କରିଛନ୍ତି ସେହି ଯୁଦ୍ଧର ଫଳାଫଳ ହେଉଛି ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ କରିଛନ୍ତି ସେହି ଯୁଦ୍ଧର ଫଳାଫଳ ହେଉଛି

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ووصفہ سے ۱۱۱۱ و (مات سرور ۱۱۱۱) سرور ۱۱۱۱ و ۱۱۱۱ و ۱۱۱۱

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

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والله اعلم بالصواب

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سید محمد علی

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سید احمد علی صاحبزادہ سید اسحاق علی صاحبزادہ

سورۃ ایضاً فی سبیل اللہ سورۃ صافات سورۃ صافات سورۃ صافات

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THE BOOK OF
ARDA VIRAF.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT

PREPARED BY

DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA,

REVISED AND COLLATED WITH FURTHER MSS., WITH AN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION, AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING
THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE

GOSHT-I FRYANO, AND HADOKHT-NASK

BY

MARTIN HAUG, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH.

ASSISTED BY

E. W. WEST, PH. D.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

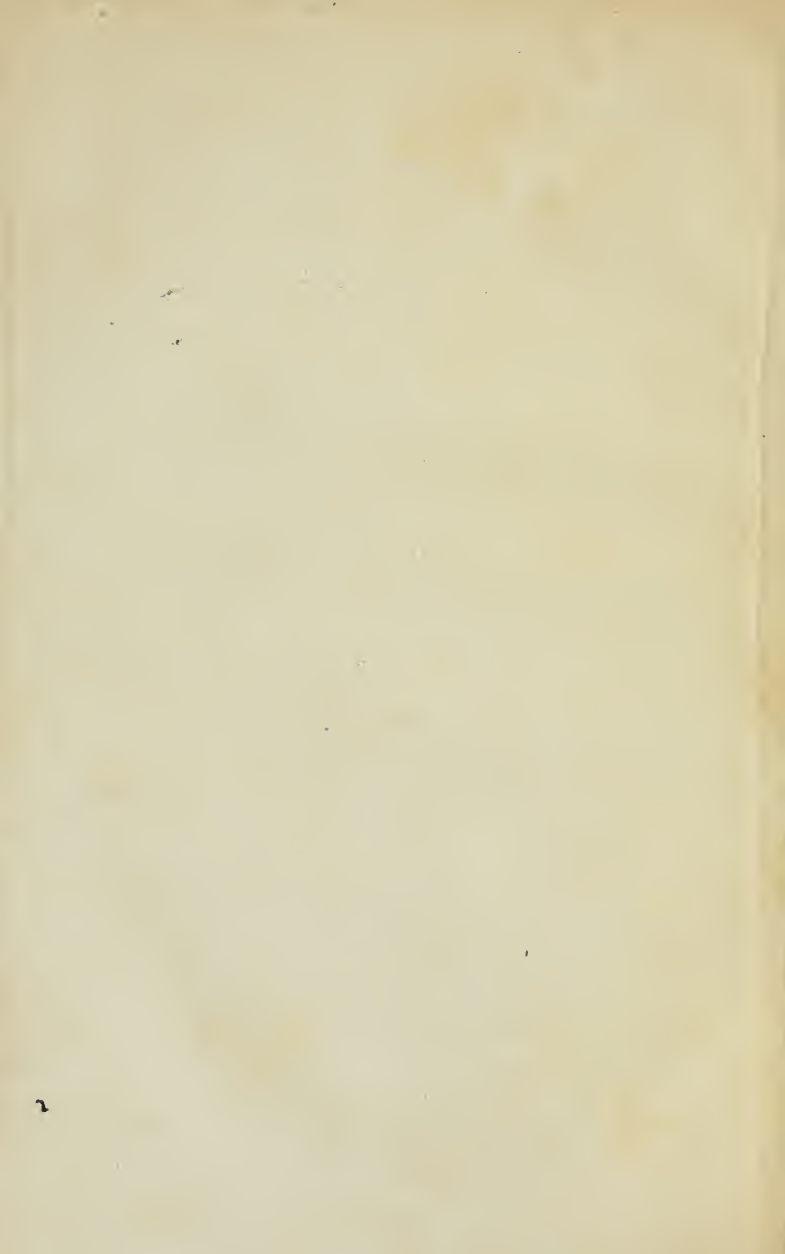
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to J. F. Campbell.
Feb. 1877. Calcutta.

Nickelby Lodge
Kensington
London. W.

THE BOOK OF

ARDA VIRAF.

Read on board the Deccan
Feb 22 77. Found very little popular
stuff, as is usual in priestly
compositions, such as Buddhist
sermons and legends, and such
like. A lot of popular mythology,
spells and charms of souls appear
incidentally, and bits of other
religions in which trees, cows,
water and other such things
are sacred. That which here
appears is the ceremonial of the
person and time; and things which
were held to be good or evil by
Arda Viraf



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AT STUTTGART, WÜRTEMBERG.

P r e f a c e.

The book of Ardâ-Vîrâf is one of the most interesting works of Pahlavî literature, as it contains the account of an imaginary journey of a pious Pârsî priest through heaven and hell, which often reminds one of Dante's Divina Commedia. Since its contents have been hitherto very imperfectly known in Europe through Pope's English translation which was based only on modern Persian and Gujarâti versions, I recommended the Government of Bombay, before my departure from India, in the year 1866, to intrust Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, among other works, with the preparation of an edition of the original Pahlavî text of this work with a glossary. My request was readily acceded to, and the MS. which the Destur had prepared, was forwarded to me early in 1870, by the Director of Public Instruction, for revision and publication.

As it will probably be a very long time before another edition of the original text will come out, I thought it advisable to make this *editio princeps* as correct as possible, by subjecting the Destur's MS. to a thorough revision, and making use of all the materials which were available in Europe, but inaccessible to the Destur. He had used five MSS., besides several Pâzand versions, in preparing the Pahlavî text, but none of them was particularly old. And as the two oldest and most valuable MSS. of the Ardâ Vîrâf nâmak are in Europe, the one being deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen (No. 20), the other being in my

own possession (H_6), it was incumbent on an editor to collate them carefully. In order to accomplish this task, I went in the autumn of 1871, in company with my friend Dr. E. W. West, to Copenhagen, where we found further useful materials in the splendid collection of Zand and Pahlavî MSS. which had been made by E. Rask during his stay at Bombay.

To facilitate the reading of the complicated and ambiguous Pahlavî character, a complete transliteration of the whole text has been added, which we have based on a kind of regular system, as may be learnt from the second of the introductory Essays. It is true, Destur Hoshangji had sent, along with his text, a complete transliteration which was of great use to us; but as the text we prepared, differed in many points from that which he had sent, as well as our system of transliteration from that which he had followed, we thought it expedient, for the sake of uniformity, to adhere to our own system.

As the Pahlavî language is but very little understood in Europe, I deemed it advisable to add a complete translation with notes for the general reader. It is as literal as possible, and since great care has been bestowed on it, it may be relied upon.

The Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak being, in the two oldest MSS., joined to the Gôsh-t-i Fryânô, which interesting tale has been as yet wholly unknown in Europe, I resolved upon adding an edition of it, with a transliteration and translation, in the form of an appendix. This has been prepared by Dr. West with his usual care.

Since several long passages in the Book of Ardâ Vîrâf, on the fate of the soul after death, are taken from original Avesta texts, such as are to be found in the fragments of the Hâdôkht Nask which are still extant, I thought it expedient to add, in a

second appendix, an edition of both the Zand and Pahlavî texts of those fragments (the latter being here published for the first time), with a transliteration of the Pahlavî, an English translation of the Zand text, and notes.

For the introductory Essays I made largely use of the notes and remarks which had been forwarded to me by Destur Hoshangji to whom my best thanks are due.

During the preparation of this work, I have received great assistance from Dr. E. W. West, without which its publication would have been much delayed. My best thanks are due to him for his most valuable services.

I have also to acknowledge the great liberality and friendliness with which the librarians at the University Library at Copenhagen allowed us free access to their valuable Zand and Pahlavî MSS. during our stay in that city.

The Glossary to all the texts contained in this volume will be published separately, next year.

Munich, 8th September 1872.

M. Haug.

Introductory Essays

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

and

E. W. West, Ph. D.



I.

The MSS. used in preparing the texts, with an account of the versions of the *Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak*.

The text of the *Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak*, originally prepared by Destur Hoshangji from the Pahlavî MSS. B., N., P. and some Pâzand MSS. hereinafter described, has been carefully collated with Dr. Haug's MSS. H₆, H₁₇, H₁₈ and the Copenhagen MSS. K₂₀ and K₂₆, and several additions and corrections have been derived from these sources.

The text of the tale of *Gôsht-i Fryânô* has been prepared from three of the same MSS., H₆, K₂₀ and K₂₆, and collated with H₇ and a copy of L₁₅. While the text of the *Hâdôkht Nask* has been taken from H₆ and K₂₀; with a few various readings of the Zand version from P₇, which are given by Westergaard in his notes to the *Yasht Fragments XXI. and XXII.* The following is a detailed description of all the MSS. used.

H₆ is a very old and correct codex in Dr. Haug's collection, carefully written, very legible, and in good preservation. It contains the series of Pahlavî works commonly known to the desturs as the 'greater *Bundehesh*', in two volumes, large octavo, comprising, respectively, 17 and 13 *dastak*, *jâzû*, or bundles, of eight folios each, written 17 lines to the page, except the last 5 folios of the first volume, and the last 32 of the second, which are written closer.

The first volume has 13 extra folios of equally old paper, but more carelessly written, prefixed to the 136 already mentioned; and three more of the extra folios (Nos. 12, 13 and 16) are missing. The contents of these extra folios are: the *Khurshêd Nyâyish* and *Khurshêd*

Yasht in Zand and Pahlavî, the gifts and qualities of the thirty Yazads (imperfect), the Zand alphabet, and a fragment of the first chapter of the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak, I. 1—38, which is designated H_{6a} in the notes to the text. And the contents of the 136 folios, properly belonging to the first volume, are as follows:

1. Visparad, Z.-Pahl., with a colophon dated the 29th of the ninth month A.Y. 766 (corresponding to the 1st of October A.D. 1397).

2. Selections from the Gâthas (*Chîdak avistâk-i gâsân-i afzûnî-kîh*), Z.-Pahl., comprising Yasna 45, 1-6. 46, 6, 7, 17. 48, 3. 51, 8-9. 52, 1-4. 53, 1, 2, 8. 28, 1. 30, 1. 31, 6, 21. 33, 11. 34, 8, 10. and 59, 30, 31. either wholly, or in part.

3. Three fargards of the Hâdôkht Nask, Z.-Pahl., as published in this volume, p. 269—300.

4. Auharmazd Yasht, v. 31, preceded by the sentence: *ahê narsh ashaonô . . . fravareta*, mentioned in Westergaard's note; Z.-Pahl.

5. Pahlavî Rivâyât, part I.; Destur Hoshangji states that this is the work which is also called Shâyist-lâ-shâyist.

6. Zand-Pahlavî Glossary, as published in 1867.

7. Pahlavî Rivâyât, part II.

8. Patit-i khûd, in Pahlavî.

9. The duties of the seven Ameshâspends, in Pahlavî.

10. Valuation of sins, in Pahlavî.

11. Miscellaneous passages, in Pahlavî, as to when meat must not be eaten; the three heinous sinners, for whom there is no resurrection; the respect due to a man who knows the scriptures by heart; and the place where a man will rise from the dead, which is the spot on which he died, or the first spot his corpse touched, if he died suspended in the air.

The contents of the 104 folios of the second volume, are as follows:

12. The book of Arđâ Vîrâf, in Pahlavî, as published in this volume, p. 3—138.

13. The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, in Pahlavî, with colophons, the latest of which is dated the 19th day of the eleventh month A.Y. 766

(corresponding to the 20th of November A.D. 1397). This tale is published in this volume, p. 207—246.

14. The lengths of shadows at noon, and at the *âûzâîrînô* gâh; in Pahlavî.

15. Bundelesh in Pahlavî, containing 30 of Anquetil's chapters in the following order: ch. 15—23, 1—14, 24—27, 31, 33 and 34.

16. Yasht of the seven Ameshâspends v. 11—15, in Zand.

17. Khurdat Yasht in Zand.

18. Akharman's directions to Aêshm, regarding the Gahanbârs, Myzad and Khvaêtvadath; in Pahlavî.

19. When the formula *Yathâ ahû vairiyô* is to be recited, from once to thirteen times; in Pahlavî.

20. Miscellaneous sentences, in Pahlavî, containing advice on religious subjects, and breaking off incomplete, at the end of the volume ¹.

The texts in this MS. are more correct than in any of those which follow, and supply many omissions in the other old codex K₂₀. In the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, it supplies a sentence in ch. 53, which is missing in all other MSS., including those copied from itself; but it also omits sentences in ch. 5, 32 and 34, which are found in K₂₀, K₂₆ and H₁₈. There is every reason to believe, from the apparent age of the paper, and the relative positions and dates of the colophons, that these latter have not been copied from an older MS., as sometimes happens, but that this codex was actually written in A.D. 1397, by the Pêshyôtan Râm Kâmdîn whose name occurs in the colophons; the 50 days difference in their dates, being necessary for writing the 151 folios which intervene between them.

K₂₀ is also a very old codex, No. 20 of Rask's collection in the university library at Copenhagen; it is a contemporary of H₆, but is not so well preserved; several folios being lost, and many others torn and much worn. It is a large octavo, written 20 lines to the page, of

¹ A Pâzand version of these sentences, and of article 18, occurs in the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XXII., appended to the Bundelesh, fol. 105—110; and most of that MS. is derived from H₆.

which 173 folios remain, the last one being blank; the folios supposed to be missing are fol. 1, 121, 145, 154, 155 and several which followed 177. The contents of this codex are as follows:

1, 2. The same as 12 and 13 in H₆, with a colophon (see notes on p. 245) dated the 18th of the tenth month A.Y. 690 (corresponding to the 8th of November A.D. 1321); the first folio is missing.

3, 4, 5, 6. The same as 14, 3, 4 and 18 in H₆, followed by a colophon dated the 18th of the ninth month A.Y. 720 (corresponding to the 2^d of October A.D. 1351).

7. The same as 5 in H₆, followed by a Persian colophon dated the 9th of the seventh month A.Y. 700 (corresponding to the 30th of July A.D. 1331).

8. The same as 6 in H₆.

9. Bundehesh in Pahlavî, as published, in fac-simile, by Westergaard in 1851; one folio is missing. This is the text translated by Anquetil, and differs in arrangement from that in H₆, besides supplying the extra matter contained in Anquetil's ch. 28—30 and 32.

10. Bahman Yasht in Pahlavî.

11. Answers of , the sage, to his pupil, in Pahlavî; of which one or two folios are missing¹.

12. The tale of the accursed Abâlîsh, in Pahlavî.

13. Replies of Âtarôpâd-i Mârspendân, a Greek and a Hindû, to the Persian king; in Pahlavî.

14. Yasht fragment XXII. 39—42 of Westergaard, Z.-Pahl., which breaks off incomplete at the end of a folio, the next two being lost.

15. Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht, v. 6—22, Z.-Pahl.; the beginning is lost with the missing folios.

16. Selections from the Yasna, Z.-Pahl., comprising Yasna 11,¹⁷—13, s. and part of 29, s.

¹ This part of the codex wants re-arrangement; the proper order of the folios (as they were numbered last year) seems to be as follows: 142, 147, 146, then probably two missing folios, 143, 144, 148 and thence onwards.

17, 18, 19. The same as 19, 7 and 8 in H₆; but the latter portion (about one-seventh) of the concluding Patit is lost.

It appears from the above lists of contents, that each of the old codexes contains articles which are not in the other, although nearly three-fourths of their contents are common to both; thus, the articles 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 and 20 in H₆ are wanting in K₂₀, and the articles 10—16 in K₂₀ are wanting in H₆, while the Bundelesh in K₂₀ differs from that in H₆.

The three dates, found in the codex K₂₀, follow one another in the irregular order A. Y. 690, 720, 700; and although extending over a period of thirty years, they occur within a space of 36 folios, in which every fresh article begins on the same page as that on which the preceding one ends, with hardly any interval and no change in the handwriting. The colophons must, therefore, have been copied, by the writer of this codex, from the original MSS. which he was copying. Judging, however, from the state of the paper, the codex must be about 500 years old, or nearly contemporary with H₆. It is worthy of notice that Mihrbân Kai-Khusrô, the writer of the original MSS., from which the articles 1—7 were copied, appears to have been a great grand-nephew of Rustam Mihrbân, the writer of the original MS. whence the articles 12—13 in H₆ were copied; this may be clearly inferred from the genealogies given in the colophons (see p. 245, 266). Furthermore, it appears from their colophons, that the same Mihrbân Kai-Khusrô copied the old Yasna and Vendidad, K₅ and K₁, now at Copenhagen, from MSS. written by the same Rustam Mihrbân, his great grand-uncle.

The actual writer of K₂₀, whose name is unknown, is probably responsible for the numerous omissions of words with which it abounds; and he must, therefore, have been a rather careless copyist. But his trivial blunders are thrown altogether into the shade by those of the writer of K₂₁, which is a copy of K₂₀ made about a century ago, in the handwriting of Destur Dârâb, as Rask believed, but this is doubtful, as the writer often makes nonsense of his text by misreading the ori-

ginal. K₂₁ contains 158 folios written 17 lines to the page (except the first), followed by 14 extra folios which contain a repetition of part of the text. As it very rarely supplies anything more than is now legible, in the defective parts of K₂₀, it must have been written when that MS. was, very nearly, in its present state; it omits words, phrases and even folios (such as fols. 133—141, 146 and 147 of K₂₀), and misreads words which are still plainly legible.

Another copy of K₂₀, written by Kâûs Frêdûn in A.D. 1737, is P₇, No. 7 in Anquetil's collection at Paris. This seems to contain the same matter as K₂₀ in its present state, with the addition of the Nâm-stâyishnî and Sîrôzah, which follow the Patit.

N. represents two MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, which agree very closely in the text of the Arđâ-Vîraf nâmak, and have both been chiefly derived from H₆. One was written by Destur Asâji Nôshîrwânji, of the family of Destur Jâmâsp Asâ, some fifty or sixty years ago, but is not dated; it consists of the articles 2—13 in H₆. The other was written by Destur Nôshîrwânji Jâmâspji Asâji Frêdûnji Bagaryâ¹, and consists of the following treatises: article 1 from H₆, four Nîrangs in Pâzand, articles 2, 3, 4, 15 and 6 from H₆, Patit-i pashîmânî, Nâm-stâyishnî, Kâr-nâmak-i Ardashîr Pâpakân (all three in Pahlavî), and articles 12, 13, 5 and 9 from H₆. According to a colophon at the end of article 6, that portion was completed on the 7th day of the third month A. Y. 1108 (corresponding to the 29th of December A.D. 1738).

K₂₆ is an imperfect, but very carefully written, MS. of the Pahlavî tales of Arđâ Vîraf and Gôsht-i Fryânô, No. 26 in the university library at Copenhagen; its date is lost with its last folios, but the paper seems more than two centuries old. Only 53 octavo folios remain, written 15 lines to the page; the missing folios are 1—7, 41—48, 51—54 and those which followed 72, and the missing text is Arđ. Vîr. ch. 1, 1.—4, 6. 64, 8.—83, 8. 89, 10.—100, 4. and Gô. Far. ch. 4, 23. to end.

¹ Bagaryâ, or Bhagadyâ, is the surname of all the Parsi priests having their share in the *panthak*, or diocese, of Nausârî. It is from *bhâga*, Z. *bagha*. [Dest.]

This MS. has not been derived from either H₆, or K₂₀, but is probably descended from the same original as the very old Pâzand MS. H₁₈, hereafter described. That it has not come from H₆, is proved by its supplying the phrases omitted by H₆ in Ard. Vîr. ch. 4, 35. 5, 4-5. 32, 2-6. and 34, 5-6. And that it has not come from K₂₀, is pretty clear from the variations noted in Ard. Vîr. ch. 8, 4. 10, 2. 11, 3. 12, 1. 14, 3. 17, 13. 18, 3, 8. and 54, 11. While some connection with H₁₈ is proved by that MS. sharing in all these differences from the others.

B. is a Pahlavî MS. of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, used by Destur Hoshangji; the name of its writer is unknown, and it is not dated, but is supposed to be about a century old, having been corrected throughout, and interlined with Persian, in the handwriting of Destur Bahmanji Jamshêdji Jâmâsp Asâ. This MS. omits ch. 41 and 42.

P. is another Pahlavî MS. of the same, belonging to Destur Pêshôtanji Behramji Sanjânâ of Bombay, and written by his ancestor Mobad Nawrôzji Sanjânâ at Surat; it has been corrected by Destur Pêshôtanji, and a copy of it seems to have been used by Destur Hoshangji.

H₁₇ is a modern MS. on European paper, No. 17 in Dr. Haug's collection; it is hastily written, but tolerably correct, and contains the Pahlavî texts of the Pand-nâmak-i Âtarôpâd Mâraspend, and the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, ch. 1, 1.—44, 3. The latter seems to be copied from a revision of the text in H₆, as many small alterations are introduced, like those in ch. 7, 1. 8, 1, 2. and 17, 9., which are often judicious, but must be received with caution, being merely modern guesses of some one well-versed in Pahlavî; as it closely resembles P., in ch. 12, 11-13. 15, 9. 16, 9, 10. etc., it may possibly be a copy of the revised text in that MS.; it also agrees with B. in omitting ch. 41.

L₁₅ is the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; containing 119 folios, octavo, written 10 to 12 lines to the page; its contents are as follows:

1. Rules regarding the Drôn ceremonial, in Pahlavî; being the conclusion of article 7 in H₆.

2, 3, 4. The same as 8, 9 and 13 in H₆, and evidently derived from that codex.

5. Patit-i Âtarôpâd Mâraspend in Pâzand, by another hand, and on different paper; with a Persian colophon dated on the evening of the 5th of the tenth month, but no year is mentioned, and the writer's name has been carefully blotted out.

6. Shikand-gumânî in Pahlavî, by the same writer as the first four subjects, but containing only the first three-eighths of the text.

This MS. was one of the collection of Dr. Samuel Guise, and its age can be approximately ascertained from the fact that the MS. L₂₆ (which is in the same peculiar handwriting as the Pahlavî portion of L₁₅) contains a colophon on fol. 62, dated the 17th of the tenth month A. Y. 1106 (corresponding to the 6th of August A. D. 1737); but the name of the writer is not mentioned.

H₁₈ is a very old Pâzand-Sanskrit MS. of the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak, No. 18 in Dr. Haug's collection. It is a square duodecimo of 103 folios, the first 98 containing the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text, written 11 to 17 lines to the page, and concluding with the following Sanskrit colophon:

Saṃvat 1466 varshe Chaitras'udi 13 bhaume navīna Arddhā-Virāja-nāma pustakam ervada-Rāmeṇa ervada-Kāmdīna-sutena sundareṇa samādhāneṇa likhitaṃ: 'In the Samvat year 1466, on the 13th of the light half of Chaitra, early on Tuesday (?), the book of the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak was written, with suitable devotion, by the herbad Râm, the son of herbad Kâmdîn'.

This date corresponds to the 18th of March A. D. 1410¹; and the writer may possibly have been the Râm Kâmdîn who was the father of Pêshyôtan, the writer of H₆, although his writing is dated 12½ years later than that of his son.

The Pâzand text of this MS. corresponds pretty closely with the

¹ It must be observed that the Samvat year, in Gujarât and the Konkan, begins with Kârttik s'ud, or seven months later than in northern India.

Pahlavi of the old codexes, and especially with K₂₆ as already noticed; but it differs from them, in supplying a passage, in Arđ. Vîr. ch. 87, 1-5., which seems necessary to complete the sense, and some others in the last two chapters, which are not so requisite; its orthography, moreover, is bad, and its misreadings numerous.

Among the Pâzand MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, is one without Sanskrit, which also corresponds very closely with the Pahlavî text, though very corrupt in orthography and minor details. It is neatly written and partially interlined with Pahlavî, and has the following date appended: *Saîvat 1838, S'ake 1704 pravartmâne, Phâlguṇavadi chaturdas'î*: 'The fourteenth of the dark half of Phâlguṇ, Samvat 1838, in the course of S'âka 1704' (corresponding to about the 13th of March A. D. 1782).

A third Pâzand version of the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak is accompanied by a translation both in Sanskrit and old Gujarâti, the three versions of each sentence being written successively. Of this version, Destur Hoshangji possesses two copies. The first is in a very old MS., containing the Khurshêd, Mihir, Mâh and Âtash Nyâyishes, the Auharmazd Yasht, the Dahman, Ardâfravash and Gahañbâr Âfrîngâns, the Dhup Nîrang, a Patit and Âshîrvâd, all with a Sanskrit version; also the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak and Bahman Yasht, both with Sanskrit and Gujarâti versions. The date A. Y. 784 (A. D. 1415) is appended to the Âshîrvâd, and the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak has the following colophon: *yâdri's'am pustake drishtañ tâdri's'añ likhitam mayâ; yadi s'uddham as'uddhañvâ mama dosho na diyate; ervada-Râṇâ (Râmeṇa?) ervada-Kâm-dînasuta likhitam*: 'As seen in the book, so it was written by me; whether correct, or incorrect, no blame is attributable to me; written by herbad Râm (?) son of herbad Kâmdîn' (probably the same as he who wrote H₁₈ five years before).

¹ This can be correct only if *Chaitra vad* of the S'âka year (which is the same as *Phâlguṇ vad* of the Samvat year) be taken as belonging to the same year as *Chaitra s'ud*; which is not the general rule.

The other copy is described by Destur Hoshangji as being well written, and exactly similar to the first, but the copyist seems to have been unaccustomed to Sanskrit. It concludes with two colophons in Prakrit, one from the original MS. whence it was copied, and the other mentioning the actual writer of the copy; these may be translated as follows: 1. 'Written by the priest Bahirâm, son of the priest Lakshmidhar; in the Samvat year 1507, on Monday, the 12th lunar day of Mârgas'îrsh, in the course of the Varîyân yoga, in the As'vini nakshatra (corresponding to about the 16th of November A. D. 1450); in the lands of Nâgasâarakâ (the old name of Nausârî)'. — 2. 'On Wednesday the 4th of the dark half of S'râvan in the Samvat year 1844 (corresponding to the 21st of August A. D. 1788) the 14th day of the 11th [Parsi] month; on this day the book of Ardâ-Gvîrâ-nâma is made complete; written by herbad Shâpûrji [son of] Frêdûnji [son of] the heaven-residing mobad Mânekji Homji Kekabâd Kâvasji Hîrârâpâ of Surat'.

This third Pâzand version commences with a Pâzand transliteration of the following couplets from the Shâhnâmah:

بنام خداوند جان و خرد کزین برتر اندیشه بر نگذرد
خداوند نام و خداوند جای خداوند روزی ده و رهنمای

It is also remarkable for great alterations in the introduction, which make Ardâ Virâf a contemporary of king Gushtâsp. The following is a translation of this introduction, prepared from a copy of the text supplied by Destur Hoshangji; its late date is proved by the use of the word *khashm*, Ar. *خشم*, for 'husband'.

In the name and honor of the good creator of all those who behave well (*vasâm vazâvâñd*), and with the assistance and blessing of the good pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, the words of this narrative of Ardâ Virâf¹ are recounted.

At the time when king Gushtâsp received the good religion of the Mazdayasnians from Aûharmazd, the lord; and the pious Zaratûst Spitama

¹ Written *Ardâ Virâ*, Sans. *Arddâ Gvîrâ purusha*, throughout.

was gone to glory; as Gushtâsp, Dalag, Gôspadasht, Frashôshhtar, Maidyô-mâh and other Mazdayasnians were seated together, and happily influenced, they said thus: 'Let us select, from the Mazdayasnians, one who is very 'free from sin; and let us give him a narcotic to eat, so that his soul may 'go to the other world, that it may see the soul of the descendant of Spi-tama, the pious Zaratûshtr; that it may see the thrones of Aûharmazd and 'the archangels; that it may see heaven, and the Chinvat bridge, and Rashn 'the just; and that it may see hell, and the souls of the wicked in hell. 'And it will know whether these good works, which we Mazdayasnians per-'form, are effectual, or not; and it will bring us intelligence, if the endea-'vours we make be effectual, and if those we dont make be ineffectual'. And they were unanimous about it, and said thus: 'Ardâ Virâf is the most 'innocent and best of us Mazdayasnians'. [*Then as in the Pahl. text of ch. I. 36 — 41; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians arose, and went into the abode of the *sacred* fires; and they cast lots among themselves, and the lot came to Ardâ Virâf.

Afterwards, seven sisters, the seven wives of Ardâ Virâf (as all of them were his wives, and had learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers), when they heard those tidings, they were as grievous to them as if they had come upon them most severely; and they went before king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians, and bowed and stood upon their feet, and they spoke thus: [*as in the Pahlavî version, II. 8 — 12; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp, when he heard those words, became angry and said to them thus: 'May the wind carry you away, and the wolf devour you 'and tear off your bones'.

Then Ardâ Virâf, as he saw that Gushtâsp was angry, appeased them; and he went before Gushtâsp, joined his hands on his breast, paid his respects, and said thus: 'If it be customary, let me eat food, and pray to the 'departed souls, and make a will (*andarz*); and afterwards, give me the 'narcotic'. Then king Gushtâsp said thus: 'Act accordingly'.

Afterwards, Ardâ Virâf went to his own sacred fire, and performed the Yazishn ceremony, and prayed to the departed souls, and ate food.

And the sisters prepared a narcotic, and flavored it with a cup of wine, and dressed Ardâ Virâf with other clothes, and gave notice to king Kai Gush-tâsp and the other Mazdayasnians.

Then king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians came, and they gave Ardâ Virâf the narcotic, and he slept upon the carpet. And they instructed the herbad, intrusted with the place, that they should protect the body of Ardâ Virâf, by watching, and should recite the Nasks. And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Ardâ Virâf, and repeated the Avesta during seven days and nights. [*Then as in the Pahlavî version, III. 1—4.*]

And those sisters, as they saw that Ardâ Virâf looked up, became as joyful as if they were in heaven during life; and the herbad offered salutation to Ardâ Virâf, and went before king Gushtâsp, Dalag, Gôspadasht, Frashôstar, Maidyômâh and the other Mazdayasnians, and gave them notice; and they went towards Ardâ Virâf. And Ardâ Virâf, as he saw king Gushtâsp, went to meet him, and spoke thus: 'A blessing from [*as in the Pahlavî version, III. 8—11; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp said thus: 'A perfect heart hast thou, Ardâ Virâf, 'who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, and may the blessing be thine; 'tell us truly about that which thou hast seen'. And having taken his hand, all the Mazdayasnians sat down together, and spoke thus: 'Say what thou 'hast seen in heaven and hell, and at the Chinvat bridge; of these speak 'truly, so that we also may know of those who have possession of Garôdmân'.

Then Ardâ Virâf said thus: 'I am hungry and thirsty; first food is to 'be given to the body, and afterwards questions are to be asked, and work 'appointed'. Then king Gushtâsp ordered that they should bring, for Ardâ Virâf, nice food, well-cooked and savory broth, and cold water, and pleasant wine. Then Ardâ Virâf consecrated the Drôn and Baresman, and ate the food, and completed the sacred repast with sweet basil (*ocymum*) and wine, and said grace. [*Then as in the Pahlavî version, III. 21, etc.*]

Destur Hoshangji observes that the Pâzand orthography of this introduction is 'horrible'; it is however scarcely so bad as that of some other modern MSS. The remainder of this Pâzand text differs but little from the Pahlavî version, and that chiefly in certain omissions, and alterations in the order of the chapters.

Besides the Pahlavî, Pâzand, Sanskrit and old Gujarâti versions of the Arđâ-Vîraf nâmak, there exist versions in Persian prose and verse, and in modern Gujarâti, which all differ materially from the original Pahlavî, especially in the introduction which is referred to the time of Ardashîr Pâpakân. Of the Persian prose versions, one is contained in H₂s, No. 28 in Dr. Haug's collection, an incomplete octavo MS., apparently more than two centuries old, consisting of 91 folios, written 7 and 8 lines to the page, and mostly in a very large handwriting; from 3 to 5 other folios are missing (viz. either fol. 48, 90 and 94, or fol. 48, 49, 91, 95 and 96), which must have contained the text corresponding to the Pahlavî ch. 14,^{19-21.} 50,^{4.}—51,^{5.} and 101,²⁰ to end. The introduction, which forms about one-eighth of the whole, combines the Pahlavî account of Arđâ Vîraf, as Destur Hoshangji remarks, with the earlier tradition of Ardashîr Pâpakân's proceedings for re-establishing the religion. The following is a complete translation of this introduction:

I maintain praise for the One God who created us just as he willed and wills, and unto our prophet.

They say that when Ardashîr Bâbagân was king, as he settled himself in the monarchy, he slew ninety kings (some say he slew ninety-six kings), and cleared the world of enemies, and restored it to tranquillity. He summoned before him all the Desturs and Mobads who existed at that time, and said thus: 'The true and correct religion which Almighty God revealed to Zaratusht (*peace be* unto him), and Zaratusht made current in the world, no longer remains with me, so that I would make a collection of tenets and assertions and sayings, from the world, and place confidence in only one'. And he sent people through all the provinces, and every place where learning and priestcraft existed, and summoned all to his court. A multitude of forty thousand men went up to court.

Afterwards, he demanded and said: 'Which are those who are the wisest of these?' Then they inquired, and selected four thousand of the wisest, out of that assembly, and informed the king of kings. And he said, a second time: 'Be careful a second time, and separate from that assembly,

‘such persons as are discerning and wise, and possess a better recollection of the Avesta and Zand’. Four hundred men appeared who possessed a better recollection of their Avesta and Zand. Another time they were careful, and from the midst of these, they selected forty men, who possessed a recollection of the whole of their Avesta. Again, among these select, were a certain seven men, in whom no sin had appeared, from their earliest years till the age at which they had arrived; and they were excessively careful, and pure-hearted in thoughts and words and deeds, and their hearts clave unto God. Afterwards, they conducted the whole seven to king Ardashîr.

Then the king directed thus: ‘It is necessary that I should dispel these suspicions and doubts from the religion, and all men should be of the religion of Aûharmazd and Zaratusht, and adopt the assertions and sayings of the religion; so that it may become clear to me and the learned and wise, what the religion is, and that these suspicions and doubts may disappear from the religion’. Then they replied thus: ‘No one is able to give this information, except one who has committed no sin, from the early age of eight years, unto the time which has arrived; and this man is Virâf, than whom there is no one purer, or more spiritually enlightened, or more true-speaking; and on this account, it is necessary to make choice of him. And we six others will carry on, in some place, the Yazishn *ceremonies* and Nîrang *prayers* which are appointed, in the religion, for all such matters; until God, the revered and glorious, shall reveal the facts to Virâf, and Virâf shall give us information of them, so that everyone may become free from doubts about Aûharmazd and Zaratusht’.

Virâf himself undertook this affair; and king Ardashîr welcomed those words. Then they said, this affair would not be rightly accomplished, unless they went into the precincts of the sacred fire. Then they arose and performed their design and went away.

Afterwards, those six men, who were desturs, performed the Yazishn *ceremonies* on one side of the place of fire, and on the other sides, those forty, with the forty thousand men of the desturs who had come into the precincts, all performed the Yazishn *ceremonies*. And Virâf washed his head and body, and put on clean clothes, and perfumed himself with sweet scent; he stood before the fire, and repented of all sins.

Vîrâf had seven sisters, and as they received those tidings, all the seven came, weeping and lamenting, and said thus: 'We are seven veiled heads at home, and have no brother but this one; and our trust is all in him; now you wish to send him to the other world, and we know not whether we shall see his face again, or not, for you will leave us unprotected; we are without father and mother, and you will also leave our home without a brother. We shall not permit it, for we have only one brother; choose some one else, and let this brother remain with us'.

The desturs, as they heard these words, said: 'Suffer and fancy no anxiety, for we will deliver Vîrâf to you again, safe and sound, in the course of seven days'. And they swore an oath; and the sisters were satisfied, and returned.

Afterwards, Ardashir, the king of kings, with horsemen clothed in armor, kept watch around the place of fire, so that no heresy should do anything, with concealed enmity, against Vîrâf; and that no danger should approach him, nor anything occasion evil in the midst of the Yazishn ceremony, during which prayers were offered up.

Afterwards, in the midst of the place of fire, they placed a throne, and threw clean clothes upon it; and they seated Vîrâf upon that throne, and let down a face-veil upon him. And those forty thousand men stood performing the Yazishn ceremony, and consecrated the Drôn cakes, and placed a little fat upon one of those Drôn, as they consecrated the whole. They gave one cup of wine to Vîrâf with well-thought thoughts, and they gave him one cup with well-spoken words, and they gave him one cup with well-done deeds¹. Afterwards, Vîrâf, when he had drunk the three cups, dropped his head on to the cushion at once, and slept.

Then during seven nights and days they performed the Yazishn ceremony on the spot. Those six desturs were seated by the cushion of Vîrâf; and those thirty-three other men, who were selected, performed the Yazishn ceremony around the throne; and those three hundred and sixty additional men who were selected, performed the Yazishn ceremony around these; and those thirty-six thousand performed the Yazishn ceremony around the cupola

¹ This sentence is abbreviated, as well as the two which follow, owing to a folio being torn in the MS.

of the place of fire¹. And the king of kings, clothed in armor and seated on horseback, with his troops, encircled the outside of the cupola, and allowed no passage there for the air; and in every place where they sat performing the *Yazishn ceremony*, a company of people were stationed with drawn swords and clothed in armor, so that the troops themselves were in every place, and no one else mingled with them; and at that place where the throne of Viráf was, infantry in armor were stationed around the throne, and allowed no passage, to the throne, to anyone else but those six desturs. Whilst the king of kings went in and came out of that place, and kept watch around the place of fire, and disturbed with this responsibility, he remained watching Viráf whilst seven nights and days elapsed.

After the seven nights and days, Viráf moved again and revived and sat up. And the people and desturs, when they saw that Viráf returned from sleep, were glad and joyful, and received pleasure; and standing on their feet, they bowed and said: 'Thou art welcome, Ardâ Viráf; look back again at that which is the holy heaven; how hast thou come? and how didst thou go? and what didst thou see? tell us too, that we also may know the description of the other world'.

Ardâ Viráf said: 'First bring something, that I may eat; for it is seven nights and days, since this one has obtained anything, and I am hungry. Afterwards, ask whatever you wish, so that I may inform you'.

Immediately, the desturs consecrated a Drôn cake; and Ardâ Viráf muttered grace, ate a little with water, and said grace. Then he said: 'Now fetch a skilful writer, so that I may relate whatever I have seen; and you will send it, early, into the world, so that a knowledge of spiritual matters and heaven and hell may extend to everyone, and they may know the value of virtuous actions, and may abstain from bad ac-

¹ It is evident that the text has omitted the 3600 who must have been stationed between the 360 and the 36,000. It will be observed that Viráf and the 6 others are the 7 last selected; these and the 33 of the first circuit, are the 40 previously selected; these and the 360 of the second circuit, are the 400 of the earlier selection; these and the 3600 of the third circuit, which have been omitted, are the 4000 of the first selection; and these, with the 36,000 of the outer circuit, constitute the whole 40,000 priests.

tions'. Then they brought a skilful writer, and he sat down in the presence of Ardâ Virâf.

This introduction, which corresponds to the first three chapters of the Pahlavî text, closely resembles Pope's English translation ¹, p. 1—9, but gives more details. The same resemblance continues throughout the remainder of this Persian prose version, which corresponds, more or less, to the Pahlavî text of ch. 4—33, 44—48, 34, 35, 38—41, 49—52, 101; it omits the additional details given in Pope's translation p. 14, 15, 37—40, but contains the long homily in p. 41—48 of the same. Pope states, in his preface, that his translation is made from three Persian versions, the first in prose, by Nôshîrvân Kirmânî; the second in verse, by Zaratusht Bahîrâm (which will be shortly mentioned); and the third in prose, by the same, (which may possibly be that in H₂₈). His translation contains all that is in H₂₈ (except the equivalent of ch. 14, ^{1-6, 19-21.}), in a rather condensed form, together with the additional matter in his p. 14, 15, 37—40 and 93—101.

Destur Hoshangji mentions another Persian prose version, without an introduction, which is contained in the Rivâyat of Râmâ Khambâyâtî, and in other respects, does not differ much from those in verse.

Of the versions of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak in Persian verse, mentioned by Destur Hoshangji, the principal one is that by destur Zaratusht Bahîrâm, which was composed in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1530—1531) from an anonymous prose version (possibly that in H₂₈), which destur Zaratusht states he has closely followed.

A second version in Persian verse was written, in A.Y. 902 (A.D. 1532—1533), by the celebrated Parsi traveller Kâûs ², who had come

¹ The Ardai Viraf Nameh, or the Revelations of Ardai Viraf, translated from the Persian and Guzeratee versions, by J. A. Pope. London 1816.

² It appears from the story of Kâûs and Afshâd (translated from Persian into Gujarâtî, in the Hâdesâ Nâmu, by Frâmji Aspendiârji, Bombay, A.D. 1831), that they were two Parsi merchants of Yazd in Persia, who made a trading voyage to India in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1531), and were wrecked near Dîv, losing all their goods,

from Persia, with his companion Afshâd, to Nausârî, where he had thrown much light upon religious matters. His work is more condensed than that of destur Zaratusht, but appears to be derived from the same sources, as it agrees with it in referring the introduction to the time of Ardashîr Pâpakân.

A third version in Persian verse was composed by destur Nôshîrvân Marzbân Kirmânî, and a copy of it is contained in fol. 46—50 of the Rivâyat No. 29a in the collection of the Bombay Govt., written in A. Y. 1048 (A. D. 1679) by herbad Dârâb Hormazyâr, who extracted it from the Rivâyat of Bahman Pûnjyah, who brought it from Iran. It consists of 398 couplets, of which 32 are introductory, 110 are descriptive of heaven, 236 of hell, and 20 contain the author's peroration; it is preceded by a treatise, of which only the last 187 couplets remain, giving a tedious explanation of his reasons for undertaking the work. The introduction merely mentions that Arđâ Vîrâf was sent to the other world by Ardashîr Pâpakân, and refers to Zaratusht Bahîrâm's work for further particulars; the author further states that, on reading a prose version of Zaratusht Bahîrâm's verses, and comparing it with the *zavârish*, in company with two desturs, he determined to write his poem. In this version, Vîrâf's first vision is that of the dog Zarîngôsh, as given in Pope's translation p. 14—15, but which does not occur in the Pahlavî and Pâzand versions, nor in H2s; then follows a short general description of heaven, and an account of hell condensed into fourteen visions, all differing considerably from the original. In the same Rivâyat No. 29a, fol. 275—276, is a repetition of 30 of the

except a few pearls. At Dîv they received an invitation from Mâneshâh Chângâshâh, an influential Parsi of Nausârî, then 70 years old, who wanted information about religious customs. They travelled by the circuitous land route, through Khambâyat, Bhroch, Oklasîr and Surat, at all of which places they found the Parsis very ignorant of their religious customs. Arriving at Nausârî, they were entertained by Mâneshâh who consulted them about several religious observances which had fallen into disuse, and especially about building a new *dakhma* for the dead. Finally, these two Iranian Parsis quarreled and separated.

couplets referring to Zarîn-gôsh, with an addition of 58 couplets about the duty of well-treating dogs, otters and hedgehogs.

Besides the old Gujarâti translation attached to the third Pâzand version of the Arqâ-Vîrâf nâmak, Destur Hoshangji mentions another, which is separate and by an anonymous translator, based upon Zaratusth Bahirân's Persian text; judging from its language, this translation must be fully 150 years old. A free modern Gujarâti translation of the same Persian text, was published in Bombay, some twenty years ago, at the 'Jâm-i Jamshêd' press; and it has been re-published since.

The only other MS. which remains to be mentioned is H₇, a Pârsî¹-Persian MS. No. 7 in Dr. Haug's collection, which has been used in preparing the text of the tale of Gôsh-t-i Fryânô. It consists of 235 folios, octavo, neatly written by Dârâshâh Mihrbânji, 15 lines to the page, the Persian equivalent of the Pârsî texts being often interlined; and its contents are as follows:

1. Mînôkhird. 2. Risâlah-i Mînôkhird-i digar, in Persian only. 3. The seven things made by Jamshêd in Pârs, Persian only. 4. Bundesh, part I., containing Anquetil's ch. 18—23, 1—14, 24—27 and 31, with a colophon dated Wednesday the 7th of the twelfth month A.Y. 1178 *qadim* (corresponding to the 9th of August A.D. 1809). 5. Questions and answers, with the names of the twelve beings to be honored, the names of the ten species of men, and of the ten demons who trouble them, in Persian. 6. Bundesh, part II., containing Anquetil's ch. 15—17. 7. Divers statements from the Avesta and Dîn. 8. Jâmâsp nâmah. 9. The story of Akhd-i Jâdû and Gôsh-t-i Paryân. 10. Risâlah-gujastah Abâlish bâ mobad. 11. Risâlah-i hêrbadân hêrbad u dastûr-i ân ayâm bâ 'ulamâ-i Islâm, in Persian. 12. Discussion between a Destur and Musulman, regarding God and Ahrîman, in Persian. 13. The book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, in Persian, with a colophon dated Friday afternoon the 2^d of the first month A.Y. 1179, or the 27th of the

¹ By 'Pârsî' is here meant what Parsi writers call 'Pâzand' written in the Persian character.

seventh month A.H. 1224, (corresponding to the 8th of September A.D. 1809). 14. Conversation between Anharmazd and Zaratusht regarding religion. 15. A repetition of part of article 6. 16. Yasna 45, 2, 3, 5, 6. Zand-Pârsî. 17. Short fragments about religious customs, and Zaratusht's genealogy, in Persian. 18. Vendidad 1, 3-6. Zand-Gujarâti. 19. Part of Yasht 17, 2, 16. Zand-Persian. 20. Yasna 30, 3. Z.-Pahl.-Pârsî; and a few miscellaneous sentences.

II.

The system of transliteration adopted for the Pahlavi texts.

Although the correct reading of the words may be the most difficult task of an editor of a Pahlavî text, the most perplexing question for his consideration is the settlement of a satisfactory system of transliteration, and his most troublesome duty is to adhere strictly to the system he has adopted. How far these difficulties have been overcome, in the present instance, the reader will be able to judge, after he has carefully considered the rules which the editors have adopted and endeavoured to carry out, together with their reasons for adopting such rules.

With regard to the correct reading of texts, it is only necessary to mention that the difficulty of identifying Pahlavî words rapidly diminishes as the student extends his reading and enlarges his vocabulary. The number of words which really admit of more than one identification is small, and Pahlavî orthography is quite as fixed as that of modern Persian. So long as the reader confines his attention to old MSS., he seldom meets with serious grammatical, or orthographical, difficulties; the old copyists often omit words and phrases, by mistake, but they are satisfied with copying the text as they find it, to the best of their ability, and very rarely insert emendations of their own; so their language does not differ much from that of the original writer, and is generally grammatical and intelligible. Modern

copyists, including most of those of the last two centuries and many of the present day, are generally more ambitious; they are not satisfied with simply copying the old copies as they find them, which would limit their errors to a few omissions and miswritings, but they make numerous emendations, which are rarely improvements, but almost always corruptions of the text. That this is no exaggeration, may be inferred from the fact that the editors of the *Arđâ-Vîrâf Nâmak* have had to consider many such modern emendations of difficult passages, and in nine cases out of ten they have found the old reading preferable to the emendation.

Having identified the words, the question of transliteration next arises, and may be solved by reference to three authorities. First, the Sasanian inscriptions which, being records nearly contemporary with most of the Pahlavî works, are especially valuable for fixing the original pronunciation of such words as can be identified with certainty; unfortunately, the existing copies of the longer Sasanian inscriptions¹ are so imperfect, that comparatively few words have been satisfactorily identified, and the pronunciation of some of the Sasanian letters is ambiguous. The second authority is the traditional pronunciation preserved by the Parsis in their Pâzand versions of the Pahlavî texts,

¹ Any traveller in Persia who would obtain and publish correct copies of any of the following Sasanian inscriptions, would do much towards settling many disputed points in Pahlavî pronunciation and construction:

- a) An inscription of 31 lines in a side compartment of the central bas-relief of Naksh-i Râjab.
- b) Two inscriptions of 11 and 12 lines in the inner chamber of the Hall of Columns at Persepolis.
- c) An imperfect inscription of 70 lines behind Shâpûr's horse at Naksh-i Rûstam.
- d) Fragments of a long bi-lingual inscription on the detached stones of Pâk Kûf in latitude 35 deg. 7 min. and longitude 45 deg. 35 min.

When these inscriptions have been fully deciphered, considerable modifications will have to be made in any system of transliteration of Pahlavî which can now be proposed.

which, unless it can be traced back to Sasanian times, can be used as a guide only so long as it is not contradicted by better authority. The third authority is an etymological comparison of the words with their known equivalents in other languages, which must be conducted with great care not to transgress the bounds of probability, and unless confined to the three, or four, languages which are known to contribute most of the Pahlavî words, the results of such an enquiry must be extremely doubtful, if they are not confirmed by one of the other authorities. In the transliterations of Pahlavî texts, contained in this volume, the following fundamental rule has been adopted, with reference to these three authorities, and every endeavour has been made to carry it out, with a due regard to the precautions indicated above:

1) The orthography of the Sasanian inscriptions, so far as it can be reconciled with the Pahlavî letters, is to be considered indisputable, whenever it can be ascertained with certainty; in other cases, the traditional pronunciation is to be followed, so long as it is not inconsistent with the Pahlavî orthography, and is not clearly contradicted by etymology.

Before proceeding into further details, it is necessary to adopt some general rule with regard to the vowels, as they are indispensable for articulation. The Pahlavî writings, like the Sasanian inscriptions, cuneiform and modern Persian, and nearly all Semitic languages, have only three characters to represent vowels; but it would be hazardous to assume (as has been rashly done in the case of ancient Persian) that the language possessed only four simple vowel sounds, three expressed and one understood; such an assumption would be contrary to all analogies, whether Arian, or Semitic. Arabic has fewer simple vowel sounds than any other Semitic language, but it assumes that three vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) are understood, in addition to the three (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) which are expressed. Other Semitic languages add, to these six vowels, the sounds of *e*, *ē*, *o*, *ō*; and the sounds of *e*, *ē* and *ō* are also added in modern Persian, as pronounced in India. Sanskrit has eight simple vowel sounds, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e* and *o*; to which Zand has added three

additional (*ē*, *ê* and *ô*). Now as ancient Persian is closely allied to Zand, and Pahlavî is a lineal descendant of ancient Persian, with a limited admixture of some Semitic language resembling Chaldee, it is reasonable to suppose that Pahlavî must have inherited most of the vowel sounds of those languages, to which so many of its words can be traced; more especially those vowels which are again found in its own descendant, modern Persian. In accordance with these views, the following general rule has been adopted, which secures the use of a circumflex with all vowels expressed in the original characters, except an initial short *a*:

2) The Pahlavî letters *u*, *ā*, *y*, when they are vowels, must be read either *a* or *â*, *i* or *ê*, *û* or *ô*, and the short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* may be inserted, wherever etymology can show good reasons for the existence of such vowels ¹.

As the authority of the Sasanian inscriptions is accepted as paramount, it is now necessary to consider how far this authority is available. The Sasanian characters are quite as ambiguous as the Pahlavî, in some cases; thus, both characters use only three letters to express the vowels, *u* = *u*, *ā* = *ā*, *2* = *y*, and both use the same character *h* = *h* for *h* and *kh*, and *f* = *f* for *f* and *p*; in many cases also, the Sasanian confounds *r* and *l*, and when it does not, the *2* *r* and *2* *w*, *v* are identical; *3* *d* and *h* *t* are also used very indiscriminately, and the consonants *h* *y* and *2* *w*, *v*, being also used to express the vowels *î*, *ê* and *û*, *ô*, are indistinguishable from them. These ambiguities also occur in Pahlavî; but in addition to these, there is a special practical difficulty of distinguishing between the Sasanian

¹ In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 246, it was proposed to use *e* and *o* for any unexpressed vowel corresponding to *i*, *î*, or *u*, *û*, in the cognate languages; and to use *i* and *u* only when those vowels were expressed in Pahlavî, and merely understood in the cognate languages. This is the usual plan of the Pâzand writers, but when rigidly followed, it leads to such unnatural results that it has been abandoned for the more natural and regular system adopted in the text.

22 *sh* and 22 *v, û, r + v, û, r*. It follows from these remarks that, in Sasanian words, the consonants 3 *d*, 4 *f*, *p*, 5 *h*, *kh*, 6 *l*, *r*, 22 *sh*, 7 *t*, 2 *v, r*, 7 *y* and all the vowels are more, or less, ambiguous; and only the consonants 1 *b*, 5 *ch*, 3 *g*, 3 *k*, 5 *m*, 6 *n*, 7 *s* and 5 *z* can be transliterated with certainty. As compared with the Pahlavî ambiguities, however, the Sasanian readings afford means of distinguishing between 11 = 11 *â* and 11 = 5 *h, kh*; between 3 = 3 *g* and 3 = 3 *d* and 3 = 7 *y*; between 6 = 6 *n* and 6 = 2 *v, û, r*; between the Semitic suffix 11 = 11 *man*¹ and the ordinary syllable 11 = 6 *man*; and between such compounds as 11 = 11 *az*, or 5 *ach*, and 11 = 4 *af*, or *ap*; 11 = 11 *dâ*, 11 = 11 *gâ*, 11 = 11 *yâ*, 11 = 22 *sh*, etc.

The words already identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, confirm the transliteration attached to each of the following Pahlavî words, subject to such ambiguities as are mentioned above; the vowels being supplied in accordance with rule 2:

11 *akhar.*

11 *hatîmûn.*

11 *hat.*

11 *afash.*

11 *khitayâ.*

11 *afam.*

¹ Mr. Thomas, in his latest remarks on this letter (Journal R. A. S. n. s. vol. V. p. 410—413), still adheres to his opinion that it represents the sound *î*, because 11 resembles the *î* in the Phœnician and some other old alphabets, and also 11 in Zand and Pâzand, and because in one word (out of twelve identified) 11 corresponds to 11 *barî* in Chaldæo-Pahlavî. These arguments would have some weight if there were no facts to contradict them; but it has been shown, with tolerable certainty, (Journal R. A. S. n. s. vol. IV. p. 364—368) that the Sasanian 11 corresponds to the Pahlavî 11, and it has also been shown, in Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 112—114, that the pronunciation *man* can be etymologically explained, and the word 11 (Hâjtâbâd inscrip. lin. S. 9, C. 8) actually occurs in Chaldee, in the form 11 which fully confirms the reading *tamman* of the Parsis.

| | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| khazîtûn. | ragelman. |
| — adîn —. | zak. |
| amat. | — zî —, zya —. |
| hankhetûn. | yadman. |
| Artakhshatar. | gadman. |
| hóman. | shapîr. |
| hómanam. | yehevân. |
| Anîrán. | kard. ¹ |
| Aîrán. | kardakân. |
| babâ. | malkâ. |
| barbîtân. | maman. |
| barâ. | mîn. |
| bûkht. | minam. |
| benafshman. | madam. |
| barman. | magôpat. |
| pavan. | va. |
| tamman. | nafshman. |
| chîgûn. | val. |
| lâ. | valman. |
| rabâ. | vazlûn. |
| ramîtûn. | yektîbân. |
| rûbân. | yekavîmûn. |
| lanman. | |

¹ It will be explained, hereafter, that *ḍ* is used to express a Pahlavî *ṣ* when it has, probably, the sound of *d*; therefore, *t* and *ḍ* express the same Pahlavî letter.

The correct transliteration of the following Pahlavî words can also be easily settled from that of the Sasanian equivalent, which is attached to each, although the latter differs slightly from the Pahlavî orthography, and is subject to the ambiguities mentioned above:

| | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | Sas. <i>Akharmanî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 | Sas. <i>sazîunt.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>Âtarî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 | " <i>Shahpûharî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>ham-gûmakî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>yazdân.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 | " <i>Aûharmazdî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>shatarî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>aitî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>kal</i> in Ch. Pahl. |
| 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>aik.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>kirf.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 | " <i>bûkhtakî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>kartî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>bîrûnî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>minû.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>Pâpakî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 | " <i>vahîshtî.</i> |
| 𐭠 | " <i>lî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>nâmakî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>râtî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 | " <i>nipishtî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>râstî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>dabîr.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣𐭥 | " <i>levînî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 | " <i>dûshahûî.</i> |
| 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>zatî.</i> | 𐭠𐭣 | " <i>zenman.</i> |

In the following words, the orthographies are not quite correspondent: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 Sas. *âlashî*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 Sas. *acharpat*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Sas. *Mazdayasn*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 (etymologically *yâmtûn*) Sas. *yahmtûn*. And the plural suffix 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠𐭣 *ân* elides a final *â* in Sasanian, but not in Pahlavî; as in 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *malkâân*, Sas. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *malkân*; 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *shê-dâân*, Sas. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *shêdân*.

A cursory comparison would lead one to suppose that the common Sasanian final 𐭠 *i* was equivalent to the equally common Pahlavî

final 𐭠, *ô*; but closer investigation does not quite confirm this supposition. Of the 22 Sasanian words ending in 𐭠 *î*, which are detailed above, five never have a final 𐭠 in Pahlavî, fifteen have it only sometimes; and only two have it constantly. On the other hand, the Pahlavî final 𐭠 is often found in words which never have a Sasanian final 𐭠 *î*; such as all plural nouns (of which nine have been recognized in Sasanian) and the following: 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *adîn*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *Anîrán*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *Aîrán*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *rûbân*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *yazdân*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *kîn*, 𐭠𐭠 Sas. *dabîr*; so the correspondence of these two finals cannot be considered as proved, although the frequent occurrence of final 𐭠 *tî* and 𐭠 *kî* in Sasanian inscriptions, and of 𐭠 and 𐭠 in certain rare Pahlavî books, is an argument in its favor.

Next to the contemporary evidence of the Sasanian inscriptions, it is necessary to consider what amount of reliance can be placed upon the so-called traditional readings of the Pâzand, the second authority we have adopted. A very little examination discovers that every writer of Pâzand has his own system of orthography with regard to some words, and no system at all with regard to others; thus, in three MSS. of the Mainyô-i Khard, we find *ameshâspeñdâ* spelt eight ways; *hizvâ*, seven ways; *Hôrmezd*, six ways; and *qadâc*, eleven ways. All idea of ascertaining the traditional pronunciation of the vowels, must vanish when it is found that the writers not only differ from each other, but also from themselves, in most words; and where they are consistent, they may be reasonably suspected of exhibiting rather the orthographical ideas of their own time, than any old traditional usage. Among the simpler words, Destur Hoshangji writes, at the present time, *bor-sashn*, *chêm*, *dô*, *dorast*, *dosh*, *doshman*, *e*, *goptan*, *gomêkhtan*, etc.; while MSS., 350 years old, have *burzhishn*, *chim*, *du*, *durust*, *dush*, *dushman*, *i*, *guftan*, *gumêkhtan*, etc.

Admitting that modern Pâzand readings can have no traditional authority, when they differ from those of old Pâzand, it remains to be seen what reliance can be placed upon the Pâzand of 350 years ago. Comparing this old Pâzand with Sasanian, we find such inconsistencies

as the following: اڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *aigin*, Sas. *adin*; وڤڤ Pâz. *vash*, Sas. *afash*; فڤ Pâz. *vaēm*, Sas. *afam*; اڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *Ērā*, Sas. *Aīrān* (Z. *Airyana*). Comparing it with the Pahlavī orthography, we find several inconsistencies, such as اڤڤڤ Pâz. *hamē*; اڤڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *Amerdād*; اڤڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *Awerdād*; اڤڤڤ Pâz. *avā*; اڤڤ, اڤڤ, Pâz. *ē*; اڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *Ēraṣ* (Z. *Airyu*); اڤڤ Pâz. *rā*; اڤڤڤڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *dāēstā*. Comparing it with the Zand equivalents, we also find many inconsistencies, such as اڤڤڤ Pâz. *avē* —, Z. *vī* —; اڤڤڤڤڤڤڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *aratishtār*, Z. *rathaēstārō*; اڤڤڤڤ Pâz. *tukhm*, Z. *taokhma*; اڤڤڤ Pâz. *dīn*, Z. *daēna*.

The only safe conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn from a careful examination of Pâzand, is that, although it probably preserves many old traditional readings of the Pahlavī, it is impossible to distinguish these, with any certainty, from the mere mannerism of the writer, or that of his time. However valuable, therefore, the Pâzand may be as an interpreter of the ambiguous Pahlavī, in a general way, it cannot be accepted as an authority in the smaller details of transliteration, unless confirmed by careful etymology, when the Sasanian reading is unknown, or ambiguous.

These remarks apply, of course, specially to the orthography of Iranian words which, with a few exceptions, are all that the Pâzand actually transliterates. For the sounds of the Huzvāresh words, which the Pâzand nearly always translates, the traditional guide is the Pahlavī-Pâzand Glossary, and Destur Peshotan, in the preface to his useful Pahlavī Grammar¹, argues that this Glossary, being more than 1200 years old, must have been compiled at a time when the pronunciation of the Huzvāresh words was well known; he cannot, therefore, recommend any deviation from the pronunciation so recorded, and he attributes its variations from other Semitic languages to corruption when the foreign words were first adopted by the Persians (Gram. p. 40).

¹ A Grammar of the Pahlvī Language, by Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana, Bombay, 1871.

This argument depends upon three assumptions: first, that the correct pronunciation was known when the Glossary was compiled; second, that it was written down in Pâzand at that time; and third, that it has never been altered by subsequent copyists. It is not easy to prove any of these assumptions, but it is perfectly easy to compare the possibly contemporary pronunciation of the Glossary with the undoubtedly contemporary authority of the Sasanian inscriptions; and the result of such a comparison is that out of the 51 Huzvâresh words identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, as given in the lists on p. xxvi-viii, the pronunciation of 25 differs from that given in the traditional Glossary; while, on the other hand, only three, or four, of the Sasanian readings present any serious etymological difficulties. The inevitable conclusion from these facts, is that careful etymology is a safer guide to the correct pronunciation of Huzvâresh words, than the Pâzand transliterations of the Glossary.

Having thus examined the principles upon which a systematic transliteration of Pahlavî may be based, it remains to be explained how these principles have been carried out, in the transliteration of the Pahlavî texts contained in this volume. And in doing this, it is necessary, in the first place, to define the limits of careful etymology, on which so many of the details are found to depend.

As the Huzvâresh portion of the Pahlavî appears to be a remnant of some dialect of the Assyrian¹, differing from that of the cuneiform inscriptions, but closely allied to Chaldee and Syriac, those languages afford the safest basis for etymology, and the more distantly connected Semitic dialects, such as Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic should be used only in cases of difficulty, and with great caution. The Iranian portion of the Pahlavî, which is identical with the Pâzand, being a descendant of ancient Persian, and one of the parents of modern Persian, can be best explained from those languages, but with some special exceptions. Nearly all the extant Pahlavî writings are either translations from the

¹ See Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 138-142.

Zand, or are closely connected with the Zoroastrian religion; the translator would, naturally, be much influenced by the orthography of his text in all words except those in constant colloquial use; and the religious writer would have to draw his inspiration from such translations; the influence of the Zand orthography upon the Iranian portion of the Pahlavî must, therefore, have been greater than would be supposed from the distant relationship between the two languages. The ancient Persian is of little use in distinguishing between the vowels *ê* and *î*, *ô* and *û*; and the pronunciation of these vowels, given in dictionaries of modern Persian, appears to be merely that current in India, where the vernaculars have a special tendency to corrupt *î* into *é* and *û* into *ô*¹; in Persia itself, the vowels *ê* and *ô* are said to have nearly disappeared under the predominating influence of Arabic; under these circumstances, the most obvious course is to refer to the Zand, whose elaborate vowel system is likely to afford assistance in determining these vowels. In accordance with these remarks, the limits of careful etymology may be defined by the following rules:

3) Semitic words should be traced, if possible, to Chaldee and Syriac; and derivations from Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic should be treated with great caution².

4) Iranian words, relating specially to the Parsis, or their religion, should be traced direct to Zand, even when they also occur in Persian; but when they are not specially Parsi words, they should be traced to

¹ This tendency is particularly strong in Parsi Gujarâtî, and leads to such pronunciations as *Angrej*, *behesht*, *bojorg*, *del*, *dojakh*, *ehesân*, *ekhtiâr*, *ensâf*, *golâm*, *goso*, *hokam*, *keâmat*, *kheâl*, *sâheb*, *Zaratosht*, etc.

² It is necessary to guard against the idea that the Persians pronounced the Semitic words whilst reading, or used them in conversation; for they appear to have always translated them into Persian, and used the Persian equivalent; as the English write *viz.* and *lbs.*, and read *namely* and *pounds*. This habit accounts for the total disappearance of these Semitic words, as soon as the Pahlavî character was disused; see Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 127, 130.

Persian, merely referring to the Zand equivalent to ascertain if *e*, *ê*, *o*, or *ô* should be used instead of *a*, *i*, *î*, *u*, or *û*.

In applying these rules, many doubtful cases occur, which can only be settled, somewhat arbitrarily, on their several merits; thus the Zand prepositional prefix *hañ-* generally becomes *an-* in modern Persian (*hangâm* being one of the exceptions), so that 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀 and 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀 would be read *hanjaman* and *handâm* if traced to Zand, or *anjaman* and *andâm* if traced to Persian; with a due regard, however, for rule 4, the Zand reading has been adopted for *hanjaman*, and the Persian reading for *anbâr*, *andêshûd*, *andâzîd*, *angârd*, *andâm*, *andarz*, *andôkht*, etc.

The transliteration of 𐬌, 𐬍 and 𐬎 is beset with many complications, as they stand for both vowels and consonants, and for more than one of each.

The letter 𐬌 represents the consonants *h* and *kh* in many words, of which the following are a few instances; it stands for *h* in 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hat*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hazâr*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hasht*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *ham*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hangâm*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hâmat*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *chahâr*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zahabâ*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *dahishn*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *mahmân*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *vahisht*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zreh*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *stih*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *shukâh*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *mâh*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *vêh*; and it stands for *kh* in 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khâr*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khâk*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khân*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khrafstar*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khvâst*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khûd*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *khûn*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *akhar*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *apâkhtar*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *bakht*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *lakhmâ*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *sakht*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *akh*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *mîkh*; when the *h*, or *kh*, is final, the 𐬌 is often enlarged into 𐬌𐬀. There is a tendency in Pahlavî to preserve the consonant 𐬌 before 𐬀 *sh*, in cases where it has nearly, or entirely, disappeared in Persian, as in 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *Zaratûhasht* and 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *pûdahkshah*; for this reason, it is doubtful whether 𐬀𐬭𐬀 (*Z. âtarsh*) should be read *âtaksh*, or *âtûsh*, but the latter reading has been adopted, as the more probable; the words 𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬀𐬭𐬀 and 𐬀𐬭𐬀 occur in the Naksh-i Rûstam inscription, lin. 17, 34, 36, but owing to the practical difficulty of distinguishing between 𐬀 *sh* and 𐬀 *rô*, *ûr*, it is doubt-

ful whether these words are to be read *âtashî* and *âtashân*, or *âtarôî* and *âtarôân*, or *Âtûrî* and *Âtûrán*.

The initial vowel **ا** is generally a short *a*, like **ا** and **آ**, there being no other way of expressing the short initial *a*; in some cases however, the initial vowel is lengthened in the cognate languages, and then the initial **ا** should be read *â*, as in **آتاش** *âtâsh*, **اتارو** *âtarô*, **او** *âv* and *âz*, **آوادان** *âvâdân*, **آزاد** *âzard*, **آزارم** *âzarm*, **آویکلت** *âvîkht*, **آزور** *âzûr*, or *âzvar*, **آورد** *âvôrd*, **آپستانو** *âpûstanô*, **آفرینو** *âfrînô*, **آلؤدک** *âlûdak*, **آس** *âs*, **آسان** *âsân*, **آسرؤک** *âsrûk*, **آسیاؤ** *âsyâv*, **آسمان** *âsmân*, **آسن** *âsn*, **آشتی** *âshthî*, **آشؤپ** *âshûp*, **آکاس** *âkâs*; **آکؤست** *âkûst*, **آمؤکلت** *âmûkht*, **آمؤرزشن** *âmûrزشn*, **آنگؤن** *ângûn*, etc. With a few doubtful exceptions, **ا** is the only initial vowel in Pahlavî, like **ا** in Persian and Arabic, and **א** in Hebrew and Chaldee; but it forms initial diphthongs with the other two vowels, **ی** and **د**, as in **آؤهارمزد** *Aûharmazd*, **آؤباش** *aûbash*, **آؤپارد** *aûpârd*, **آؤستیناند** *aûstînanđ*, **آؤپاست** *aûpast*, **آؤزدیستار** *aûzdistâr*, **آؤرؤار** *aûrvar*, **آؤزیر** *aûzîr* (Z. *uzayara*), **آؤستاد** *aûstâd*, **آؤستردک** *aûsturdak*, **آؤسؤفرؤد** *aûsôfrîd*, **آؤشؤبام** *aûshbâm*; **آیت** *aît*, **آیران** *Aîrán*, **آیرئح** *Aîrîch*, or *Aîrîv*, **آیغ** *aîgh*, **آیؤف** *ayûf*, **آئنمان** *aînman*, etc. It may be observed that in none of these words, can the initial diphthong be traced to an original *ô*, or *ê*, although the Pâzand writers often use *o*, or *ê*, to represent such diphthongs, which practice¹ is justifiable in only a few cases, such as the following: **آؤج** *aôj*, **آؤ** *aê*, **آؤتؤن** *aêtûn*, **آؤچاند** *aêchand*, **آؤرپات** *aêrpat*, **آؤشم** *aêshm*, or *khêshm*. Excepting the *idhâfat* **د** *i*, the only available instances of words com-

¹ This practice has, no doubt, a close connection with the aversion of Parsi Gujarâtî to the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, which it always changes, if possible, into *e* and *o*, as in *eb*, Ar. عیب; *esh*, Ar. عیش; *ojâr*, Ar. اوزار; *olâd*, Ar. اولاد; *okhad*, *oshad*, Sans. *aushadha*; etc.

menacing with any other vowel but **د**, are the rare and uncertain forms **دژدژدژدژ** *ûzdahîshnîh*, **دژ** *în* این, **دژدژدژدژ** *îstâdâk* ایستاده, and **دژدژدژدژ** *Isalvâstar*; when **دژ** *gazîshn* is intended to commence with a vowel, it is written **دژدژ** *aiîzîshn*, as often occurs in the Dîn - kard.

The medial, or final, vowel *u* is always a long *ā*, but it is sometimes used where only the short *a* occurs in the cognate languages, as in *âšâš* آتش; *amāvand* امیوآند, Z. *amavañtem*, which is sometimes further lengthened into *bākt* بخت; *bâhrâm* بهرام; *pâhréj* پهریز; *tâkht* تخت; *pânâk* پناه; *Tâkhmôrapö*, Z. *Takhmô-urupa*; *châshîd* چشید; *zâkham* زخم; *sâhmgûn* سهمگین; *dânar*, Z. *danare*; *Gâyômarđ*, Z. *Gayô + mareta*; and *mâzdayasnân*, Z. *mazdayasna*; etc.

The letter **ו** often represents the consonants *n* and *v*¹, and sometimes *r* and *l*; when initial, it seems to be always a consonant, like **ו** and **ו**, except in the doubtful instance mentioned above, and is limited to the sounds *n* and *v*, being often the conjunction *va*, which is nearly always joined to the following word in MSS., though sometimes to the preceding one, if it end in **ו** or **ו**. The letter **ו** stands for *n* in **ו** *nâmak*, **ו** *nafshman*, **ו** *nask*; **ו** *anâk*, **ו** *ranj*, **ו** *sang*; **ו** *âsân*, **ו** *rôshan*, **ו** *kîn*, etc.; and it stands for *v* in **ו** *va*, **ו** *vâd*, **ו** *vartâ*, **ו** *Vishtâsp*; **ו** *harvisp*, **ו** *khavîd*, **ו** *zîvast*, etc.; as a final *v* it is rare, though it can be found in the rather doubtful forms **ו** *nîv* **ו**, and **ו** *jav* **ו**. When **ו** represents the Chaldee *v*, it seems best to follow the Semitic

¹ More probably the English *w*.

practice and consider it a consonant, as in puvan , levîn , kevan , mandavam , vâdûn , val , varîkûn , vad , etc.; and the same rule may be reasonably adopted when v = Chald. v , as in vakhdûn , valman , vazlûn , etc.

The occasional use of v for r and l , in addition to its common sounds of n , v , $û$, $ô$, is best explained by the history of the Sasanian characters representing those letters¹. On the earliest Sasanian coins, the character for n is like $\{$, while a letter like 2 is used for r , l , v and $û$; somewhat later coins and the earliest rock inscriptions have $\{$ for n , 2 for r , v and $û$, and $\}$ for l and r ; and later inscriptions make still more use of $\}$ for r . In the course of time, $\{$ n and 2 r , l , v , $û$, both changed into v , which thus inherited the sounds r , l , n , v and $û$; and $\}$ l , r changed into z and r , both of which retained the sounds of l and r ; thus we find both kartî and kartô . In Pahlavî writings, the following words have been noticed, in which v stands for r : âtarô , avârik , âfrînagân , âfrînô , khamrâ , Ame-rôdad , Âharmazd , Artakhshatar , Artakhshîr , khûrsand , Horvada , barâ , berat-man , barman , frâz , farzand , parashayâ , pûrsîd , fardand , tôrâ , Spendarmad , sardâr , shutrô , shatvêrô , kîrfak , kard , kurîtûn , kîrâ , Mârspend , Mitrô , muranâ , marantâ , gabrâ , dapîrô , Ganrâk , drûst , gûrd , etc. And v stands for l in pelag , shlum , ghul (Chaldaeo-Pahl. kal , a harsher pronunciation of val), kolâ , milayâ , gamlâ , yemalêlûn (also written jald), etc.

¹ See Thomas's Notes on Pehlvi coins, etc. Journal R. A. S. vol. XIII. p. 377—379.

When medial *y* is a vowel, it may be read either *û*, or *ô*, according to the etymology of the word; thus we read it *û* in all cases where it cannot be traced to any other vowel but *u*, or *û*, in the cognate languages, as well as in those cases where the etymology is quite uncertain; a few instances, in which it corresponds to *û*, are *כְּחֶרֶן* *khēfrûn* and other Huz. verbs, *אַשְׁנֹוד* *ashnûd*, *חֹכֶה* *hûkht*, *כֹּחַן* *khûn*, *בִּירֵן* *bîrûn*, *פֻּמָּן* *pûmman*, etc. It corresponds to a short *u* in other languages, in such words as *חֹה* *hû*-, *אַמְרִישְׁתִּי* *âmârzhishn*, *אַנְגֻּשְׁתִּי* *angûst*, *בֻּרְדָּר* *bûrdâr*, *בֻּרְז* *bûrz*, *בֻּלְאֵד* *bûland*, *פֻּר* *pûr*, *פֻּרְסִיד* *pûrsîd*, *כֻּנִּישְׁתִּי* *kûnishn*, *נַחְשֻׁתִּי* *nakhûst*, *דָּרֵגֻשְׁתִּי* *daregûsh*, *גֻּשְׁתִּי* *gûst*, *גֻּרְבַּק* *gûrbak*, *גֻּרְד* *gûrd*, *גֻּרְג* *gûrg*, - *דֻּשְׁתִּי* *dûsh*-, *גֻּמָּן* *gûmân*, *דֻּמְבַּק* *dûmbak*, *דֻּרְשְׁתִּי* *drûst*, etc.; also in the superlative suffix *תֻּמָּ* *-tûm*, and the ordinal suffix *תֻּמָּ* *-ûm*. The medial vowel *y* is transliterated *ô*, first, when it corresponds to *ao*, or *ô*, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in *חֹרֶשְׁתִּי* *hû-rôst*, *אַנֹּשְׁתִּי* *anôshak*, *בֹּי* *bôî*, *פָּרָחֹם* *parâhôm*, *פֹּרְיֹה* *pôryô*, *טֹכְחַם* *tôkhm*, *טֹרָה* *tôrâ*, *רֹשְׁתִּי* *rôst*, *רֹשְׁחַן* *rôshan*, *סְרֹשְׁתִּי* *Srôsh*, *שׁוֹלְמָן* *shôlman*, *כֹּף* *kôf*, *כֹּכְבָּה* *kôkbâ*, *מֹר* *môr*, *דְּרֹן* *drôn*, *גֹּשְׁפֵּנְד* *gôspend*, *גֹּשְׁתִּי* *gôsh*, *יְשֻׁשְׁדָּסַר* *yôshdâsar*, *יֹמ* *yôm*, etc.; secondly, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned¹, as in *אַפְסֹס* *afsôs*, *אַוֹרְד* *âvôrd*, *אַשְׁכֹּמְבֹ* *ashkômbô*, *אַמֶּרֹדָד* *Amerôdad*, *אַנְדֹכְתִּי* *andôkht*, *בָּרֶסֹם* *baresôm*, *בֹּנְדַק* *bôndak* 'a slave', *פָּאדֹכְשַׁה* *pâdôkshah*, *פְּרֹד* *frôd*, *פֹּשְׁתִּי* *pôst*, *פֹּשְׁתִּי* *pôst*, *טֹחִיק* *tôhik*, *טָבָאֹנֹם* *tâbânôm*, *טֹמִיק* *tômik*, *רַסְיֹדֹם* *rasîdôm*, *זֹפָר* *zôfar*, *מֹשְׁתֹּרְג* *mustôrg*, *מֹזְד* *môzd*, *מֹג* *môg*, *וַרֹיֶשְׁתִּי* *varôishn*, *וִמֹּנְד* *vîmônd*, *גֹּהַר* *gôhar*, *דֹּשְׁתִּי* *dôst* (anc. Pers. *daustar*), *גֹּנְדַק* *gôndak*, etc.

¹ This is the general rule of the Pâzand writers, so far as can be judged from their very irregular readings; its adoption, therefore, prevents any very wide departure from the Pâzand, with regard to this vowel; and the same remarks apply to the similar rule regarding the vowel *â*.

The transliteration of final **י** is complicated with a question of orthography which leads to much uncertainty and requires careful consideration. There is no difficulty when the final **י** is clearly *n*, or *v*, as in the examples already given (p. xxxv), to which may be added such words ending in **י** as **בַּרְיָן** *barijan*, **לָאָן** *lajan*, **לֵבִין** *levîn*, **מִין** *min* and *man*, and many words ending in **אָן** - *ân*, **אִשָּׁן** - *ishn* and **אֵין** - *ên*, - *ên*; also such words ending in **וּן** as **אֲפִיזוּן** *apîzûn*, **בָּאן** *bân*, **פָּאָן** *pavan*, **חִין** *chûn*, **שִׁיבָאן** *shîvan*, **כֵּאָן** *kevan* and *kûn*, **מִין** *mûn*, **דְּרוֹן** *drôn*, all crude Huz. verbs in **וּן** - *ûn*, and many words ending in **רִין** - *rîn*, **וּן** - *ûn*, and **גִּין** - *gûn*. In a few words, the final **י** appears to be *û*, as in **אַהּ** *ahû*, **אַבּוּ** *abû*, **טַנּוּ** *tanû*, **רַשְׁנּוּ** *Rashnû*, **רִי** *rû*, **מִי** *mû*, **דָּוִשָׁהּ** *dûshahû*; but of these we also find the forms **אַהּ**, **אַבּוּ**, **טַנּוּ**, **רַשְׁנּוּ** and **רִי**. And in some cases, a final **י** can be readily identified with a Zand **𐭪** *ô*, or **𐭪** *áo*, as in **אַתָּרֹ** *Âtarô* (Z. gen. *âthrô*, pl. nom. acc. *âtarô*), **דִּיןֹ** *dînô* (Z. pl. nom. acc. *daênão*), **שָׂטְרֹ** *shatrô* and **מִיטְרֹ** (Z. nom. *Mithrô*); but this explanation is not applicable to the infinitive suffix **אִין**, which seems to be the only remaining case where the final **וּן** is constant.

The chief difficulty, however, in transliterating a final **י**, arises in those cases where it seems to be an optional final, either added, or omitted, by the writer, without any apparent reason, but according to some vague rule which practically divides the MSS. into three classes. First, the modern MSS., in which the writer is not satisfied with copying his text, but revises it with doubtful success; such writers generally add an extra **י** to every final **י** *n*, except that of the Semitic suffix **מַן** *man*, and often to the syllables **אָן** *ân*, **אִשָּׁן** *shn* and **אֵין** *în*, when they are medial; but they rarely add the optional final **י** to **אִין**, or any other letter. Second, the very old MSS., which are much more sparing in the use of **י** after **י**, and after **אִין** they generally separate it, and read it as the conjunction **י** *va* beginning the next sentence; from a careful examination of 3 chapters of the Bundehesh and 16 of the Arđâ-Vîrâf

nâmak in the MSS. H₆ and K₂₀ (which are nearly 500 years old), it appears that the old writers used the optional final *y* only once in an average of nine occurrences of the plural suffix *ân*, the pronominal suffixes *-tân*, *-shân*, *-mân*, and most words ending in *-ân*; while they used it after the abstract suffix *-ishn* and the word *râbân*, nearly as often as they omitted it. Third, the MSS. which seem to have been rarely copied, such as the Dîn-kard and Nîrangistân, but of which only modern copies have been examined; these add the extra *y* to a final *n* oftener than they omit it, but they also add it to most words ending in *t*, *k*, *p*, *f*, and *ch*, *j*. When a suffix is added to the word, it generally elides the optional final *y*; but there are many exceptions to this general rule, in all classes of MSS. Turning to the Pahlavî legends on coins¹, we find the optional final *y* sparingly used on the coins of the Arab governors of Persia, and the rulers of Tabaristân, shortly after the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty in A. D. 651; it is added occasionally to *n* in several numerals ending in *shast*, *navađ* and *sad*, in the names *Khârshêđ*, etc. and in *afzûđ*; it is added to *u* in *Marvânân*, to *q* in *Kirmân* and other more doubtful readings; but the merely optional character of this final *y* is as evident on the coins as in the books, by the numerous instances in which it is omitted; it is also worthy of note that it is added to the same letters, *n*, *u*, *q* and *y*, in both cases, while the remaining letter *w*, which takes the extra *y* in some books, does not occur as a final on these coins, so far as has been observed; and the only certain instance of a plural in *-ân* (which occurs in

¹ See Mordtmann's essays in the Zeitschrift der D. M. G., and Thomas's in the Journal of the R. A. S.

the khalîf's title **amîr-i varôishnîkân**, 'commander of the believing') does not take the optional final, although it occurs several times.

If this final **ی** were a consonant, or indicated a change of sound in the preceding consonant, it would be so essential a part of the word, that its frequent omission would be difficult to explain; and if it merely indicated the end of a word, or the suppression of a final short vowel, it ought to be much more frequently used. But its optional character indicates that it is no essential part of the word. Destur Hoshangji considers it as a representative of any final vowel, in the same way as **ا** and **آ** are representatives of a short initial vowel, and he extends this hypothesis to many cases where medial **ی** takes the place of *a* and *i* in the cognate languages; this was evidently the opinion of most of the writers of modern MSS., in many cases; and also of the older writers, with regard to **ی**. That certain Pahlavî words retained an original final vowel, in a modified form, is evident from the frequent occurrence of the final **ی** in the Sasanian inscriptions, which seems to be used in a similar manner to the final **ی** in Pahlavî, although it cannot be shown to be quite equivalent to it (see p. xxix). And there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis that the Pahlavî, whilst generally dropping the complex terminations of the languages whence it derived its words, may occasionally have retained such a termination; in fact, we know this was done in such cases as the termination **ین** -*în* of the crude Huzvâresh verbs, the word **âtarsh** (Z. nom. *âtarsh*), etc.; and we have only to extend this hypothesis, by supposing that some writers rejected all vowel terminations, while others occasionally retained a vowel to represent them, and we obtain an explanation of the optional use of a final vowel.

That the Zand terminations **و** *ô* and **او** *áo* often become **ی** in Pahlavî, instead of being dropped, is proved by the compound words **ameshôspend**, Z. pl. nom. acc. *amesháo spenta*; **pôryô-âkêsh**, Z. *paoiryô-âkaêsha*; **pêshyôtanû**, Z. *peshôtanu*; **Tâkhmôrapö**, Z. *Takhmô-urupa*; **srôshô-cha-**

ranâm, Z. *sraoshô-charana*; 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *Gâyômarđ*, Z. *gayô + mareta*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎 *vâstryôsh*, Z. *vâstryô-fshuyās*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎 *Nêryôsang*, Z. *Nairyô-saṇha*; 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *garôdmân*, Z. *garô-demâna*; etc. We are, therefore, prepared to find that the optional final 𐬀, as well as the constant final (in the words quoted in p. xxxviii), sometimes represents the same Zand terminations, and may therefore be read *ô*, as in 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *âfrînô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *arashkô*, Z. *araskô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *rûbânô*, Z. pl. nom. acc. *urvânô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *rôshanô*, Z. *raochanḥô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *zarînô*, Z. *zairinô*?; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *srûbô*, 'horn', Z. pl. acc. *srvâô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *yêdatô*, Z. *yazatô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *vahishtô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *nabânazdishtô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *drônô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *dastô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *dashinô*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *dâmbô*; all past participles ending in 𐬀 -*tô*, as 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *kartô*, Z. *keretô*; etc. With a due consideration for these facts, and for the obscurity in which the identification of this letter still lies, the following general rule has been adopted for its transliteration; while care has been taken not to admit this optional final 𐬀 into the texts, except where it occurs in the old MSS.

5) Whenever it is possible that the optional final 𐬀 may be the equivalent of the termination *ô*, or *âo*, in some form of the word in Zand, it should be transliterated by *ô*; in all other cases it is supposed to represent some obscure vowel sound which can be represented by *ö*.

The same obscure vowel *ö* can also be used for the final of the infinitive suffix 𐬀 -*tanö*, and of a few other words, where the final 𐬀 is constant, but cannot be traced to an original *ô*, *âo*, *u*, or *û*.

The letter 𐬀 often represents the consonants *y*, *d* and *g*, and sometimes *j*; when initial it seems to be always a consonant, like 𐬀 and 𐬀, except in the doubtful instances mentioned in p. xxxv. It stands for *y* in 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *yazishn*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *yôm*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *rûyîn*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *zîyân*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *mûyak*, etc.; it stands for *d* in 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *dastô*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *denman*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *andêshîd*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *shêdâ*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *hômand*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *pazd*, etc.; it stands for *g* in 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *gabrâ*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *garm*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *ângûn*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *sadîgar*; 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *pelag*, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *ta-*

karg, etc.; and it stands for *j* in 𐭪𐭥 *jih*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *jâm*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Jâmâsp*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *jâmak*, 𐭪𐭥 *jân*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *jânûk*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *jald*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *javîd* and a few others.

When medial 𐭪 is a vowel, the rules adopted for reading it *î*, or *ê*, are similar to those for reading *û*, or *ô*, for 𐭪. A few instances, in which it corresponds to *î*, in the cognate languages, are 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *âfrînô* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *avîrân*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *aitô*, 𐭪𐭥 *bîm*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *tînâ*, 𐭪𐭥 *nîz*, etc. It corresponds to a short *i* in other languages, in such words as 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hîkhar*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hû-chîhar*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Tishtar*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tîshgâ*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *tîshn*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *chîgûn*, 𐭪𐭥 *chîm*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Chînûvat*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rapîtûvîn*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *zîsht*, 𐭪𐭥 *dîl*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *nâirîk*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *nîhân*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *nîhîp*, etc. The medial vowel 𐭪 is transliterated *ê*, when it corresponds to *aê*, *ê*, or *e*, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *âkhêzîd*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ara-têshâtâr*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *khûrshêd*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *andêshîd*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *khvê-tâkdas*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *khvêsh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *âêrpat*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *khêshm*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *bêtâ*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *bêsh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *bêvar*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Frêdûn*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pêshîd*, 𐭪𐭥 *zên*, 𐭪𐭥 *gês*, 𐭪𐭥 *kêsh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *mêzîd*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *mêsh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *nêshman*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *nê-mak*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *gêhân*, etc.; an exception has been made in the case of the word 𐭪𐭥 *dînô*, as the Pâzand writers adhere strictly to that Arabic pronunciation, although the original Zand word *daêna*, pl. nom. acc. *daênâo*, indicates that *dênô* ought to be the old Persian pronunciation. The medial vowel 𐭪 is also transliterated *ê*, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned, as in 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pêstân*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *pêsh*, 𐭪𐭥 *dêr*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *yêdatô*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Shatvêrô*, 𐭪𐭥 *kêf*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *kêshvar*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *vêh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Nêryôsang*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *vêsh*, etc.; exceptions have been made in the words 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *mînîd*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *mînishn*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *mînavad* and others from the same root, in which 𐭪𐭥 ought to be read *mên* -, according to the general rule, as it represents the Zand *main* -. It would,

no doubt, be more satisfactory, in all cases, to depart from the general rule of the Pâzand writers, which substitutes *ē* for *ai*, as they have themselves done in *minîd* and *mainyô*; and the various Pahlavî equivalents of the Zand prefix *paiti*, indicate that there is no very good reason for condensing the diphthong into a single vowel; thus, Z. *paiti* becomes 𐭯𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥 *padash*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 *patkâr*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *patkûst*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padmânak*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padmûkht*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padvast*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padvand*, etc., and 𐭯𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *patiyâarak*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padîraft*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *padîrak*, etc.; it becomes 𐭯𐭥𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâdakhshah*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâdafrâs*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâdadahishn*, etc., and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâdyâv*, etc.; it becomes 𐭯𐭥𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pêdâk*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pêtkham*, etc., and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 in 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pêtishtân*, etc.; besides the further modified forms of 𐭯 *pa*- and 𐭯𐭥𐭥 *pâh*-, in a few words. Now it is evident that, if we admit the principle of the short vowel *i* being understood as well as *a*, all these forms closely approximate in sound, thus we can read 𐭯𐭥 *paiti*-, 𐭯𐭥𐭥 *paiti*-, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâiti*-, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pâiti*-, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 *paîti*- and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *paîti*-; it has been thought, however, too wide a departure from 'tradition', to adopt such readings in the transliteration of the texts.

There are several words which occur in two forms, one in which the vowel *y*, or *a*, is expressed, and the other in which it is omitted; this variation in orthography indicates clearly that the short vowel *u*, *o*, *i*, or *e*, must be understood in the latter forms, thus, we find both 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *anâmârz* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *anâmurz*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hûmat* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *humat*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tûkhshîd* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tukhshîd*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sakhûn* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sakhun*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *vazûrg* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *vazurg*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *drûkht* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *drukht*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *gazdâm* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *gazdum*; 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rôst* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rost*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *môzd* (Z. *mîzhdem*) and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *mozd*; 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *avistâk* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *avistâk*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *harvîsp* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *harvisp*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rîst* (Z. *irista*) and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rist*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dahîshn* and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dahishn*, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

vahisht and 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬎 *vahisht*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *nihân* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *nihân*, 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬀 *dilîr* and 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬀 *dilîr*, the suffix 𐬀 -*ich* (Z. *cha*) and 𐬀 -*ich*; 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬎 *khêshm* and 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬎 *kheshm*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *rêsh* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *resh*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kêm* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kem*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *gajêstak* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *gajestak*, etc.

But besides these, there are many other words in which the same short vowels occur in the cognate languages, and may therefore, be reasonably inserted in the transliteration of Pahlavî; such are 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *afsurđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *astukhvân*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *aûsturđak*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *burîđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *pasukhó*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *shukûh*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *nuhûm*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *numûđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *Horvadađ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kolâ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *Vohûman*; 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *khâkistar*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *khirad*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *harvist*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *li*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *stih*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *shikast*, all abstracts in 𐬀 -*ishn*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kirm*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kirfak*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *Mitrô*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *min*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *nipisht*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *Vishtâsp*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *nishast*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *nikâs*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *nikûn*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *nikîrishn*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *gird*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *giryân*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *dashin*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *Yim*; 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *aperenâyîk*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *lekûm*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kabed*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *kerp*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *Keresâspô*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *marenchînûđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *varenô*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *daregûsh*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *gôspend*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *denman*, etc.

As many Zand verbs have a different vowel in the crude form of the present, to that in the past participle, a difficulty arises in determining, according to rule 4, whether the vowel of the Pahlavî verb should be *î* or *ê*, *û* or *ô*. The simplest solution of this question, is to adopt the Zand practice, and use both forms, as is already done in Persian in other instances, such as 𐬀𐬎𐬀 and 𐬀𐬎𐬀, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 and 𐬀𐬎𐬀, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 and 𐬀𐬎𐬀, etc. Thus we read 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *pâhrîkht* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *pâhrêjêđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *rîkht* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *rêjêđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *sûkht* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀 *sôjêđ*, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *gûmîkht* and 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀 *gûmêjêđ*, etc.

Next to the vowels, one of the most uncertain points in Pahlavî

is the sound of 𐬀 in many words; and the confusion of its two sounds, t and d , dates from Sasanian times, as the inscriptions have both *yaztân* and *yazdân*, *vazlânt* and *vazlünd*, *havînt* and *havînd*, *hatîmûnt* and *hatîmünd*. The sound of t for 𐬀 cannot be justified in 𐬀 'earth', 𐬀 'ruler', 𐬀 'teacher', 𐬀 'river', 𐬀 'third', 𐬀 'mule', 𐬀 'rose', 𐬀 'second', 𐬀 'wheat', etc. As two sounds of this letter must, therefore, be admitted, they are represented by t and d ; the latter being used whenever it is deemed best (in accordance with rule 4) to trace the 𐬀 no further than a Persian $د$, as in all verbal suffixes ending in 𐬀 (those ending in 𐬀 $tô$, $tô$, being traced to Zand). It is worthy of notice that though Pahlavî generally retains a Zand 𐬀 unaltered, yet after n it always changes it into $\hat{d}$, if the orthography be correct; thus 𐬀 *zûd*, Pers. $زود$, must not be confounded with $\hat{d}$ *zand*.

A final $و$ k is always retained in the transliteration, as it can be shown that it was formerly pronounced in Persian¹, although it has generally been softened into s , or dropped altogether, in later times. The old sound of k is still retained in a few Persian words, thus we find both سوزاک and سوزا , شپرک and شپرد , etc.; and the Persian plural and abstract suffixes گان - *gân* and گی - *gî*, in which گ takes the place of s in the original word, can only be explained by assuming an original sound of k for the s . When a suffix is added to a Pahlavî word ending in $و$ k , the letter is rarely altered, but sometimes وس becomes وس , ون becomes ون , ول becomes ط , etc., as we also find that د is the usual form of دو , د of دو , etc.; in all such cases, the k sound is retained, to avoid unnecessary confusion, as the change of form is only partially adopted, probably to expedite the writing, and the rare occurrence of د g in the Sasanian inscriptions, indicates that the sound of g was not very common in Pahlavî.

¹ This subject was fully discussed in M. J. Müller's 'Essai sur la langue pehlvie', published in the Journal Asiatique for April 1839.

In a few cases, the termination 𐭪 -*gân* is added to a final 𐭪 *k*, as in 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rûbânîkgân* and 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rûdikgân*, which forms indicate the influence of modern Persian on the copyist. The final 𐭪 is sometimes substituted for a final 𐭪, chiefly in modern MSS., as in the suffix of the past participle 𐭪𐭥 -*tak*, Pers. 𐭥𐭥, 𐭥𐭥, for 𐭥𐭥 -*tô*; 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥; 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥; 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥; etc.; and it is occasionally substituted for a final 𐭪, as in 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥. It may also be noticed that a final Persian 𐭥 is not always the modern representative of a Pahlavî 𐭪, especially when the former follows a long vowel; thus we find 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *panâh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *panjâh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *tapâh*, 𐭪𐭥 *châh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *sipâh*, 𐭪𐭥 *mâh*, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *giyâh*; 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *shukûh*, 𐭪𐭥 *gûh*; 𐭪𐭥 *vêh*, 𐭪𐭥 *zreh*, etc.

Comparing the Pahlavî abstract suffix 𐭪 with the terminations of the words just quoted, and especially with that of 𐭪𐭥 *vêh*, it may be suspected that the modern Persian abstract suffix 𐭥 -*î* has dropped an original final *h*, in the same manner as the adjective suffix 𐭥 -*î* has dropped the final *k* of the Pahlavî 𐭪 -*îk*. This suspicion is confirmed, to some extent, by the occurrence of several words ending in 𐭪𐭥 -*îhî*, in the Sasanian inscriptions, which appear to be abstract nouns¹. It may further be noticed that the Pahlavî suffixes 𐭪 and 𐭪 sometimes interchange, as in 𐭪𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥𐭥, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥𐭥, 𐭪𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥𐭥. With a due regard for these facts and probabilities, the Pahlavî abstract suffix 𐭪 has been transliterated

¹ Some of the Sasanian legends on gems supply further confirmation, see No. 58 and 60 of Thomas's catalogue of Sasanian gems, in the Journal R. A. S. vol. XIII, p. 424, on both which gems the word 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *râstihî* occurs, which can hardly be any other word than the Pahlavî 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *râstih*; the legend on No. 54 is also probably 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *râstih*.

-îh. Some of the old Pâzand writers read this suffix as *-ash*, probably mistaking it for the other Persian abstract suffix *-ish* ش, Pahl. 𐭮𐭥; but this latter is added merely to crude verbs, whereas 𐭮𐭥 -îh, Pers. ی, is a general abstract suffix.

The Pahlavî suffix 𐭮𐭥, just mentioned as forming abstract nouns from crude verbs, is still found occasionally in Persian, as in پیریشن, رویشن, کنیشن, منیشن, etc.; but in most cases the final ن *n* has been dropped. In accordance with the Persian pronunciation, this suffix is transliterated *-ishn*; or *-îshn* when the vowel is expressed in Pahlavî, as in 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *dahîshn* and a few others.

The suffix 𐭮𐭥 is used for two purposes. First, for forming adverbs from adjectives (like the English suffix *-ly*), in which case, it is transliterated *-yîsh*, being taken as a Semitic suffix, see Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 116; the Pâzand writers read it *-ihâ*, and might quote the Persian adverb تنها, Pahl. 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *tanûîhâ*, as a confirmation of their reading; but it may be noticed that this adverb is derived from a substantive, and not from an adjective like other adverbs ending in 𐭮𐭥. Secondly, a suffix of the same shape is used to form the plural of a few nouns; this is also transliterated *-ihâ* by the Pâzand writers, and as it is هـ *-hâ* in Persian, their reading has been followed in the texts; the following are instances of this plural form, which is rare in Pahlavî 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *khrafstarîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *khadûînakîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *bandakîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *pôstîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *zakarîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *jâmakîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *kâstîhâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 *naskîhâ*, etc.

The verbal suffix of the 2^d person singular, which is variously written 𐭮, 𐭮𐭥, 𐭮𐭥, 𐭮𐭥, or 𐭮𐭥, is transliterated *-ih*, *-îh*, or *yîh*, on the assumption that it bears the same relation to the Zand suffix *-hi*, as the suffixes 𐭮𐭥 *-am* and 𐭮𐭥 *-êd*, of the 1st and 3^d persons singular, bear to the Zand suffixes *-mi* and *-ti*, the final vowel *i* being dropped in the Pahlavî suffixes; thus we read *hōmanîh* for 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 and 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥, *hōmanîh* for 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 and 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥, and *hōmanyîh*

for **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲**. In **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *ychevânâsh*, the suffix **𐭮𐭲** -*âsh* is merely the termination of the Pâz. **𐭮𐭲** *bâsh* = Pers. **باش**.

The Pahlavî **𐭮** often corresponds to the Persian **ب**, as in **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *âshâp*, **𐭮𐭲** *khûp*, **𐭮𐭲** *bûp*, **𐭮𐭲** *charp*, **𐭮𐭲** *shap*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *napartô*, **𐭮𐭲** *nîhîp*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *dapîrô*, etc. Some of these words have an alternative form in Persian, in which **و** is substituted for **ب**, and in such cases, it might be better to read *v* for **𐭮**, as has been done in **𐭮𐭲** *âv*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *zûvânîh*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *kârûvânîkân*, etc.

The two letters **𐭮𐭲** often correspond to the Persian **و**, and when the word is a compound ending in **𐭮𐭲** -*bâr*, **𐭮𐭲** -*bân*, or **𐭮** -*bar*, the **𐭮** is assumed to be the Zand final **𐭮** *ô* of the first member of the compound, as in **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *astôbân*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *asôbâr*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *hûstôbâr*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *dastôbar*, etc. The letters **𐭮𐭲** sometimes also correspond to the Zand **𐭮𐭲** *v*, and are then generally transliterated *ûb*, in accordance with the Persian example of **𐭮𐭲𐭮** (*Z. hizva*); thus, we read **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *yasharûbô*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *tûbân*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *rûbân*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *zûbân*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *dûbârast*, etc.; and the same reading has been adopted in **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *rûbâk*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *rûbishn*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *dâtôgûbân*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *gûbishn*, etc., although the last two words might perhaps be preferably read *dâtôgôbân* and *gôbishn*, in accordance with the vowels in the ancient Persian forms *gaubataiy* and *agaubatâ*. In **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *hû-srôb* and **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *srôbô*, where **𐭮𐭲** corresponds to *Z. av*, the reading *ôb* has been preferred to *ûb*.

The two letters **𐭮𐭲** also correspond to the Zand **𐭮𐭲** *v*, and are then transliterated *ûv*, as in **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *Chînûvat*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *zrûvânô*, **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *zûvânîh*, etc.; and they correspond occasionally to the Zand **𐭮𐭲** *w*, as in **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *rapîtûvîn*.

It would appear from these examples, and from **𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲** *hû-varsh*, *Z. hvarsh*, that the Pahlavî writers considered the Zand **𐭮𐭲** *v* as a double letter. In a similar manner, they usually take the Zand

as *y* as a double letter, and represent it by *yr*, or *yr*, *īy*, as in
 𐭯𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *pādīyāvīh*, 𐭯𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *patīyārah*, 𐭯𐭮𐭮𐭮 *zīyānō*, 𐭯𐭮𐭮
nīyāz, etc.

The letter 𐭮 is used as a final in a few words of Semitic origin;
 it represents *r* in 𐭮𐭮 *akhar*, 𐭮𐭮 *zakar*, and sometimes in 𐭮𐭮𐭮
mekhâr; and it represents *l* in 𐭮 *al* and 𐭮 *val*. When a suffix is
 added to these words, the 𐭮 remains unaltered, as in 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *akharīch*,
 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *zakarīh*, etc.; and the same remark may be made with regard
 to the final 𐭮 *s*, as in 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *ākāsīh*, 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *vanāskâr*, etc.

The letter 𐭮 *gh* is found in only a few words as 𐭮𐭮 *azagh*,
 𐭮𐭮 *aigh*, Sas. 𐭮𐭮 *aik*; 𐭮 *bagh*, Z. *bagha*; 𐭮 1000; 𐭮𐭮
rôghan, Z. *raoghna*; 𐭮 *ghal*, Chaldaeo-Pahl. *kal*; 𐭮𐭮 *ghôzal*, 'a
 fowl'; 𐭮 *magh*, Z. *magha*; 𐭮𐭮 *drôgh*, Z. *draogha*; etc.

When the letter 𐭮 corresponds both to the Zand 𐭮 and the Per-
 sian 𐭮, *z*, it is usually transliterated *j*, as in 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *tajīd*, 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *rē-*
jēd, 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *sôjēd*, etc.

In reading Pahlavî, it is necessary to recollect that the writers
 of MSS. frequently omit a loop in the formation of compound charac-
 ters, and occasionally add extra loops, thus 𐭮 may be either 𐭮 or
 𐭮, 𐭮 may be 𐭮 or 𐭮, 𐭮 may be 𐭮 or 𐭮, 𐭮 may be 𐭮
 or 𐭮, etc.; 𐭮 is used for 𐭮, and 𐭮 probably stands for 𐭮 in
 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 = 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *ameshōspend*, although the former (which
 seems to be a comparatively modern form) can be read *amahraspend*,
 with some degree of probability. The most remarkable instances of
 the addition of extra loops, occur in variants of the word 𐭮𐭮𐭮
shêdâân, which has seven loops, instead of four, in one instance
 in the MS. Hs. The compound 𐭮𐭮, which is provisionally read
aīyy, may also perhaps be best explained as 𐭮𐭮 *ay* with the addition
 of extra loops, in the words 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *aīyyâd*, 𐭮𐭮; 𐭮𐭮𐭮 *aīyyâr*, 𐭮𐭮;

اَيَّيَّاسَك *aiyyāsak*, يَاسَك; etc. The compound 𐭠𐭣 is sometimes written 𐭠𐭣, when it occurs in the Huzvâresh verb 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *vādûn*, 'do, make', in order to distinguish it from the verb 𐭠𐭣𐭠 = 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *vakhdûn*, 'hold, take'; and the same kind of tail is occasionally added to 𐭠𐭣, probably indicating that 𐭠𐭣 is to be pronounced *êd*, like the Zand letters 𐭠𐭣𐭠. It may be further remarked that the letter 𐭠𐭣 *ch* is sometimes written 𐭠𐭣, and occasionally like the Zand 𐭠𐭣 *th*; this change of 𐭠𐭣 *ch* into 𐭠𐭣 *th* accounts for the word 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *chîsh*, Pers. چیش, becoming *thîsh*, or *this*, in many Pâzand MSS.

The words 𐭠𐭣𐭠 and 𐭠𐭣𐭠 are read *yêdatô* and *yadadân*, because the *z* in *Z. yazatô* is more likely to become *d* than *j* in Pahlavî, as *Z. azem* = anc. Pers. *adam*, etc., and some words are written in Pahlavî with either *d*, or *z*, indifferently, as 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *farzand* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *fardand*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *zamân* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *damân*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *zamastân* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *damastân*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *zamîk* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *damîk*, etc.

In 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *Aûharmazd* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *Yazdakard*, it is doubtful whether the 𐭠𐭣 is merely a contraction, or whether the original 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *zd*, corrupted into 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *dd*, has finally become 𐭠𐭣. The reading *zd* has been retained in accordance with the Sasanian orthography 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *Aûharmazdî* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *Yazdakartî*.

The preposition 𐭠𐭣 is read *yîn*; and when the same compound character occurs as a verbal suffix, it is read *-yên*, being identified as the Zand suffix *-yen* of the 3^d person plural of the optative mood.

In some words, *d* appears to have been substituted for *b*, thus we find both 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *mekadlûn* and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *mekablûn*; 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *neked*, Heb. נֶקֶד; and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *yezderûn*, Chald. ܝܝܕܪܐ. It would be hazardous to assume that this substitution has arisen from any regular phonetic change; but it can be readily explained as a mere misreading of ill-formed letters, the 𐭠𐭣 *b* being easily mistaken for a large 𐭠𐭣 *d* which is a common final form of 𐭠𐭣 in old MSS.; when medial, the 𐭠𐭣 *b* has

As all the Fahlavī numerals, from 'two' to 'ten', are Semitic, it is natural to suppose that the numeral 'one' must be also of Semitic origin and traceable to Chald. 𐩦𐩣; this assumption is further confirmed by the traditional reading of the word, the circumflex with which it is often written, and its Sasanian orthography, all of which indicate that it contains the letter *d*, and 𐭠𐭣 = 𐭠𐭣𐭠 'one' is therefore read *kha-dûk*. When this numeral is the first member of a compound word, its final *u* is often omitted, as in 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *khadû-bâr*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *khadû-tâk*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *khadû-mûk*, etc. In 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 *khadîh* 'anyone', and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠𐭠 *khadîhân* 'any people' (traditionally *adash* and *adashân*), the numeral appears to be further abbreviated into 𐭠𐭣 *khad*. When the numeral 'one' is appended to a noun, like the Persian 'idhâfat of unity', it is generally represented by the cypher 𐭠 in old MSS., which is transliterated by the Roman numeral *I*, as in 𐭠𐭠𐭠 *gabrâ-I* 'a man', 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *nêshman-I* 'a woman', etc.; in modern MSS., this cypher is usually corrupted into the common idhâfat 𐭠 *i*; sometimes, in old

MSS., س *aē* is substituted for چ , especially in س *aē chand* for چ *I chand*, Pers. چند , 'several'; and س *hīch*, Pers. هیچ = ایچ 'any', may perhaps also have been چ originally. The Pāzand writers read *ē* for this cypher, as well as for س , but whether it should be read *aē*, or *khad*, is very uncertain.

The habit of reading the Pāzand *yak*, or *ē*, for the Huzvāresh س *khadūk*, appears to have led Pahlavī writers to the conclusion that س was a proper representative of any initial *ya*, *aya*, or *aī*; thus we find س , or س , substituted for س in س *khadūf*, س *khadūkānak*, س *khadūīnak*, etc. It is also possible that the use of the compound س for an initial *y*, or *ay*, (see p. xlix) may have arisen from this substitution of س *khadū*, or س *khadū-I*, for س *ay*. In س *giyāh*, Pers. گیاه , the cypher چ appears to have been substituted for د *y*.

It will be observed that most of the words beginning with س *khadū* and س *khadūk*, are hybrids, partly Semitic and partly Aryan; so also are all the forms of Huzvāresh verbs with the Aryan suffixes س , س , س , س , س , س , س , س , س , س , etc. Other hybrid words are س *abīdar*, س *amīdar*, س *barmanar*, س *akhtmanar* and س *gabrāūm*¹, in which the superfluous finals س , س and س can only be explained as the finals of the Pāzand equivalents س , س , س and س ; and in س *tanid* and س *djīn*, the superfluous circumflex can be best explained as merely indicative of the *d* in س and س . In the hybrids س *shēdayyā-yazakīh* and س *javīd-shēdayyā-dād*, the Huz. س *shēdayyā* is merely substituted for the Pāz. *dēv*. In س *yashar-*

¹ This rare form occurs in the MS. K₂₀, in the tale of Gōsht-i Fryānō, II. 45; and it may be merely a blunder, as the proper Huzvāresh of *marḍūm* is *anshūtā*, rather than *gabrā*.

-āish, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yasharmôk*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yasharûb*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 fravyashar* and similar words, the *ā* in *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* can hardly be satisfactorily explained, unless we assume that a Huzvâresh form *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yashar*, Heb. *יָשַׁר*, has been substituted for the Zand *ash*, *asha*, *ashe*, or *ashi*; whether this explanation can be extended to *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* = Z. *vahishtem*, is yet doubtful.

A few Pahlavî words can be read either as Semitic, or Aryan, thus *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* may be *hânō* (Z. *anya*), or *akharan* (Chald. *ܐܚܪܢ*); *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* may be *anâ* (Z. *ana*, *anâ*), or *hanâ* (Syr. *ܚܢܐ*); *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* 'this' may be *aē* (Z. *aēm*, *aya*), or *hī* (Syr. *ܚܝ*); *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* 'one' may be *aē* (Pâz. *ē*), or *khad* (Chald. *ܚܕ*); *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥* may be *shuom* (Z. *khshnaoma*), or *shlam* (Chald. *ܫܠܡ*); etc.

Of the Huzvâresh verbs formed with the prefix *𐭠 ye*, only two retain the sound *ye* uncorrupted in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, namely, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yezbekhûn* (which owes the preservation of the *ye* sound, probably to its Pâzand equivalent commencing with the same sound) and *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yezderûn*. In fourteen of these verbs, the *y* has been corrupted into *j* in the Glossary, as often happens in modern Persian (as in *جاد* for Z. *yātu*, *جشيد* for Z. *Yima khshaêta*, etc.), although the *y* is always found in such of them as occur in the Sasanian inscriptions (see p. xxvii); these verbs, with their corrected pronunciations, are *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yâtûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yakhsenun*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yâmtûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yecherûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yâitûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yâityûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yetibûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yektelûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yekt.bûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yekavîmûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 = 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yemalelûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yemîtûn* and *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 yansegûn*. Three of these verbs are also found with the initial *𐭠 ye* further corrupted from *jak* into *𐭠𐭥 zek*, which corruption is retained in the transliteration, because the Pahlavî letter is changed; these verbs are *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 zektelûn*, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 zektibûn* and, more rarely, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 zekavîmûn*. In four other Huzvâresh verbs, the prefix *𐭠 ye* has been corrupted into *𐭠 da* in the Glossary; these verbs, with their corrected

pronunciations, are ܝܚܒܚܚܐ *yekhabkhûn*, ܝܚܒܐܢ *yehabûn*, ܝܚܒܡܐܢ *yezbe-mûn* and ܝܥܕܪܐܢ *yedrûn*; in ܕܝܚܐܢ, the circumflex may perhaps have been introduced to indicate that its Pâzand equivalent, دادن, begins with a *d*; but the corruption of *y* into *d*, in the other three verbs is not readily explained, unless we assume that the ܕ *y*, corrupted into *j*, was further altered into ܕ *z*, whence the final step to ܕ *d* is easy, either by phonetic change, or by misreading the letter.

It may further be noticed, with regard to Huzvâresh verbs, that the *û* in the final syllable of the crude verb, is not always expressed; thus, we always find ܠܗܡܢܢ *hêmnun* and ܝܚܝܫܢܢ *yakhšenun*, and very often ܝܡܠܠܢ *yemalelun*. In the Dîn-kard, several of the other verbs occur with the short *u* unexpressed in the last syllable; and the same is the case, in the Sasanian inscriptions, with regard to Semitic verbs ending in ܝܬܐܢ -*î-tun*, such as ܪܡܝܬܐܢ *ramî-tun*, ܫܠܝܬܐܢ *shalî-tun*, ܫܠܝܬܐܢ *shadî-tun*, ܫܠܝܬܐܢ *khazî-tun* and ܫܠܝܬܐܢ *havî-tun*.

It has been already mentioned that ܝ *v* is the usual representative of the Chaldee ܝ (see p. xxxv-vi), but in a few cases, the Pahlavi ܝ *g*, or ܝ *gh*, appears to be used for the same purpose, as in ܝܬܝܫܐܢ *tîshgâ*, 'nine', Chald. ܝܬܝܫܐܢ; and ܝܬܝܫܐܢ *ghal*, 'to', Chald. ܝܬܝܫܐܢ; see also *zô-pamaman*, Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 243.

These remarks will probably be sufficient to point out the difficulties which any systematic transliterater must be prepared to overcome, and to show the mode of treating them adopted in this volume. The only exceptions which have been made to the general rules, are in the following words: the idhâfat ܝ *i* instead of ܝ *î*, ܕܝܢܐ *dî-nô* instead of *dênô*, ܕܝܢܐ *gû-nak* instead of *gônak*, ܕܝܢܐ *mîn-ishn* instead of *mên-ishn*, and other words in which ܕܝܢܐ *mîn*, standing for Z. *main*, ought to be read *mên* according to the Pâzand rule usual in other words,

III.

The Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak, its contents, and probable age.

The visions in heaven and hell which are related in the book of Arđâ Virâf, the pious Pârsî priest who is said to have gone, when still living, from this world to the realm of the dead, to bring an account of the fate of our souls after death, are still read with the greatest interest by the Pârsî community, and firmly believed in, especially by the female part of it. This is evidenced by the fact that there exist several Persian versions of the work in prose as well as in verse, and Gujarâti translations to make it accessible to all classes of the Zoroastrian community (see p. xxi). It was occasionally read before large assemblies of Zoroastrians, the effect of which is thus described by Destur Hoshangji: 'It speaks volumes both for the effective style of the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak and for the implicit faith which the Pârsîs placed in what was written therein, that a few years ago, when the book used to be read before them, overpowered by consciousness of guilt, the punishment for which was so terrifically described, they, but especially the gentler sex, used to weep. It was a most affecting spectacle to witness the awakening conscience exhibiting itself in trickling tears'. At the same time Destur Hoshangji, contrasting the present state of the Pârsî community, regarding matters of religious belief, with that in which it was about twenty-five years ago, remarks: 'The feelings of Pârsîs, even a century ago, would have been much offended, had they been told that the Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak was nothing else but a mythological work. In our days of progress, not only a professor of another creed and religion, but even a Pârsî Destur is permitted to say so'.

In Europe it also excited considerable interest when its principal contents were, however imperfectly, first made known by J. A. Pope's English translation in 1816, which was not based upon the original

Pahlavî text, but on some of the later Persian versions (see p. xix). It is principally the description of hell and of some of the punishments awarded to the wicked which bears occasionally a striking resemblance to the accounts to be found in *Dante's Inferno*, though it cannot be supposed for a moment, that the book was actually known to the great Italian poet. As the *Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak* contains, on the whole, much that corresponds to Christian notions of paradise and hell, some scholars have not hesitated to trace it to a Christian source. This they thought to have discovered in the so-called '*Ascensio Isajæ vatis*, i. e. the ascension of the prophet Isaiah, one of the many apocryphal works which have reached our time only in an Ethiopic version as preserved by the Christian church in Abyssinia¹. But since the comparison which had been made between this Christian work and the book of *Arđâ Vîrâf*, was based only on Pope's translation of the latter, which is by no means an adequate rendering of the original, wholly erroneous conclusions were drawn from it. There is, in fact, not a single circumstance which would justify us in deriving the visions of *Arđâ Vîrâf* from those contained in the Ascension of the prophet Isaiah; but all tends to show that there exists not the slightest historical connection between them². The only points in which they coincide are that Isaiah, as well as *Arđâ Vîrâf*, journeyed through the heavenly regions, the splendor of which gradually increases, and that there are thrones, crowns and beautiful clothing awarded to the souls of the pious. But in all the numerous other particulars there is a great difference. In the

¹ The Ethiopic version has been published, along with Latin and English translations, under the title: '*Ergata 'Isâyeyâs nabiye* Ascensio Isaiæ vatis, opusculum pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Aethiopas compertum, et cum versione latina anglicanaque publici juris factum a Ricardo Laurence LL. D. etc. Oxonii 1819.

² This has been shown at full length in Haug's Essay 'Über das *Ardâi Vîrâf* nâmek und seinen angeblichen Zusammenhang mit dem christlichen Apocryphon, die Himmelfahrt des Jesaia betitelt. Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1870. I. 3. pag. 327—364.

visions of the Jewish prophet, there are seven heavens mentioned, which are situated one above the other, the seventh being the uppermost and highest; but in the Pahlavî text of the *Arđâ Vîrâf* there are only four heavens mentioned, the first three being the abode of those good and pious souls who had not professed the Zoroastrian religion, whereas the fourth, the *Garôdmân*, is reserved for the Zoroastrians. It is true, in one of the Persian versions and in Pope's English translation which is based upon it, there are seven heavens mentioned; but this is an adaptation to Mohamedan and Jewish notions which were strange to the Sasanian times in which alone, as we shall see, the book of *Arđâ Vîrâf* was composed. In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, there are rulers mentioned over each heaven; but in the *Arđâ-Vîrâf* nothing of this kind is found, nor are the angels on the right and the left side of the throne, which constantly occur in the former, mentioned in the latter. *Isaiah* does not descend to hell, nor does he give any description of the infernal regions; he only sees how diabolical powers fight with one another on the firmament, but he does not mention the particular punishment of any crimes and sins committed on earth. Besides, the religious ideas in the two books differ widely. In the *Ascension* all is thoroughly Christian, in the book of *Vîrâf* all is Zoroastrian. If the *Ascension* had been the source of the visions of *Vîrâf*, we should find some allusions to the Christian religion; but as not the slightest trace of them can be discovered, we may take it for granted that both works are quite independent of one another, and that the book of *Vîrâf* has certainly not been derived from any Christian source.

We shall arrive at the same result, if we compare this book with other works treating of visions in the other world, whether they be of Jewish, or Christian, origin. In the old Jewish literature, the most remarkable production of this kind is the '*History of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi* (מעשה רבי יחושע בן לוי)'¹, which describes a journey undertaken by the said Rabbi (in the third century of our era) through heaven

¹ See A. Jellinek *Bet-hamidrash* II. pag. XVIII—XXI and pag. 48—53.

and hell. In paradise there are seven houses mentioned, in which the different classes of the souls of the pious reside; but they do not correspond, in any way, to the heavens mentioned in the book of Viráf; neither does the description he gives of the houses in hell, in which the souls of the wicked are confined, bear any resemblance to the punishments in Viráf's hell.

The originality of the visions of Arđâ Viráf may be regarded as being beyond doubt. They are so thoroughly Zoroastrian that only a professor of that religion can have seen them. This will appear from a brief summary of the contents of the work, with such remarks as will be necessary for illustrating them.

The Arđâ-Viráf nâmak which has been divided, in this edition, into 101 chapters, begins with a long and detailed introduction which occupies the first three chapters. It is just this part in which some of the Pâzand and Persian versions differ so considerably from the Pahlavî original as published here (see pag. xii-xix). The account which is here given of the state of the Zoroastrian religion in the times previous to the mission of Arđâ Viráf, and of the reasons which induced the Magian priesthood to send him to the other world, is highly interesting. The Zoroastrian religion was during the first three centuries after its foundation by Zarathus'tra Spitama, in its purity. After the lapse of this period, the devil induced the wicked and accursed Alexander, who came from the west to destroy the residence of the Persian kings, to burn the sacred books which had been preserved in the archives of the residence and to kill the priests and learned men and other men of distinction. In consequence of this invasion by Alexander the Macedonian, and his destruction of Persepolis, the whole political order of Iran was reversed; many wars ensued, and the Zoroastrian religion decayed. Many religious creeds and sects arose, and there was none who knew the religion until, under Shâpûr II, the celebrated Adarbâd Mahrespand appeared, who proved the truth of the Zoroastrian religion by undergoing the ordeal of having melted brass poured upon his breast without being burnt by it. But notwithstanding such a

miracle, the doubts which existed as to the truth of the Zoroastrian religion, were not wholly removed. Then the spiritual guides of the Zoroastrian community, the Desturs, assembled to devise a new means for testing the truth of their religion and re-establishing it on a firm base. They resolved upon sending one from among them 'from the land of the living to the land of the dead', to ask the heavenly spirits whether, or not, the different religious ceremonies performed by the priests had the desired effect. Now a large assembly was convened at the celebrated temple of the Frobâg fire. From the number of the priests who were assembled, the sum total of which is not stated in the original, seven were elected. These seven selected three out of their number, and these three, one by the name of Vîrâf who is also called the Nishapurian. Vîrâf accepted the dangerous and unpleasant mission to the other world only upon the condition that they should cast lots to ascertain whether he should be destined to enter on such an errand.

Vîrâf had seven sisters who were married to him according to the Zoroastrian custom of the next-of-kin marriage which was regarded as one of the most meritorious works to be achieved by a Zoroastrian. These came crying and weeping before the assembly to beseech the desturs not to send their brother and husband, their only support, on such a dangerous errand. They were comforted and promised that he should be delivered to them after the lapse of seven days. Then a place was selected for him at a certain distance from water, fire, etc. on which occasion he was treated as if he were already dead. After all preparations for the great journey had been made by washing his hands, putting on new clothes, etc., Vîrâf drank three cups filled with a narcotic, called *mang* (*bañga* in Zand), and fell asleep on the carpet on which he was sitting. Destur Hoshangji makes the following remarks on this draught:

'The administration of these doses of *Mang* mixed up with wine, 'causing a supernatural sleep of seven days duration, reminds one of 'the custom of *Dhattûra*, or stramonium, eating in India, which is well

'known in this country, particularly in Gujarât. It is believed there 'that when on a weekday, particularly on Saturday which is sacred to 'Hanumân, a few seeds of Dhattûra are given to a child of about seven 'years of age (it being then considered innocent), he or she will, if 'asked, prophesy all future events through its effect, and will even 'prescribe remedies for any difficulty. For instance, if a woman should 'be desirous of knowing whether she would ever be in the family way, 'and were to ask the Dhattûra eater about it, he would reply to her, 'that she would give birth to a child, if she did such and such a thing, 'or if she performed Yâtrâ (pilgrimage), or offered sacrifice, or that she 'would never become a mother, as the case might be'.

'The child to whom the Dhattûra is given, must be one who is 'born in an extraordinary manner. Thus, instead of being born with the 'head first, as is usual with the birth of children, it must be born 'with the feet first. One evening previous to taking the Dhattûra seed, 'two, or more, women go to the tree from which the seed is to be taken, 'and give it an invitation thus: 'come to-morrow into the body of such 'and such a one and give all answers truly'; whereupon they pour 'some water on the tree. On the next day, early in the morning, they 'go and take the seeds off the tree, and give them to the child. Some 'times, if they be afraid of giving such a poisonous drug to a child, 'they administer it to an idiotic credulous man'.

'It is remarkable to note here, that the notion of seeing a celestial 'orb through the medium of somniferous or narcotic drugs, was prevalent 'amongst the ancient Persians for a long time, as we find in later 'books. For instance, in the Zartosht nâmeh there is mentioned amongst 'other miracles of the prophet Zoroaster that he once consecrated a 'cup of wine, and milk and fruit, and gave the consecrated wine to 'king Gushtâsp to drink; the king, then, was asleep for three days, 'during which he saw in heaven, amongst others, his own paradise and 'met there other celestial bodies at which he greatly rejoiced'.

Al! the time Vîrâf was sleeping, his seven sisters and the Desturs kept watch around him, recited Avesta and Zand and chanted the

Gâthas to protect him on his perilous journey. On the seventh day Vîrâf awoke. He ordered a skilful writer to write down all he saw, in heaven and hell, during a seven days' journey.

The account of the journey commences with the fourth chapter. In the first night Vîrâf was received by Sraosha and the angel of the fire, Âtarô Yazad, who acted as his guides during the whole journey. Being regarded as dead, he had two guides, and not only one; since a corpse is, according to the Zoroastrian law, always to be carried by two men. Taking three steps, he reached the Chinvat bridge, which separates heaven from hell, and this world from the other world. Here he saw the soul of a pious man sitting, whose fate he now describes. The description is identical with that one to be found in the Hâdôkht Nask (see Appendix II, pag. 279—293), the Vishtâsp Nask and the Mainyô-i Khard, and is evidently taken from the first, or some similar Zand source. The most prominent feature in it, is the appearance of a beautiful virgin¹ who represents the good thoughts, words and deeds of the soul. This virgin appears to be the better half of the soul which remains in the invisible regions whilst the other part resides, endowed

¹ This beautiful maid has probably given origin to the Huris, or celestial virgins, of the Mohamedan paradise. It is true, the good works appear, according to Mohamedan notions, in the shape of a man who is splendidly dressed and perfumed (*Mohamedanische Eschatologie*, übersetzt von Dr. M. Wolff. Leipzig 1872. pag. 64). But the Huri, who exists in heaven long before the arrival of her husband, and is ready to receive him as soon as he has reached his destination, does also represent nothing but the better half of the soul. She conducts her husband to his celestial abode, where he then finds thousands of virgins who do not appear to be regarded as proper Huris (*Mohamedan. Eschatologie* pag. 201—203). As the idea of the appearance of a virgin to the soul of the deceased had been very common among the Zoroastrians already in ancient times, it is not to be wondered at, if Mohamed on his travels heard something about it. Such a virgin suited exactly his paradise; but as celestial joys and pleasures appeared rather dull to the Arabian prophet without sensual enjoyments, he converted this better half of the soul, its invisible root and counterpart, into a wife!

with a body, in the corporeal world. It is probably identical with the Fravashi. That this virgin was believed to exist, before the soul entered the body, clearly follows from the circumstance of her telling the pious man that her original beauty had been increased by his good works.

Vîrâf passed the Chinvat bridge with the assistance of his two guides and under the protection of some other angels, such as Mithra, Rashnu razis'ta, etc. His guides declared themselves ready to show him the pleasures of paradise, and the terrors of hell (ch. 5). The first place he came to, after having passed the bridge, was the abode of the *Hamēstagân* i. e. the ever stationary. As their good and evil works are equal, they must always remain in the same condition, until the day of resurrection; for their good works are strong enough to prevent them from going to hell, and the evil ones too strong to permit their passage to heaven (ch. 6).

Now he arrives at the different paradises. Their number in the Zoroastrian writings is generally four. The first which is called *Humat* is in the star track; the second called *Hūkht* in the moon track, and the third called *Huvarsht* in the atmosphere of the sun; the fourth is *Garôdmân* (*garô-demâna* in Zand). The souls which Vîrâf met in the first three paradises, were sitting on thrones and shining with the radiance of the stars, the moon and the sun, respectively. In the first two places are those who have done much good without having been devout and pious Zoroastrians. In the atmosphere of the sun are those monarchs and rulers who do not appear to have been professors of the Zoroastrian creed (ch. 7—9).

The *Garôdmân* is more fully described than the three preceding heavens. It is the abode of the pious Zoroastrians of all classes, who had recited the prescribed prayers, and completely conformed to the Zoroastrian law. On entering this heaven, he is called upon to taste 'immortality', or better, the draught which imparts immortality and makes the soul oblivious of all worldly cares (see note 1 on pag. 159 of the translation). Here the angel of the fire reproached him for having put green wood on the fire, which is forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion,

as all the wood, with which the sacred fire is fed, must be quite dry (ch. 10).

Now the archangel Vohuman received him, and brought him before Ahuramazda, the Ameshaspentas, and the Fravashis of Zarathus'tra Spitama, Kavi Vishtâspa, and other promoters of the Zoroastrian religion. Ahuramazda then ordered his two guides to show him heaven and hell (11). He is now led through the different sections of Garôdmân. In the first place he meets the souls of the liberal, since liberality is regarded as the highest virtue by the Zoroastrians (comp. Mainyô-i Khard 37, 4.), which circumstance explains the princely donations made by the Pârsis, up to the present day, for public purposes. Next to the souls who practised liberality when living, come those who had chanted the Gâthas, and repeated the prescribed prayers; then follow those who had contracted next-of-kin marriages, which is regarded as one of the most meritorious works by the Zoroastrians. After these come the souls of pious rulers, and monarchs (probably of the Zoroastrian creed), then those of the speakers of truth, since truthfulness is regarded as one of the greatest virtues (12).

After having seen the rewards given for liberality, piety, next-of-kin marriages, just ruling and headship, and truthful speaking, he was shown a number of female souls who seem to have been kept apart from the males. They had honoured water, fire, earth, trees, in short, the good creation, and behaved in every respect as pious Zoroastrians (13).

Now follows the bulk of Zoroastrians divided into four classes, or castes: priests, the performers of the Izeshne ceremony; warriors, with whom those are classed who killed many noxious animals, such as frogs, lizards, serpents, ants, flies, etc., which is considered a very meritorious work by the Zoroastrians; the agriculturists and artizans (14). A separate abode is assigned to shepherds who fed sheep and quadrupeds, and protected them. There are further especially noticed the souls of householders and justices who had made a desolate place prosperous, and carried out works of irrigation; the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, and those of interceders and peace-seekers,

since intercession and mediation is a very meritorious work with the Pârsîs (15).

The rewards of all these classes of happy and blessed souls are not specified. They are all in great splendour, sit on thrones, or walk in pleasure and joyfulness, are dressed in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, etc.

Vîrâf, after having thus wandered through the various sections of Garôdmân, was led by his two guides to a great gloomy river, which was the tears of those who make lamentation for the departed; for it is not allowed to lament the dead, as it does them harm (16).

Vîrâf was led back to the Chinvat bridge. Here he saw the wicked soul which wandered over the place where the life went forth. It was accompanied by a very ugly damsel representing its evil thoughts, words and deeds. She appears to have been its counterpart before entering the body, a kind of evil Fravashi, since her original ugliness had been increased by the wickedness of the soul to which she belonged (compare the same idea regarding the soul of the good). This soul then took three steps through the place of evil thought (*dushmat*), that of evil word (*dushûkht*), and that of evil deeds (*dush-hûvarsht*), and reached hell by the fourth step (17).

Now he describes hell. It is dark and gloomy, cold and hot, and full of stench, and noxious creatures. No one sees the other; everyone thinks he is alone (18).

After this first preliminary description of hell, or rather of a part of it, there follow a series of punishments which were inflicted for various crimes and offences, many of them being described in great detail. The following crimes are deemed worthy of punishment: sodomy (19); approaching water and fire on the part of a woman during her menstruation (20); murder of a pious man i. e. a Zoroastrian (21); intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); talking when dining, since this is strictly forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion (23); adultery on the part of a woman (24); walking without shoes (25); scorning her husband on the part of a woman (26); cheating in weight and measure

(27); misrule (28); slander (29); unlawful slaughtering of cattle and sheep, since these animals are only to be slaughtered according to a certain rite (30); greediness and avarice (31).

In all these chapters no particular person is mentioned, on whom the punishment is inflicted; but now follows the name of a lazy man, Davânôs, who had much wealth and power, and whose only good work was that he once cast a bundle of grass, with his right foot, before a ploughing ox (32).

Now follow again various punishments for particular crimes and offences, such as: lying (33); throwing hairs into the fire (34); sorcery (35); apostacy (36); neglect of water and fire (37); polluting water and fire by bringing bodily refuse and dead matter to it (38); defrauding labourers of their hire (39); speaking falsehood (40); use of public warm baths (41).

The series of punishments for particular crimes and sins is again interrupted by the account of people who were always crying because they had no legitimate father (42); and then continues as follows: not acknowledging one's own children, on the part of a father (43); infanticide (44); perjury and extortion (45); acquisition of wealth by dishonest means (46); apostacy and deceit (47); killing, ill-treating and neglecting of dogs (48); false measuring of land (49); removal of boundary stones (50); making of false covenants (51); breach of promise (52).

After having witnessed the severe punishments which were inflicted in hell for the crimes and offences mentioned, Vîrâf was carried back to the mountain Chakât-i-Dâitîh ¹ below which the Chinvat bridge is situated, into a desert, and shown hell in the earth (53). Whether this hell is identical with that one already described in the preceding chapters, or different from it, does not seem to be very clear. But it appears from the description which is given in the 54th chapter, that it was considered as somewhat different, as may be concluded from the designation 'darkest hell', whereas that hell which was described pre-

¹ See *Pand-nâmak-i Âdarbâd Mâraspand*, by Sheriarjee Dadabhoy, pag. 80.

viously may be taken as hell in general. This 'darkest hell' is described as a very dark pit full of stench, and filled with an endless number of souls, everyone of which itself to be alone. This description agrees, on the whole, very well with that one given of hell in ch. 18. In the 'darkest hell' one expects to find the greatest criminals and sinners; but the crimes and offences for which punishments are inflicted are frequently the same, as those which were punished in hell in general; some are however different. The crimes here mentioned are the following: mortal sins, such as extinction of the Bahrâm fire (which is the most sacred of all), destruction of a bridge over a rapid river, speaking falsehood and false evidence, rebellion and anarchy (55); misappropriation of religious endowments (56); lamentation and weeping (57); washing oneself in large standing waters, fountains and streams (58); giving no milk to an infant, on the part of a woman (59); adultery on the part of man (60); unbelief (61); faithlessness and spitefulness on the part of a woman (62); disobeying to, and abusing a husband (63); pregnancy from other men, and destruction of the child (64); distressing the parents, and asking for no forgiveness (65); slander (66); bad administration of a city (67).

Now follows an account of a husband and his wife; the husband went to heaven, the wife to hell for having practised idolworship; she reproached him that he did not guide her to heaven; her only punishment in hell is to be in darkness and stench, whilst he sits in heaven full of shame (68).

Then are again punishments mentioned for the following crimes and offences: adultery on the part of a woman (69); abandoning the husband (70); sodomy, and seduction of the wives of others (71); not heeding menstruation (72); beautifying of faces and wearing of the hair of others (73); unlawful slaughtering of beasts, cattle and sheep (74); muzzling of the mouths of beasts and ploughing cattle (75); preparing of food during the time of menstruation (76); overworking and ill-treating of beasts (77); pregnancy from a strange man (78); taking bribes, and false justice (79); keeping short weights, bushels and other small

measures (80); adultery on the part of a woman (81); abusiveness (82); concealing of meat from the husband and eating it (83); poisoning (84); adultery on the part of a woman (85); violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (86); nursing other children and not giving milk to one's own child (87); seduction of the wives of others (88); selfishness (89); telling lies (90); false judgment (91); keeping back benefits from mankind (92); inhospitality towards travellers, and charging money for what they use (93); emaciating of children by not giving them milk (94); leaving one's own child without milk, and running after a strange man (95); defrauding the earth of the seed which is due to her (96); speaking of falsehood (97); eating of dead refuse, and killing of a water-otter (98); rebellion and revolution (99).

At last Vîrâf saw Aprô-mainyus', the Evil spirit, who always mocked and ridiculed the wicked (100). He was then carried back to Ahura-mazda, admonished by him, and entrusted with a message to the Mazdayasnians, that the only way to heaven was the keeping of the Zoroastrian religion, and that all is perishable and becomes dust except he who, in the world, repeats the Ashem-vohû formula¹, and performs duties and good works, that is to say, he alone is privileged to rise on the day of resurrection. Thereupon was Vîrâf carried back to his place (101).

Regarding the nature of the punishments which are described, there is considerable variety. Darkness and stench are shared by all the inhabitants of the infernal regions; but there are particular means of punishment besides, such as: noxious animals of all kinds, like frogs, snakes, ants, worms; rain, snow, hail, heat and cold; devouring and drinking of nasty, filthy and impure matter, such as dead refuse, menstruous discharge, blood, eating of one's own flesh and brains. Further dreadful corporal punishments are employed, many of which are probably only an imitation of those which were actually used in Persia. Such ones are the following: hanging with the head down-

¹ On its importance see the 1st chapter of the Hâdôkht Nask.

wards; cutting out the tongue; flogging with darting serpents; breaking and separating of limbs; being torn by dogs, pricked by arrows, spurs, stones, etc.; cooking and frying of the body; plunging in mud and stench; eyes scooped out; trampled upon by demons; tongue scraped with a wooden peg; being dashed from side to side; etc. Many sinners are sentenced to useless and painful occupations, such as carrying a mountain on the back through snow; measuring dust and ashes, and eating them; standing up in hell with the body of a serpent and a human head; digging into a hill with the breasts, or with the fingers; scraping one's own body and face, and gashing the breast with an iron comb; licking a hot oven, and burning the hand under it.

In many cases there is a combination of punishments. For instance, scraping one's own body and face with an iron comb, and digging an iron hill with the breasts, as a punishment for a woman who gave no milk to her own infant, but nursed other children through a desire for wealth (87).

Very frequently the punishments are in accordance with the crimes and offences which have been committed by the sinners who are punished. Those who cheated in weight and measure, are measuring dust and ashes, and eating them (27). Those who muzzled the mouths of beasts, are lying under the feet of cattle, their bellies being torn and their bones being broken (75). Those who slaughtered unlawfully cattle and sheep, have their limbs broken and separated (30). Those who spoke false, have their tongues cut out (97). Slanderers have their tongues gnawed by serpents (66). Those who had improper sexual intercourse and seduced women, are suspended from a gibbet with the head downwards, having sexual intercourse in this posture, whilst semen is being poured into the mouth, ears and nose (88). The judge who gave false decisions, is sentenced to slay his own child and eat its brains (91). The wife who has been disobedient to her husband and abused him, is licking a hot oven, and has her hand burnt under it (63). Women who were starving their own children by giving them no milk, or killing them, have generally to dig a hill with their breasts (44, 78, 87). Those who have

been much lamenting and weeping, have the head cut off, and the tongue keeps crying (57). Adulterous women have their bodies gnawed by noxious animals (24); or have their tongues cut away, and eyes scooped out, being at the same time infested by noxious creatures (81); or have an iron coating on the body, the mouth being turned back to a hot oven (85). Unbelievers eat their own excrement (61).

These instances may suffice to show that the numerous punishments which are described, are not chosen at random, but bear some relation to the crimes and offences for which they are inflicted. It is the idea of the strictest justice which pervades the whole description of hell. No crime or offence, let it be moral, or ceremonial, or a mere misdemeanour, according to Zoroastrian notions, is left unpunished; but at the same time, no good work, however trifling it might have been, is left unrewarded even in hell. The lazy Davânôs who suffers in hell for not having used his great wealth and power for the relief of others, is rewarded for the single good work he did when living. With his right foot he cast once a bundle of grass before a ploughing ox; hence it was free from punishment, whilst his body was gnawed by a noxious creature (32). A lustful man who had often gone to married women, had with his right foot killed frogs, ants, snakes and scorpions; whilst his sinful body was placed into a brazen caldron, his right foot remained outside (60).

Regarding the arrangement of the crimes and offences mentioned, there is nowhere any system, or plan, perceptible. All are thrown together, the most heinous crimes may be followed by trifling offences. Several crimes and offences are mentioned more than once, for instance adultery (24. 60. 62. 69. 81. 85. 88. 95.), infanticide (44. 64. 78.), nursing other children (87. 94.); but each time the wording is different as well as the punishment.

The contents of the *Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak* exhibit a fair specimen of the practical working of the Zoroastrian religion and code of law. We learn from it that the Zoroastrian morality differs in many points from the Jewish and Christian one, although those actions which are con-

sidered crimes according to our codes of law, are in almost all cases viewed in the same light by the Zoroastrians. We may thus divide all the crimes and sins which are mentioned, into two principal classes, viz. 1) those which are regarded as such by the Christians also; 2) those which are taken for sins only from a Zoroastrian point of view, being a violation of the precepts of the Zoroastrian religion.

1. Of the crimes and offences of the first class, which have been, or are still, punished according to our codes of law, are the following enumerated: 1) murder which is, however, confined to the killing of a Zoroastrian, as it is left undecided whether the slaughter of a man of another creed, especially of an idol-worshipper, is regarded as a punishable crime¹ (21); 2) adultery on the part of men, as well as on that of women (24. 60. 62. 69. 81. 85. 88. 95.); 3) infanticide (44. 64. 78.); 4) poisoning (84); 5) sorcery (35); 6) sodomy (19. 71.); 7) cheating in weight and measure (27. 80.); 8) breach of promise, whereof it is expressly stated that it makes no difference whether the promise should have been made to a Zoroastrian, or a non-Zoroastrian (52); 9) telling lies and deceiving (33. 55. 90. 97.); 10) false covenants (51); 11) slander and calumny (29. 40. 66.); 12) perjury (45); 13) dishonest appropriation of wealth (46); 14) taking bribes (79. 91.); 15) keeping back the wages of laborers (39); 16) misappropriation of religious property (56); 17) removal of a boundary-stone (50); 18) turning people out of their property (49); 19) misadministration and defrauding (67); 20) apostacy and heresy (36. 47.); 21) rebellion (99). There are further condemnable from a religious point of view: 1) abandoning the husband (70); 2) not acknowledging one's children, on the part of a father (43); 3) cruelty towards subjects, on the part of a ruler (28); 4) avarice (31); 5) laziness (32); 6) illiberality and egotism (89); 7) envy (92).

¹ According to the genuine Zoroastrian doctrine, which may be gathered from the Gâthas, it appears to have been meritorious to kill those who did not conform to the Zoroastrian religion, the so-called *dregvañtô* (Yas. 31, 18.). But the Zoroastrians do not appear to have converted as many by the sword as the Mohamedans; though the Magian priesthood has always been more or less fanatical.

2. The following actions are regarded as sins, punishable in hell, from a merely Zoroastrian point of view: 1) not heeding the laws regarding menstruation, on the part of women (72), by touching water or fire (20), or preparing food (76); 2) pollution of water and fire by washing in standing, or running waters, or throwing impure matter into it, as well as into fire (34. 37. 38. 58.); 3) intentional extinction of fire in general (37), and that of the most sacred fire in particular (55); 4) use of public warm baths (41); 5) unlawful and unnecessary slaughter of cattle and sheep (30. 74.); 6) ill-treatment of animals of the good creation, such as cattle, sheep, dogs, water-otters, by starving, beating, or killing them (48. 75. 77. 98.); 7) carrying a dead body alone (38); 8) destruction of a bridge over a rapid river (55); 9) intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); 10) eating when talking, and muttering no grace (23); 11) eating the grain which is destined to be sown (96); 12) devouring dead refuse (98); 13) disregard of the poor and good (68), principally to travellers by not granting them what they ask for, or charging for what is given them (93); 14) distressing parents, and obstinacy (65); 15) lamentation and weeping (57); 16) disobedience of a wife to her husband, stealing property from him (63), concealing meat from him and eating it (83), and abusing him (26); 17) beautifying of faces, and wearing the hair of others (73); 18) nursing other children (87. 94.), and leaving her own child without milk (59. 95.); 19) violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (86); 20) walking without shoes (25); 21) unbelief in the religion of Ahura-mazda (61); 22) idol-worship (68).

After having mentioned all the crimes and evil actions which are rewarded with a place in hell, we may also cast a summary glance on the virtues and good actions by which heaven is gained (12—15). There are the following to be noticed: 1) liberality; 2) piety and observance of the religious rites; 3) next-of-kin marriages; 4) just government; 5) truth; 6) obedience; 7) keeping of fire, water, etc.; 8) killing of noxious creatures; 9) tending of sheep; 10) making desolate places prosperous; 11) irrigation; 12) teaching; 13) intercession and mediation for friends,

Of the meritorious works which are here enumerated there is one at which a Christian reader may be rather startled to find among their number. This is the next-of-kin marriage, which was in ancient times contracted not only between cousins, but between brothers and sisters, and fathers and daughters (see pag. 149, note 1). In our codes of law, marriages of this kind are strictly forbidden, as sexual intercourse between the nearest relatives is a punishable crime. The circumstance that it is so much recommended to the Zoroastrians, and such high merit attached to it, seems to indicate, that it has been revolting to the feelings of many Zoroastrians, and that they obeyed the religious commandment rather against their own will. Now it has fallen into disuse altogether, as there are only marriages between cousins permitted. This institution appears to be closely connected with the foundation of the religion. The purity in thoughts, words and deeds, which is the chief principle of Zoroastrian morality, was best preserved and propagated in the race, as they believed, when those who had a common origin were joined together for the same purpose.

Now the question arises as to the author of the book and the time in which it was written. From the notice contained in 3, 22—24. and 4, 1., one may conclude that there existed an account of the visions of Arđâ Virâf which was believed to have been dictated by himself. But the whole contents and the wording of the introduction, at the end of which the passages in question are to be found, are such as to exclude the assumption that our work might be that original account. It is, however, not improbable that it may be based on a more original account. The introduction, which in the present work fills three chapters of some length, is certainly a later addition. Besides this one there exist two others which differ considerably from it in some points. The one which is prefixed to a Pâzand and Sanskrit version (see Introduction I. pag. xii-xiv), connects Arđâ Virâf with the King Gushtâsp under whose reign Zoroaster flourished, and places the event after the prophet's death. The other opens one of the Persian versions (see Introduction I. pag. xv-xix), and connects Arđâ Virâf with an event in the reign of Ardashîr

Bâbagân, viz. the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion, which is described with such detail that we may safely trace this account to an old historical, or legendary, source.

From these different introductions to our work, it appears to follow that the original account of the visions themselves had, in all probability, no introduction at all, and since no time was stated at which they took place, each subsequent author thought himself justified in connecting them with any of the great meetings of the Zoroastrian priesthood which had been convened for the purpose of settling matters of faith and ceremony, or reviving the religion.

If we consider the introduction which opens the Pahlavî text as published here, as that one which was prefixed to the earliest edition of the work, there can be no doubt that Arđâ Vîrâf must have been living after the time of Âdarbâd Máhraspand; for he is mentioned as being anterior to Vîrâf (1, 16, 33, 34.). Now the celebrated Zoroastrian divine lived at the time of Shâpûr II, the son of Hormazd (A. D. 309—379)¹, as we learn from a statement contained in the Dîn-karđ (see the note on pag. 144, 145). Vîrâf might, therefore, have been flourishing in the 5th or 6th century A.D., or at least before the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty in the seventh century. As he is called 'the Nishapurian' (1, 35.), and there is several times a commentator on the Avesta mentioned by the same name (see pag. 148, note 1), it is not improbable that both are the same.

At whatever time Vîrâf may have been living, the book containing his visions belongs undoubtedly to the Sasanian times. There is absolutely nothing in it which might be adduced as an argument against this assertion, though we cannot exactly settle the time when it was written, nor the name of the author who wrote it.

¹ See *Mordtmann* 'Die Chronologie der Sasaniden' in the Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1871, pag. 11.

IV.

Gôsht-i Fryânô.

The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô gives the details of the story of the *Yôishtô yô Fryananām* mentioned in the Âbân Yasht 81—83, and the Fravardîn Yasht 120. It relates that Akht, the sorcerer, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, and threatened to destroy it and its inhabitants, unless some of them were able to solve thirty-three enigmas which he would ask them. Gôsht-i Fryânô was recommended as the best solver of enigmas, and after Akht had vainly endeavoured to get him to defile himself by involuntary contact with dead matter, whereby he would have lost the assistance of the holy spirits, Gôsht-i Fryânô prepares to solve the thirty-three enigmas, most of which are of a trivial character.

By deciding that a worldly paradise is better than a heavenly one, he avoids a snare set by the sorcerer, who was prepared to dispatch him at once to the heavenly paradise, if he considered it preferable, as had been already done in the case of nine hundred of the Magi, and the nine daughters of Spîtâma. His further replies are: that a dog is taller sitting than standing; that a sparrow walks without stepping; that a cock's tooth is horny and its horn fleshy; that a small knife is better than little eating; that wealth with piety is full, poverty with piety is half full, and poverty with wickedness is empty; that men wish to conceal old age, but cannot; that the man who neglects his duties, wishes to return to life when he meets the demon of death; what are the periods of gestation of various animals; that a man who is safe, contented and rich, lives in the greatest pleasure and comfort; that a king is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; that food acquired by honest exertion is the most savory; what things are the One, the Two, and so on, up to the Ten; that the coldest thing is the mind of

a wicked man (to prove which, he induces the sorcerer to kill his own brother); that the hottest thing is the hand of a pious man; that water is good when it subsides, fire when it cools, and a tyrant when he dies; that falsehood is heavier than a mountain, a tongue sharper than a knife, a fortunate child sweeter than honey, the earth fatter than a sheep's tail, Tishtar the most liberal, and Vâyô the most just; that the foot of the angel of water is handsomer than that of Hû-parsh, his own sister and Akht's wife; that women have more pleasure from being with their husbands, than from dress and housewifery, which Akht denies and refers to his wife, Hû-parsh, who decides in favor of her brother, and is killed, in consequence, by her husband. The next enigma, which appears to describe some animal monster, puzzles Gôst-i Fryânô, who obtains time for consideration, until Âûharmazd sends the angel Nêryôsang to inform him that the monster is a man ploughing with a yoke of oxen. His remaining answers are: what is the best horse; that dust is dry and will not burn, while grease is damp and will burn; what is a good king; and that his own riches are what he eats and wears and gives to the poor.

Having solved the thirty-three enigmas, Gôst-i Fryânô, in his turn, propounds three enigmas to Akht, on pain of death. Akht takes time to consider, and goes to hell to consult Akharman, who refuses to give the solutions, for fear of injuring his own creatures. Akht returns from hell in despair, and is destroyed by Gôst-i Fryânô.

With regard to the age of the work there are no indications. The name Mârspend in ch. 1, 7. can have no reference to the celebrated Âdarbâd Mârspend; and it is unlikely that the name Parvîz in ch. 2, 60. has any reference to Khusrô Parvîz, although one may be rather inclined to attribute many of the extant Pahlavî writings to his time, or that of Khusrô Nôshîrvân. Very little reliance can be placed upon the style of the language, as the style of the writers of such late works as the Bahman yasht, Gujastah Abâlîsh, long after the Mohamedan conquest, looks older, and is less like modern Persian, than that of the Dîn-karđ.

Since the subject matter of the tale of Gôsh-t-i Fryânô is already mentioned in the Zand texts, we may presume that a book, containing the enigmas of Akht, the sorcerer, and those of his opponent, Gôsh-t-i Fryânô, was in existence even long before the Sasanian times, perhaps as early as the latter end of the Achæmenian period. Whatever may be the age of the present work, it is, on the main, certainly based on ante-Sasanian sources.

Appendix.

I.

Introduction to the Pāzand-Sanskrit Arđā-Vīrāf Nāmah, translated in p. xii-xiv; transliterated from a copy supplied by Destur Hoshangji ¹.

[Pāzand.] 1 Pa nāmi shanāishni dādāhāri vahē i vīspaēsām vasām razāvañḍ, 2 avāi u vāfreñgāmni avīzh vahi dīn i Mazdayasnā, 3 ā mādagā Aradā Vīrā wazhā khvāneñḍ.

[Sanskrit.] ² Athedānīmatra Arddā-Gvīrā-nāma pustakañ likhyate.

1 Nāmamānyatācha dātuḥ uttamasya sarveshāncha sakarmmavatām, 2 asya prabodhas'cha uttamāyā nirmmalāyā dīnermmājdaiasnyāḥ, 3 idam mahattarā Arddā-Gvīrā iti nāma ākārayanti.

¹ In the original, the Pāzand and Sanskrit alternate in sentences, indicated here by the numbers, and a Gujarāti version follows the Sanskrit. The text is very corrupt, and none but the most obvious blunders of copyists have been corrected here.

² The cerebrals, *visarga*, and seventh vowel are represented by *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ḥ* and *ṛi*. A medial *anusvāra* is resolved into *n*, before gutturals, palatals and dentals; into *ṇ*, before cerebrals; into *m*, before labials and vowels; and into *ñ*, before semivowels, sibilants and *h*. A final *anusvāra* is resolved into *ñ*, unless it is followed by a vowel, labial, or pause, in which cases *m* is used. The palatal nasal, after *j*, is represented by *n*; the first sibilant is a dental English *sh*, but is here represented by *s'*; the second, or cerebral, sibilant is here represented by *sh*, though elsewhere it has been printed *ṣh* with the usual distinctive dot of cerebrals; the elision of an initial *a* is indicated by ', and words connected by a compound consonant are not separated.

4 O ã gâh darak Gushtâspa shâh dînî vahê Mazdayasnâ ezh Hôrmizda khvadhâi padarasta, 5 va ashô Zarathushtra Spentamâ pa bakhta shûd, 6 ki Gushtâspa u Dalag u Gôspardashta u Feresaushta u Maidiômâh awarê Mazdayasnâ pa aganî nishashta hañd, 7 khshkârd guft heñd 8 ku: Vazôshâum ezh Mazdayasnâ yakê agunâhtara, 9 mañgi ô khardan dahôm, 10 añdâ rvâ ô ânañbâm shahod, 11 vîned rvâni Spetamâ ashô Zarathushtra, 12 vîned u gâha u Hôrmazda u ameshâspendân, 13 vîned vahêshsta u Chinuwađ puhal u Rasna i râsht, 14 u vîned dhôzhakha u rvâ i darvañdân pa dôzhakh; 15 bê dâned ku ññ kerba i êmâ Mazdayasnân kunôm, hasht ayâo nê; 16 awmâ âgahî âwered, 17 agar hasht tukhshasni kunôm, agar nêshst kê¹ kunôm. 18 Vashâ padash ham dâishtâ bûd hend, 19 vashâ guft 20 ku: Ezh êmâ Mazdayasnâ Ardâ agunâhatar u vahêtar. 21 Pash Ardâi Vîrâ chuñ shn² ã

4 Tasmin samaye chattatañ yadâ Gustâspo râjâ dînim uttamâm Majdaïasnîm Ahurmajdât svâminah pratyakaroti, 5 puñyâtmâ Jarathus'tro yah Spintamaputro bhâgyo gatah, 6 râjna-Gustâspa-Dalagas'cha Gospadastas'cha Pharasa,us'tras'cha Ma,idiômâhâs'cha aparecha Majdaïasnyâ ekatra sannivishṭâ âsan, 7 satâ samâlôchya avochat 8 yat: Sodhâyâmah Majdaïasnebhyah ekam apâpataram uttamatarancha, 9 mangicha khâdituñ dadâmi, 10 yâvat âtmâ tasmin prades'e prayâti, 11 nirîkshayati âtmânañ yô Spitamaputrasya puñya-âtmanô Jarathus'trasya, 12 nirîkshayaticha dhyânam Ahurmmajdasya amarânâcha gurûtarânâm, 13 nirîkshayaticha svargabhuvana-Chandorapuhulancha setuñ Rasna-ïajnañ satyam, 14 nirîkshayaticha narakabhuvanam âtmânas'cha ye durgatimatân narakabhuvanam; 15 vis'eshatas'cha jânâti idam puñyañ yat vayam Majdaïasnâ kurmmahe, asti kiñvâ nahi; 16 asmâkam prabodhatâyâñ samânayati, 17 yadyasti adhyavasâyañ kurmmahe, yadi nâsti no kurmmahe. 18 Techa tatra ekamatâh sanjâtâh, 19 tais'cha uktañ 20 yattasmât Majdaïasnebhyah Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushah apâpatah puñyavantah uttamataras'cha. 21 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushah yathaiva tadvachanamas'ṛipot pâdâ-

¹ Should perhaps be *nê*.

² Probably *shân*.

shakhun āshnuḍ, awar ô pâê ēshtâḍ, 22 vash dasht pa kash kard, guft 23 ku: Agarātā manishni shīheḍ, aigunūm maṅgi ma dahēḍ aṇdā nāhīcha awaganūm; 24 agar nāhīcha ô men âêḍ, kām maṇdaha shavôm ô ā aṇbām ashôâ darvaṇdâ, 25 īn pēdām ô durushtihâ barôm, u rāshtihâ awâzh âwarôm.

26 Pash Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnâ âkhesht heṇḍ, 27 u aṇdar măn âtashâ shuḍ heṇḍ; 28 awashâ aganīn nāhīcha avagend heṇḍ; 29 nāhīcha ô Ardâ Virâ maḍ.

30 Pash ā haptâ khvâhar hafta zan i Ardâi Virâ chuṇ ish hamâ zan i ôi būḍ heṇḍ, vashâ dīn narm u yasht kard eshtâḍ heṇḍ; 31 kashâ ā shakhun āshnuḍ, aigashâ awâ garâ būḍ chuṇ dashâ u¹ garâtūm maḍ hâê. 32 Vashâ pêsh i Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnâ shūḍ heṇḍ, 33 namâza burd heṇḍ, 34 bē pâê eshtâḍ hend, 35 vashâ gufta

bhyām ūrddhasthitāḥ, 22 tenacha hastaucha kakshâyāṇ kṛītau, uktancha 23 yat: Yadi bhavatām manasaḥ spṛīhayati, tadbhānaga² mahyam mingim mā dattaḥ yāvat ḍangarakam³ āsphālayati; 24 yadi ḍangarako mayi samāyāti, kāmavān prayāmi prades'āṇ yat muktātmanāṇ durgatimatāṇcha, 25 idancha dūtakāryaṇ sundaratayā nayāmi, satyatayācha vyāvṛityama samānayati.

26 Pas'chāt Gustāsparājā aparecha Majdāfasnā samuttasthuḥ, 27 antas'cha agnibhuvane samāyān; 28 techa samavāyena ḍangarakan samāsphālayan; 29 ḍangarakam Arddā-Gvīrā-purushaṇ samāyāt.

30 Pas'chāt tāḥ sapta bhaginyo yā Arddā-Gvīrā-purushasya sarvāpi bhāryāḥ asya sambhūtāḥ santi, tāsāṇ dīnikomalānāṇvarācha kṛitā āste; 31 yat tābhiḥ etadvachaḥ s'rutam evaṇ duḥkhinyāḥ sanjātāḥ yathā kila tāsāṇ tat yat mahābhāritaraṇ duḥkhaṇ samprāptam. 32 Tās'cha puraḥ Gustāsparājno apareshāṇcha Majdāfasnānāṇ samāyayuh, 33 prapāmancha akurvvan, 34 pādābhyām ūrddhasthitā, 35 tābhis'cha uktaṇ yat: Mā

¹ Perhaps *kashâ i*, some words being omitted between them.

² Probably a miswriting of *tadānim*.

³ So in H₁₈; here it is variously written *dugaraka*, *ḍunguraka*, *ḍanguraka* and *ḍungaraka*.

ku: Ma kunēd shumā Mazdayasnā iñ thesh, 36 chi êmā haft zan khvâhar hóm, ôi yakē khashma; 37 har haft zan khvâhar khvashm dâd jani hóm; 38 chuñ khvânaê ke haft frêshw¹, 39 êshâ frêspâ shtûnaê azhêr aũdâ kard eshtađ, 40 ka ã shtûn bê shtâneñđ, êshâ haft frêspâ bê ôfteñđ.

41 Pash Gushtâspa shâha, kash ã sakhun âshnûđ, khsham kard, 42 ô êshâ gufta 43 ku: Shumâ râ vâđ bê barâđ, 44 guraga bê khvarâđ, 45 vatâ agasht bê duñjâđ².

46 Pash Ardâ Virâ, chuñsh ã dîđ ku Gushtâspa shâha khshma kard, êshâ râ khvarêshañđi dâđ; 47 vash ô pêsh i Gushtâspa shûđ, 48 dasht pa kash kard, 49 shtâisni vash kard, 50 vash gufta ku: Agar dashtûr hêđ, khvarasni khvarôm, 51 u rvânî yazôm, 52 aũdarj kunôm; 53 mañg pas dihêđ. 54 Pas Gushtâspa shâh guft ku: Hamagûna kun.

55 Pash Ardâ Virâ âdarô i khvêsha shûđ, 56 vash yazasni kard,

kuru yûyam Majdaïasnâh idañ kinchidapi, 36 yato vayan̄ sapta bhâry-yâh smaḥ, asau ekas'cha bharttâ; 37 saptacha bhaginyo asya bharttuḥ bhâryyâ asmi; 38 yathâ gñihamekañ sapta kshaṇâh, 39 teshâñ kshaṇâ-nâm adhastambha eko madhya vibhâgakṛite âste, 40 yadi adhastam-bhaḥ samâtutûshyât saptâpi kshaṇâh sampâtanti.

41 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ, yat tadvachanamās'rinot, kopañ chakâra, 42 tâsâcha, uktañ 43 yat: Yushmân mahâvâto nayet, 44 vyâghrâḥ khâdantu, 45 bhavatînâñ svîye asthîni svâsanâkarshatu.

46 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushena, yathaiva dṛishṭaṇ̄ tat Gustâspo râjâ kopañ chakre, santoshaḥ pradattaḥ; 47 sacha purato Gustâsparâjâ agachechhat, 48 hastau kakshâyâñ vyadhât, 49 stuticha prachurâñ cha-kâra, 50 techa avochat: Yadi âdes'o bhavati khâdyam bhakshayâmi, 51 âtmânâma ârâdhayâmi, 52 samarthyaṇâcha karômi; 53 mangim pas'chât dattaḥ. 54 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ avochat yat: Ityevañ kuru.

55 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ agnibhuvane svîye avrajat, 56

¹ For *frêsp*.

² Perhaps for *añgusht bê bañjâđ* (or *dañđâđ*).

u rvān yazid, khvaresni khvard. 57 Ēshā khvâharā maṅga shâkhta, 58 ô zâm i mai khvar kard; 59 ô Ardâ Vîrâ awarē vastarg kard; 60 Kai Gushtâspa shâh awarē Mazdayasnâ âgahî dâd.

61 Pash Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnâ âmaḍ heñd, 62 vashâ ôi Ardâ Vîrâ maṅgi dâd, 63 pa avar vashtarg anâvîniḍ¹. 64 Ērawadâ gumârd gahê âmókhteñd, 65 ku tan ôi Ardâ Vîrâ pa pâsh pâiñd, u naska gôñd. 66 Ā haft khvâhar pērâmûn i vashtarg i Ardâ Vîrâ nishasht heñd, 67 awashtâ gôñd 68 aundâ haftem rôza shawâ.

69 Rvān i Ardâ Vîrâ ezh tan शुद्ध ô Chikâiti Dâhitî Chinvaḍ pahul, 70 ô haftem rôz awâz âmaḍ, 71 u aundâ tan gumêkhta. 72 Ardâ Vîrâ awar âkhesht, 73 chûm ki ezh ā i khvash khvâw âkhesht, 74 Vahman maneshni u hurma.

sacha ijjisnî chakâra, âtmânancha samârâdhayat, khâdyancha âkhâdayat. 57 Tâbhis'cha bhâryâbhiḥ manga-ushadhî pragañî kṛitâ, 58 pâtrecha madhubhakshapañ nikshiptam; 59 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushas'cha adhas-tâd-vastrâpân nivasati; 60 rājno Gustâspas'cha apareshañcha Majdañsânânâni prabodhaḥ kâritaḥ.

61 Pas'chât Gustâspo rājâ aparecha Majdañsnâ samâyâtuh, 62 techa Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya manga-ushadhî dadatuh, 63 vastras-yopari asvâpayat. 64 Ervadâs'rijantaḥ, 65 yathâ vapustasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya praharakeṇa rakshanti, naskancha samuecharanti. 66 Atas'cha sapta bhâryâḥ parivartulam Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushavastrasya upavivis'uḥ, 67 avasthâvâpicha samuecharanti 68 yâvat saptamam ahorâtram.

69 Âtmâcha tasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya kâyât agachchhat Cha-kâita-Dâiti-nâmnî girau Chandora-puhalecha setau, 70 saptamecha ahni avyâvṛitya samâgachchhat, 71 antas'cha tanau milataḥ. 72 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ uparishṭât udatishṭhat, 73 yathâ kila tasya sukhi nidrâyâḥ samuechataḥ, 74 uttamamanâ uttamânândasya.

¹ A misreading of the Pahl. **خوابانی** *khvâpânîḍ* = Pers. خوابانید.

75 U êshâ khvâharâ chuñshâ Ardâ Virâ dîd kush awar nigarîd, 76 aigishâ awâ hûram bûd heñd chûm kashâ pa zendagâ pa vahesht bûd heñd; 77 êshâ êrawadâ pêsh i Ardâ Virâ â namâzh burað heñd, 78 shuð heñd pêsha i Gushtâspa shâha u Dilag u Gôspadasht u Fere-shaoshtar u Maidyômâh u awarê Mazdayasnâ âgahî dâd; 79 êshâ nazdik i Ardâ Virâ shuð heñd. 80 U Ardâ Virâ chûñsh Gushtâspa shâha dîd, padîra shuð¹, 81 guft ku: Drûd ezh Hôrmazda i bag u ameshâspeñdân, 82 u drûd ezh ashô Zarathushtra Spetamâ, 83 u drûd ezh Shrôsh ashô, 84 u drûd ezh Âdra yazda, 85 u drûd ezh dîni vahê Mazdayasnâ, 86 u drûd ezh nekî u âshânî i ashôa pa valisht.

87 Pash Gushtâspa shâha guft 88 ku: Durasht dil thô, Ardâ Virâ, i êmâ Mazdayasnâ pêdâmbâr, 89 vat drûd bâd; 90 thôicha ezh â dîd haê râshtihâ ô êmâ gôê. 91 Vash dasht garaft, hamâ Mazdayasnâ

75 Tâbhis'cha bhâryâbhih yathâsau Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushah dṛishtaḥ kila upari nirîkshataḥ, 76 anvatâ evam uttamânandaḥ samabhavat, yathâ kila jîvantya evañ svargabhuvane prapîtâ santi; 77 techa ervadâḥ purataḥ Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya prapâmañ chakruḥ, 78 jagmubhya purastât Gustâspasya râjno Dalagas'cha Gospadas'cha Pharisustras'cha Ma,idiô-mâhas'cha apareshâncha Majdaîasnânâm prabodhancha adaduḥ; 79 techa âsannataram Arddâ-Gvîrâmâyayuh. 80 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushah tathaiva Gustâsparâjânañ dadars'a, pratyabhimukham prachalitaḥ, 81 uvâcha yat: Prapâmah Ahurmmajdâddâtuh amarebhyas'cha gurûtarebhyah, 82 prapâmas'cha puṇyâtmâno Jarathus'trât Spitamaputrât, 83 prapâmas'cha Srosât puṇyâtmakât âdes'apati, 84 prapâmas'cha Âdarât iajdât, 85 prapâmas'cha uttamadiner-Majdaîasnyâḥ, 86 prapâmas'cha s'ubhât samâdhânâchecha yat muktâtmanân svargaloke.

87 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ uvâcha 88 yat: Arogyañ hṛidayañ te, he Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushah, asmâkam Majdaîasnânân dyut, 89 namostu tubhyam; 90 tvamapi tasmât yat dṛishtamasti satyatayâ asmâki brûhi. 91 Techa haste vidhṛitya, sarve Majdaîasnâ ekatra upavivis'uh, 92 techa

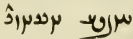
¹ Or perhaps *âid*, the writing being ambiguous.

aganîn nisasht heñd, 92 vashâ gufta ku: Gô ãn i yat dîd pa vahēsht u dôzhakh u Chinûad puha; 93 ědum rāshtihâ gôî aũdâ ěmâicha dânôm iñ i Gruđamān grift eshtađ.

94 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ gôîd 95 ku: Varsh u tarsh hōm; 96 nukhusht tan khvarsni dahishni, pas purasashni kunasni, kâra framâisni. 97 Pash Gushtâspa shâha framûd, 98 ku ôsh Ardâ Vîrâ khvash kharsni, khûba-pukht hû-bôî khvardi, u sharđ âw, khvash maē khvash gôspeñd¹. 99 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ drûn barasman yasht, 100 khvarsni khvard, 101 myazda ráinîd 102 pa sparhm u mai, vâzh bē guft. 103 U stâishni i Hōrmazda u ameshâspeñdān spāsh aŋgārđ, u Averedād u Ameredād aŋgārđ, 104 u âfreŋgā guft.

avochan yat: Brûhi tat yattvayâ dṛishṭaṇ svargaloke narakalokecha Chandorapuhalecha setau; 93 evaṇ satyatayâ brûhi yathâ vayam vijānīmaḥ tat yat samaye gṛihītamasti.

94 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ brûte 95 yat: Bubhukshita-trishitas'cha asmi; 96 prathamāṇ tanoḥ khâdyaṇ dadata, pas'chât prash-nakuruta, kâryancha âdes'ât. 97 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ samâdis'at, 98 yat etasmai susvâdu khâdyaṇ s'uddhapakvaṇ sugandhavyanjanaṇ s'îta-¹ancha salilaṇ susvâdancha madhuṇ samâyan. 99 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushena drûna ejataḥ, 100 bhâjyancha bhuktam, 101 miajdas'cha pra-chârat 102 sugandhaiḥ pushpaiḥ madhunâcha, maunavisarjjâtam. 103 Stuti Ahurmmajdasyacha svâminah amis'âspintânâncha tridhâprahara-kasya jalamûrttecha vanaspatimûrttecha saṇsmṛitaḥ.

¹ These two words must be a misreading of some Pahlavî phrase, including the verb, perhaps  aubash yansegûnâ.

II.

Introduction to the Persian *Arđā-Vîrâf Nâmah* contained in the MS. H₂₈, and translated in p. xv-xix.¹

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید چنانکه خواست و خواهد
و در بر پیغام ما.
بعد ایدون کویند که چون شاه اردشیر بابکان و چون ببادشاهی
بنشست نود بادشاه بکشت و بعضی کویند نود و شش بادشاه بکست
و جهانرا از دشمنان خالی کرد و آرمیده گردانید و دستوران و
موبدانی که دران زمان بودند همه را پیش خویشتن خواند و گفت
که دین راست و درست که ایزد تعالی بزرزشت علیه گفت و زرتشت
در کیتی روا کرد مرا باز نمانید تا من این کیشها و گفت و کویها
از جهان بر کنم و اعتقاد با یکی آورم و کسی بفرستاد بهمه ولایتها
هر جایگاه که دانایی و یا دستوری بود همه را بدرگاه خون خواند
چهل هزار مرد بر درگاه انبوه شد پس بفرمود و گفت آنهای که ازین
داناترند باز پلینند چهار هزار داناتر ازان جمله بر گزیدند و شاهان
شاه را خیر کردند و گفت دیگر بار احتیاط بکنید دیگر نوبت ازان
جمله قومی که به تمیز و عاقل و افستا و زند بیشتر از بر دارند
جدا کنید چهار صد مرد بر آمد که ایشان افستا و زند بیشتر از
بر داشتند دیگر باره احتیاط کردند در میان ایشان چهل مرد
بگزیدند که ایشان افستا جمله از بر داشتند دیگر در میان آن
جمل کسی هفت مرد بودند که از اول عمر تا با آن روزگار که ایشان

¹ In accordance with the MS., this text is not divided into sentences, and no distinction is made between the letters *g* and *k*. A few words, which are hardly intelligible, are transcribed as they appear to be written.

رسیده بودند بر ایشان هیچ گناه پیدا نیامده بود و بغایت عظیم پهریخته بودند و پاکیزه دل در منشن و کوشن و کنشن و دل در ایزد لبته بودند بعد ازان هر هفت بنزدیک شاه اردشیر بردند بعد ازان شاه فرمود که مرا می باید که این شک و کمان از دین بر خیزد و مردمان همه بر دین اورمزد و زرتشت باشند و گفت و گوی از دین بر خیزد و چنانکه مرا و همه عالمان و دانایان را روشن شود که دین کدامست و این شک و کمان از دین بیفتد بعد ازان ایشان پاسخ دادند که کسی این خبر باز نتواند دادن الا آنکسی که از اول عمر هشت سالگی تا بدان وقت که رسیده باشد هیچ گناه نکرده باشد و این مرد ویرافست که ازو پاکیزه تر و مینوروشتر و راستگویتر کس نیست و این قصه اختیار بروی باید کردن و ما شش گانه دیگر یزشنها و نبرنکها که در دین که از بهر این کار گفته است بجای آوریم تا ایزد عز و جل احوالها بویراف نماید و ویراف ما را ازان خبر دهد تا همه کس بدین اورمزد و زرتشت بیکمان شوند و ویراف این کار در خویشتن پذیرفت و شاه اردشیر آن سخن را خوش آمد و پس گفتند این کار راست نکردد الا که بدرگاه آدران شوند و پس بر خاستند و عزم کردند و برگشتند و بعد ازان آن شش مرد که دستوران بودند از یک سوی آتشگاه یزشنها پساختند و آن چهل دیگر سوییها با چهل هزار مرد دستوران که بدرگاه آمده بودند همه یزشنها پساختند و ویراف سر و تن بشست و جامه سفید در پوشید و بوی خوش بر خویشتن کرد پیش آتش بیستد و از همه کناهها پتفت بکرد.

ویراف را هفت خواهر بودند و چون آن خبر بدانستند هر هفت بیامدند و زاری و گریه کردند و گفتند که ما هفت سر پوشیده در خانه ایم و برادر خود بجز این نداریم و امید ما همه بدویست اکنون شما او را بدان جهان خواهی فرستاد و ما ندانیم که دیگر

روی او باز بینیم یا نه و ما را بیستر به خواهی کردن از پدر و مادر جدا شدیم و از برادر نیز مان جدا خواهی کردن ما نکنداریم چه ما همین یک برادر است شما کسی دیگر بر کزینید و این برادر بما زها کنید دستوران چون این سخن بشنیدند گفتند شما هیچ اندوه مبرید و ماندیشید که ما را تا هفت روز دیگر ویراف را تن درست با شما سپاریم و سوکند بکوردند و خواهران خر پسند شدند و باز کردیدند.

پس شاهنشاه اردشیر با سواران سلاح پوشیده از کرد بر کرد آتشگاه نگاه میداشت تا نه که آسموگی با منافقی پنهان چیزی بر ویراف نکند که او را خللی رسند و چیزی بدی در میان یزشن کند که آن نیرنگ با طلب شود پس در میان آتش گاه تختی بنهادند و جامهای پاکیزه بر افکندند و ویراف را بران تخت نشاندند و رویبند بروی فرو گذاشتند و آن چهل هزار مرد بر یزشن کردن ایستادند و درونی بیشتند و قدری په یکی بران درون نهادند چون تمام بیشتند یک قدح شراب بویراف دادند بهمت منشنه یعنی که از اعتقادی و نیستی خاص راست کویی fol. defective بدو دادند یعنی از قول صادق . . . شنی راست و یک قدح که بهورشته ورزش بدو دادند یعنی کرداری پسندیده بعد ازان ویراف چون این سه قدح خورده بود سر به بستر همانجا باز نهاده و بخواب fol. defective هفت شبانروز ایشان بهمجا یزشن میکردند و آن شش دستور بمالین ویراف نشسته بود defective سی و سه مرد دیگر که بکزیده بودند از کرد بر کرد تخت یزشن میکردند و آن تیرست و شصت مرد که بیشتر بکزیده بودند از کرد بر کرد ایشان یزشن میکردند¹ و آن سی شش هزار کرد بر کرد آتشگاه کنبه یزشن میکردند و

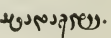
¹ A phrase, referring to the remaining 3600 of the 4000 first selected, is evidently omitted here.

شاهنشاه سلاح پوشیده و بر اسب نشسته با سپاه از بیرون کنبد
 میگردیدند و باد را آنجا راه نمیدادند و بهر جایی که این یزشن
 کنان نشسته بودند بهر قومی جماعتی شمشیر کشیده و بسلاح
 پوشیده و ایستاده بودند تا گروهها همه بر جایگاه خویشتن باشند
 و هیچ کس بدان دیگر نیامیزند و آنجایگاه که تخت ویراف بود
 از کرد بر کرد تخت پیادگان با سلاح ایستاده بودند و هیچ کس
 دیگر را بجز آن شش دستور بنزدیک تخت رها نمیکردند چو
 شاهنشاه در آمدی از آنجا بیرون آمدی و کرد بر کرد آتشگاه نگاه
 میداشتی و برین سختی کالید ویراف نگاه میداشتی شستند تا
 هفت شبان روز بر آمد.

بعد از هفت شبان روز ویراف باز جنبید و باز زبید و باز نشت
 و مردمان و دستوران چون بدیدند که ویراف از خواب در آمد خرمی
 کردند و شاد شدند و رامش پذیرفتند و بر پای ایستادند و نماز
 بردند و گفتند شاد آمدی اردای ویراف و به باز بینی آن باشد که
 بهشتی اشو باشد چکونه آمدی و چون رستی و چه دیدی ما را باز
 کوی تا ما نیز احوال آن جهان بدانیم اردا ویراف گفته اول چیزی
 بیاوری تا من بخورم که هفت شبانروز است تا این بر هیچ چیز
 نیافته است و ست شد ام بعد ازان هر چه خواهید بپرسید تا
 شما را معلوم کنم دستوران ساعتی درونی بیشتند اردا ویراف واج
 گرفت چیزی اندک مایه بخورد و واج بگفت پس بگفت این زمان
 دبیری دانا را بیاورید تا هر چه من دیده ام بگویم و نخست آن
 در جهان بفرستید تا همه کس را کار مینو و بهشت و دوزخ معلوم
 شود و قیمت نیکی کردن بدانند و از بد کردن دور باشند پس
 دبیری دانا بیاوردند و در پیش اردا ویراف بنشست.

Errata.

The reader must be prepared to meet with a few type broken in the press, of which the following have been noticed:  in p. 11, lin. 5. 12, 21. 15, 6. 21, 5. 23, 1. 35, 22. 36, 9. 37, 6. 39, 6. 43, 4. 50, 6. 69, 1, 6. 82, 3. 85, 6. 109, 4. 136, 8. 231, 7. 299, 3.  in 9, 6. 29, 20. 42, 21.  in 77, 6. 111, 22. 208, 7. 291, 10.  in 83, 8.  in 282, 8.  in 289, 9. 295, 9.

Read: in p. xvii. lin. 13. Ardashîr. xviii. 16-17. how didst thou escape? xxi. 25. Risâlah-i. xxiv. 27. Aryan. xxix. 11. ۲۲. xxxi. 30. with. xxxii. 19. Ethiopic. lxxv. 16. because. lxxvi. 3. thought itself. 15. of a man. 16. (omit) to. lxxviii. 6. ān aŋbām. 2, 36. Peshotanji. 2, 40. Zand. 3, 15. *gajestakō*. 3, 16. *gajestak*. 7, 18. *Nikhshāpūr*. 11, 16. *bō-i*. 13, 14. *ākhēzīd*. 16, 18. *Arđā*. 18, 16. *hū-rōst*, *rōst*. 18, 18. *aētūnō*. 19, 19. *shnāyīnīd*. 20, 17. *dēr-yazishnīh*. 22, 19. *rist-ākhēz*. 25, 17. *yash-arūbō*. 29, 17. *yēdatō*. 31, 18. *avēzak*. 38, 14. *aūrvarān*. 43, 12. *Ātarō*. 44, 13. *Chīnūvat*. 47, 19. *arjānikān*. 50, 16. *rābānō-i*. 51, 10-11. *hū-rōst-i*. 56, 22. *kārd*. 73, 20. *āsyāv*. 85, 13. *apāḍakhshahīh*. 87, 21. *īstāḍak-i*. 87, 23. *has*. 88, 18. *aīgh*. 90, 18. *rīst-ākhēz*. 94, 13. *kārd*. 95, 17. *āmūr-zishn*. 135, 11. *shnāyēm*. 137, 7. *āvādīh*. 148, 34. technical. 149, 11. they. 158, 28. *Srōsh*. 175, 14. 178, 5, 13, 23. 179, 15. 180, 24. 181, 21. 182, 12. 183, 8. 186, 3, 21. 189, 10. 191, 3. *Ātarō*. 193, 14. was. 197, 23. re-establishment. 199, 21. 202. *Atarō*. 236, 18. *mūn*. 244, 12. *yāt-ahāk-vēryōk-I*. 244, 15. *avasrūd*. 244, 16. *dastōbar*. 244, 19. *hamāk*. 260, 7. *Garōdmānō*. 278, 6. . 279, 19. *shem*. 288, 14. *shnāyīnīd*. 297, 19. *ai*. 300, 8. final. 303, 16. identified. 313, 1. beautiful.

In *Arđ-Vîr*. ch. 62, 6. *ārāst* may be a better reading, and the translation will be: 'G and having adorned herself', etc.

Ardâ-Virâf Nâmak.

T h e P a h l a v î t e x t

with Transliteration and

the various readings of several MSS.

Observations.

The divisions into chapters, paragraphs and sentences, are innovations, as the MSS. are written continuously, and with little attention to stops. Whenever a Huzvāresh word occurs in any of the MSS. consulted, it is used instead of its Pāzand equivalent, although the latter may occur in the older MSS. The *idhāfat* ۛ is joined to the preceding word, as in the MSS.; but the conjunction ۛ is separated, for the convenience of the reader, although it is generally joined, in the MSS., either to the following, or the preceding, word. The extra final ۛ is inserted only when it occurs in H₆; and the variations of K₂₀, with regard to this final, are the only ones noticed. The diacritical marks are those found in H₆, which are given so far as the available type would admit.

The transliteration is kept to a uniform system, which is explained in the Introduction. Roman letters are used to represent all Pahlavī numeral signs (less than 1000) to avoid confusion with the numbers of the sentences. Words italicized in the transliteration, are those referred to in the various readings, at the foot of each page.

In the various readings:

All variations that are evidently clerical blunders, are unnoticed. The numbers refer to the sentence in the text, and to the number of the word in the sentence; two, or more, words connected by hyphens in the transliteration, being counted separately, unless they are joined together in the Pahlavī text.

B. — MS. corrected by Destur Bahmanji Jamshedji Jāmāsp Asā.

D. — MS. prepared by Destur Hoshangji from B. P. N. etc.

Dest. — Destur Hoshangji.

H₆. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 6, dated A. Y. 766.

H_{6a}. — A fragment from the same MS., extending from ch. 1, 1 to 1, 38 *atgh*.

H₁₇. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 17; extending from ch. 1, 1 to 44, 3 *kūmāndk*; undated and modern.

H₁₈. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 18, Pāz. — Sans., dated *Samvat* 1466.

K₂₀. — the Copenhagen MS. No. 20, beginning with *Airān*, ch. 1, 9; dated A. Y. 690, 700 and 720, but written rather later.

K₂₆. — the Copenhagen MS. No. 26, containing *ātārō*, ch. 4, 6, to *khadihān*, ch. 64, 8; *adīnam*, ch. 84, 1, to *khadih*, ch. 89, 10; and *minīd*, ch. 100, 4, to end.

N. — two MSS. written respectively by Destur Asāji Nushīrvānji and by Destur Nushīrvānji Jāmāspji Asā; the latter dated A. Y. 1108.

P. — MS. belonging to Destur Peshutanji Behramji Sanjāna, and written by Mobad Naurozji Sanjāna.

Bund. — Bundelesh. Chald. — Chaldee. Heb. — Hebrew. om. — omits, or omit. Mkh. — Mainyō-i-khard. Pāz. — Pāzand. Pers. — Persian. Sans. — Sanskrit. Syr. — Syriac. Vend. — Vendidad. Z. — Zend.

၁၁၅ နှစ် ၁၉၂၁ ခု

[illegible]

Pavan shem-i Yadadânô.

1 Aêtûnô yemalelund aîgh: *khadû-bâr* yasharûbô Zaratûhasht dînô-*i* mekadlûnd yîn gêhân rûbâk barâ kard; 2 va vad bûndakîh-*i* CCCô shanat, dînô yîn avêzakîh va anshûtâ yîn avîgûmânîh yehevûnd hōmand. 3 Va akhar *gajastakô* Ganrâk-mînavad-*i darvand*, gûmânô kardânô-*i* anshûtâânô pavan denman dînô râî, 4 zak *gajastak Alak-saydar-i* Arûmâyâk-*i* Mûjrâyîk-mânishnô nîyâzânîniđ-*i* pavan girân sazđ va napartô va dahîk, val Aîrân shatrô yâtûnd; 5 afash valman Aîrân dahyûpat zektelûnd, 6 va babâ va khûdâîh vashûft va avîrân kard.

1. 1. 4. P. . 1, 7. د only in H₆. 2, 3. all omit the *idhāfat* د, but perhaps  =  (a variant of ) + د. 3, 3. D. . 3, 5. د only in H₆. 3, 6. only in B. H₆, H_{6a}. 4, 3. B. . 4, 4. د only in H₆.

۱. ۲. ۳. ۴. ۵. ۶. ۷. ۸. ۹. ۱۰. ۱۱. ۱۲. ۱۳. ۱۴.

narm va yesht kard̄ yekavīmūnād. 4 Va amatshân ashnūd, adīnshân
 āngun girāntūm maḍ hōmand, 5 va drāyīd hōmand, va kâlâ kard̄ hō-
 mand, 6 va yîn hanjaman-i Mâzdayasnân levîn vazlūnd hōmand,
 7 barâ yekavīmūnād hōmand, va namâz yedrūnd hōmand, 8 va ye-
 malelund aîgh: Al vâdūnêd lekūm Mâzdayasnân denman mandavam;
 9 maman lanman haft akhtman hōmanēm, va valman khadūk brād;
 10 va kolâ haft akhtman valman akh nêshmanih hōmanēm. 11 Chî-
 gūn khânak-I babâ mûn VII frasp va stûn-I azîr yîn hankhetūnād
 yekavīmūnād, 12 mûn zak stûn barâ yansegūnd, valmanshân fraspân
 barâ aūftinand; 13 āngun lanman haft akhtman râi akh denman khadūk
 aītō, mûnmân zīvishn va yakhsenunishn; 14 frâz min Yadadân

II. 4, 2. H₁₈ adds *ā sakhun*. 5, 1. K₂₀ ۵. 6, 3. H₆ omits ۵. 6, 4. K₂₀ omits
 final ۱. 6, 6-7. D. ۱۲. 9, 3. H₁₇, K₂₀ ۳. 9, 7. K₂₀ ۳.
 9, 9-10, 5. H₁₈ om. 10, 4. K₂₀ om. 10, 6. so in K₂₀; H₁₈ *sûhar*, Sans.
bharttri; all others ۱۲. 11, 2. K₂₀ ۳ for ۳. 11, 3-4. H₁₈ om.
 11, 5. K₂₀ ۳. 11, 7. H₁₈ *ēshā frēspā*. 11, 11. D. ۳. 11, 12. K₂₀
 ۳. 12, 1. H₁₇ ۳. 12, 6. H₁₈ adds *haft*. 13, 4. H₁₈ *zani*. 13, 6. so
 in K₂₀; H₁₈ *sûi*, Sans. *bharttri*; all others ۱۲. 13, 9. ۳ in all but H₆.

31 *afash zak âs va mang barâ vashtamûnd, va hûshyâryîsh*
 32 *Valmanshân dînô dastôbarân va haft akhtmanân, VII yôm-*
shapânô, pavan âtâsh hamîshak-sôj, va bôt-vajarâk, va nîrang-i
dînôik avistâk va sand barâ yemalelund; 33 va nask yezbekhûnd, va
gâsân srûd, va pavan târik pâs dâst hômmand. 34 Va valmanshân
haft akhtmanân pavan pîramûn-i vastarg-i valman Vîrâf yetîbûnast
hômmand, 35 va haft yôm-shapân, avistâk yezbekhûnd. 36 Valmanshân
haft akhtmanân, levatman hamâk Mâzdayasnân dînô dastôbarân, va
aêrpatân, va magôpatân, pavan hîch khadûinak pânâkîh barâ lâ shedkûnd.

gheshûnd; 31 afash zak âs va mang barâ vashtamûnd, va hûshyâryîsh
vâj barâ gûftô, va pavan vastarg khelmûnd.

32 Valmanshân dînô dastôbarân va haft *akhtmanân*, VII yôm-
 shapânô, pavan âtâsh hamîshak-sôj, va bôt-vajarâk, va nîrang-i
 dînôik *avistâk va sand* barâ yemalelund; 33 va nask *yezbekhûnd*, va
 gâsân srûd, va pavan târik pâs dâst hômmand. 34 Va valmanshân
 haft *akhtmanân* pavan *pîramûn-i vastarg-i valman Vîrâf yetîbûnast*
 hômmand, 35 *va haft yôm-shapân, avistâk yezbekhûnd*. 36 Valmanshân
 haft *akhtmanân*, levatman hamâk Mâzdayasnân dînô dastôbarân, va
 aêrpatân, va magôpatân, pavan hîch *khadûinak pânâkîh barâ lâ shedkûnd*.

- II. 30, 19. K₂₀ *سز*. 31, 7. only in H₁₇. 31, 8. H₁₇ adds *سز*. 31, 9. K₂₀
سز. 32, 6. H₁₈ *zanû*. 32, 16. D. H₁₇ *سز*. 32, 20—22. H₁₇
 om. 33, 3. K₂₀ *سز*. 34, 4. H₁₈ *zanû*. 34, 6. D. H₁₇ *سز*. 34, 7. H₆,
 K₂₀ omit *د*. 35, 1. only in H₁₇, and inserted by Dest. 35, 6. *سز* in all
 but K₂₀. 36, 3. H₁₈ *zanû*. 36, 15. B. H₁₈, K₂₀, N. add *سز*.

Chapter III.

1. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 2. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 3. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 4. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 5. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 6. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 7. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 8. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 9. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח
 10. וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח וְלִפְתָּח

Chapter III.

1 Va *rûbânô-i* valman Virâf min tanû val Chakât-i Dâitk Chînû-
rat pûhal vazlûnd; 2 va haftûm yôm-*shapânô lakhvâr* yâtûnd, va yîn
tanû *vazlûnd*. 3 Virâf madam khâst, chîgûn amat min zak *khelmû-i*
basîm akhêzîd, 4 Vohûman-mînishn va khûram.

5 Va valmanshân *akhtmanân*, levatman dînô dastôbarân va Mâzdayasnân, chîgûnshânô Virâf khadîtûnd, shâd va khûram yehevûnd hōmand; 6 afshân gûft aîgh: Drûst yâtûnd *hōmanyîh*, lak Virâf-i lanman Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar, *min* shatrô-i mûrdakân val denman shatrô-i zîvandakân, *yâtûnd hōmanyîh*.

III. 1, 2. K₂₀ **در سرد**. - 1, 8. د only in H₆, K₂₀. 2, 4-5. K₂₀ **در سرد و در آب.**

2, 10. H₁₈ adds *gumēkhṭa*. 3, 8. H₁₈ *qāva*, Pers. خواب; all others دایند, which it would be hazardous to trace to Heb. דיומרה; Dest. suggests سافر

which occurs in the Kâr-nâmak-i Artakshir-i Pâpakân, and is here adopted.
5, 3. D. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩; H₁₃ zanā. 6, 6. D. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩; H₁₇ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩. 6, 12. K₂₀

prefixes). 6, 19—20. H₁₇ om. 6, 20. D. K₂₀ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲟⲩ.

14 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 15 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 16 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 17 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 18 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 19 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 20 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם
 21 ואלה שמות המלכות אשר יקראו להם

lanman Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar; *afat drûd yehevûnâd* lakîch, 14
Kolâ mamanat khadîtûnd, râstyîsh val lanman yemalelûn.

15 Akhar, *valman* Viráf gúft aîgh: *Fratûm gûbishn* denman,
16 aîgh gûrsakân va tîshnakân nakhûst khûrîshn yehabûtanô, 17 va
akhar pûrsîshn *minash* kardanô, kêr farmûdanô.

18 Akhar, dinô dastôbarân farmûd aîgh: *Khûsh* va basîn. 19 Va khûrishnô-i hû-pôkht va hû-bôî, va khûrdîk, va sard mayâ, *va* âs âvôrtô.
20 Afshân *drônô yezbekhûnd*; va Vîrâf vâj vakhdûnd, va *khûrishn*
vashtamûnd, *va myazd* râyinîd, vâj barâ gûft. 21 Va stâyishn-i
Aûharmazd *va ameshôspendân*, *va* sipâs-i Horvadađ va Amerôdađ
ameshôspendân angârd, va *âfrînaqânô* gûft.

III. 13, 9. D. om. 13, 10. K_{20} om. 13, 11. ~~By~~ in all but H_{17} . 15, 2. K_{20} 2).

15, 6—7. K₂₀ . 17, 4.  in all but K₂₀. 18, 6. 
in all but B. H₁₇. 19, 11. H₁₈ adds *qush*. 20, 2—3. K₂₀ . 20, 9.

K₂₀ adds final י. 20, 11. only in H₁₇. 20, 12. K₂₀ כִּשְׁמֵחַ. 21, 4. H, K₂₀ om. 21, 5. K₂₀ has שׁ for שׂ, here and elsewhere; and so also generally in modern MSS. 21, 6. only in H₁₇, K₂₀. 21, 11. plural only in D. 21, 14. K₂₀ omits final י; D. שׂוּשׁוּ.

12 ער האט געזען אים און אים געזאגט, און
 13 ער האט געזאגט, און ער האט געזאגט, און
 14 ער האט געזאגט, און ער האט געזאגט, און

Chapter VI.

1. משהו לא כל כך טוב ² עם המעורבות לרוב כל אחד מהם
 לא היו מעורבים כלל ³ עם המעורבות כלל ⁴ מעורבות לרוב
 מעורבות מעורבות ⁵ מעורבות לרוב ⁶ מעורבות לרוב
 מעורבות מעורבות ⁷ מעורבות לרוב ⁸ מעורבות לרוב

tanû-i pasîno. 12 Afat *numâyem pâdadahistn-i* yasharûbânô, min
 Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân, pavan yîn vahisht. 13 Afat *numâyem*
sâkham va pâdafrâs-i gûnak gûnak-i *val darvandânô*, pavan yîn dûsh-
 ahû, min *Akharman* va shêdâânô *patîyârukân*.

Chapter VI.

1 Jînâk-I frâz maḍ hōmanam, 2 afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i mardûn
aêchand mûn pavan ham-yekavîmûnâḍ hōmand. 3 Afam pûrsîḍ min
pîrûzkar Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Valmanshân mûn
hōmand? va maman râî latanman yekavîmûnd?

4 Yemalēlunēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Âtarō yēdatō, 5 aîgh: *Den-*
man jînâk hamîsta-

V. 12, 2. H_6 **համի**. 12, 3. H_6, H_{17}, K_{26} **ստացվել**. 13, 2. H_6 **համի**.

13, 3. $\mu\psi$ in all but K_{20} here; but $\mu\psi$ occurs five times elsewhere in D. H_6 , K_{20} , and thrice in K_{26} ; and $\mu\psi$ occurs once in D. K_{26} . 13, 4.

11₁₇ ; all others omit , here, but D. H₆, K₂₀ insert it five times, in the same phrase, elsewhere. 13. 8. D. K₂₀ om. 13. 9. K₂₀ omits final ,

13, 14. K_{20} Zn^{2+} Fe^{2+} . 13, 17. K_{20} Fe^{2+} Fe^{3+} .

VI. 5, 2. only in H_{18} , K_{20} , K_{26} . 5, 3. D, H_{17} add $\mathfrak{D}$.

[illegible]

zak jinâk aîgh hûmat *pavan mahmânih*. 2 Va *khaditûnam zak yasharûbân* rûbânô mûnshân, chîgûn *star* rôchanâk, rôshan-i azash *hamâi vakhshîd*; 3 afshân gâs va yetîbûnast *azîr* rôshan, va bûrzâk va pûr-gadman yehevûnd.

4 Afam pârşîd min Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh:
Denman jînâk *kadâm*? va denman anshûtâ kadâm hômand?

5 Afshân gûft Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman jînâk star pâyak; va valmanshân *rûbânôân* hômand 7 mûnshân, pavan stih, yesht lâ kard, va gâsân lâ srûd, va khvêtûk-das lâ *kartô*; 8 afshân *khûdâjîh* va dahyûpatih va sardârîh lâ *kard yekavîmûnêd*. 9 Pavan avârik kirfak yasharûbô yehevûnd yekavîmûnd.

VII. 1, 16. H₁₇ om. 1, 17. D. ሕግ. 2, 2. H₁₇ ፍጥረት. 2, 3.

K₂₀ adds 3. 2, 4. K₂₀ adds final 1. 2, 8. K₂₀ adds 3. 2, 12. K₂₀ adds 3.

2, 13. D. H₁₈ . 3, 5. should be read *avir*, if *rôshan* be taken as an

adj. 4, 11. D. **وَقِي**. 6, 8. H₁₇ **لَرَسَر**. 7, 14. K₂₀ omits final **و**. 8, 2.

D. H₁₇, K₂₀ செய்ய. 8, 8. K₂₀ adds final ய. 8, 9. H₁₇ has நு for நு.

Chapter VIII.

1 ‏ 1. ‏ 2. ‏ 3. ‏ 4. ‏ 5. ‏ 6. ‏ 7. ‏

Chapter VIII.

1 *Amat dadîgar gâm frâz hankhetûnam mâh pâyak val Hûkht, zak jînâk aîgh hûkht mahmânih*; 2 *va khadîtûnam zak-i rabâ hanja-manô-i yasharûbân.*

3 *Afam pûrsîd min Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman jînâk kađâm? va valmanshân rûbânôân mûn hômand?*

4 *Yemalcunêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman jînâk mâh pâyak; va denman valmanshân rûbânôân mûnshân, pavan stih, yesht lâ kard, va gâsân lâ srûd, va khvêtûk-das lâ varzîd; 6 va pavan avârik kîrfak val latamman mađ yekavîmûnd; 7 afshân rôshanîh val rôshanîh-i mâh hûmânâk.*

VIII. 1, 1. *H*₁₇ adds ‏. 1, 5. *H*₁₇ ‏. 1, 8. *H*₁₇ ‏.

1, 13. *H*₁₇ adds ‏. 2, 2. *H*₁₇ ‏. 2, 3. *D.* adds ‏.

2, 6. *K*₂₀ ‏. 4, 1. *H*₁₈, *K*₂₆ omit nine sentences, from this to IX. 5, 16.

5, 7. *D.* om. 5, 9. *K*₂₀ om. 5, 12. *H*₁₇ ‏. 6, 1. *H*₁₇, *K*₂₀ om. 7, 1.

D. prefixes ‏; *H*₆ prefixes ‏.

Chapter IX.

1 שׁוּבָה לְפָנַי יְהוָה וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 שׁוּבָה לְפָנַי יְהוָה וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ 2 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ 3 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ 4 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 5 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 6 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ
 7 וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ

Chapter IX.

1 Amat sadîgar gâm frâz *hankhetûnam* pavan *Hûvarsht*, tamman aîgh hûvarsht pavan mahmânîh, val tamman rasîdôm. 2 Rôshan-i bâlistân bâlist karitûnd; 3 *va khadîtûnam* zak-i *yasharûbânô* pavan gâs va vastarg-i *zarîn-kard*; 4 *va anshûtâ* yehevûnd hômand, mûnshân *rôshanî* val *rôshanîh khûrshêd* hûmânâk yehevûnd.

5 Afam pûrsîd min Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman kađâm jînâk? va valmanshân rûbânôân mûn hômand?

6 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: *Denman khûrshêd*

IX. 1, 5. H₆, K₂₀ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ; H₁₇ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 1, 7. K₂₀ adds final י.

3, 1. D. om. 3, 2. H₁₇ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 3, 4. K₂₀ omits final י, and adds

וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 3, 8. ד only in D. H₁₇. 3, 9. K₂₀ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 4, 2. so in all, but Dest.

suggests וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 4, 6, 8. so in all, but the text would be better if these two words changed places. 4, 9. H₆ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ. 7, 2. D. adds וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ.

7, 3. H₆, K₂₆ וְאֶתֶּן מִשְׁכָּנִי לָּךְ.

6 1. 6. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬀. 6, 13. D. H₆, K₂₆ have 𐬨, and K₂₀ has 𐬨, for 𐬨; H₁₇
 omits it. 7, 5. H₁₈ del = 𐬨𐬨. 8, 4. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨. 8, 6. D. H₆, K₂₀, K₂₆
 𐬨𐬨. 8, 9. H₆, K₂₆ 𐬨𐬨. 9, 2. H₁₈ 𐬨𐬨 = 𐬨𐬨. 9, 8. H₁₇ 𐬨𐬨;
 K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨. 9, 10. K₂₀ adds 𐬨𐬨. 11, 5. all but H₁₇ add 𐬨. 12, 7. K₂₀
 om. 12, 8. D. K₂₀, K₂₆ 𐬨𐬨. 12, 9—10. D. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨.

6 Va akhar min zak, pađirak *yâtûnd* âtâsh-i Aûharmazd Âtarô yêdatô; val li namâz-*I* yedrûnd, 7 afash gûft aigh: Drûst *lipamman* lak Ardâ Vîrâf-i khaviđ chibâ-i Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar.

8 Va akhar, li *nasadman* yedrûnd *hōmanam*, 'va gûft *hōmanam* 9 aigh: *Lipamman* lak, Âtarô yêdatô, mûn pavan *stih*, hamâk *chibâ* va bôî-i haft sâlak madam val lak hankhetûnâđ, 10 afam khaviđ chibâ karitûnêđ.

11 Va akhar, yemalelûnêđ âtâsh-i Aûharmazd Âtarô yêdatô 12 aigh: Barâ yâtûn, vad val lak *frâz numâyam zak var-i âv-i* chibâ-i khaviđ mûn madam val li hankhetûnd.

X. 6, 6. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬀. 6, 13. D. H₆, K₂₆ have 𐬨, and K₂₀ has 𐬨, for 𐬨; H₁₇
 omits it. 7, 5. H₁₈ del = 𐬨𐬨. 8, 4. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨. 8, 6. D. H₆, K₂₀, K₂₆
 𐬨𐬨. 8, 9. H₆, K₂₆ 𐬨𐬨. 9, 2. H₁₈ 𐬨𐬨 = 𐬨𐬨. 9, 8. H₁₇ 𐬨𐬨;
 K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨. 9, 10. K₂₀ adds 𐬨𐬨. 11, 5. all but H₁₇ add 𐬨. 12, 7. K₂₀
 om. 12, 8. D. K₂₀, K₂₆ 𐬨𐬨. 12, 9—10. D. K₂₀ 𐬨𐬨.

לְיָמֵי אֶחָד וּשְׁמוֹנָה 3 וּשְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ וְשָׁמַיָּה
 לְיָמֵינוּ 4 וּשְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ כִּדְבַר אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְיָמֵינוּ וּשְׁמוֹנָה
 וּשְׁמוֹנָה 5 שֶׁכֶּן מֵימֵינוּ שָׁמַיָּה לְיָמֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר
 וּשְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ 6 שֶׁכֶּן מֵימֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר
 7 שֶׁכֶּן מֵימֵינוּ כִּדְבַר אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְיָמֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר
 לְיָמֵינוּ 8 וּשְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ
 לְיָמֵינוּ 9 שֶׁכֶּן מֵימֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ
 שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר לְיָמֵינוּ כִּדְבַר אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְיָמֵינוּ שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר

rûbân mûn barâzishak *sâtûn*, 3 va azvar-i avârik *rûbânânô*, pavan
hamâk rôshanîk; 4 va Aûharmazd *hamâi* burzêd zak-i *râdân* rûbân-i
rôshan va buland va amâvand. 5 Afam gûft aigh: Nadûk lak *mûn*
râdân rûbânô *hómanih-i âlûnô* azvar-i avârik rûbânôân! 6 Afam
bûrzishnik medammûnast.

7 Afam khaditûnd *zak-i* valmanshân rûbân mûnshân, pavan *stih*,
gâsân srûd, va *yesht kard*, 8 va astôbânô yehevûnd pavan *shapîr*
dînô-*i* Mâzdayasnân, mûn Aûtharmazd val Zaratûhasht châsht; 9 *amatam*
frâz mad hômanam, pavan *zak-i* padmûjan-*i* *zarîn*-pêšîd-*i* *asîmîn*-
pêšîd-i barâzishaktûm

XII. 2, 6. H₁₉ *amad* = אָמַד; all others אָמַד; Dest. suggests אָמַד.

3, 2. ॐ inserted by Dest. 3, 4. K₂₀ ॐ. 4, 3. K₂₀ ॐ. 4, 6. K₂₀
adds final ॐ. 4, 7. ॐ only in H₁₇. 5, 6. D. ॐ. 5, 9. D. H₁₇ ॐ.
5, 10. D. H₆, H₁₇ ॐ; K₂₆ ॐ. 5, 11. ॐ only in H₁₇. 6, 2. H₁₇ has
ॐ for ॐ. 7, 3. H₁₇ ॐ. 7, 8. K₂₀ ॐ. 7, 12, 13. K₂₀ adds final ॐ
to both. 8, 5. H₁₇ ॐ. 8, 6. ॐ only in H₁₇, K₂₀. 9, 1—4. omitted in H₁₇,
and seem either misplaced, or superfluous; H₁₈ Sans. *tasmin utkrīṣṭātare*
bhuvane prāpto 'ham. 9, 1. K₂₀ ॐ. 9, 8. K₂₀ adds final ॐ. 9, 10—11.
K₂₀ om. 9, 12. K₂₀ has ॐ for ॐ.

19 ער מענטשן דאדער מענטשן לויטן פארשטאנד וואו ער
 מענטשן וועט לויטן פארשטאנד 20 מענטשן פארשטאנד וואו דא
 מענטשן פארשטאנד וואו 21 ער ער
 וואס מענטשן פארשטאנד

Chapter XV.

1. שם מנחם 2. שם מנחם 3. שם מנחם 4. שם מנחם 5. שם מנחם 6. שם מנחם

19 Afam khaditûnd zak-i hû-tûkhshâkân rûbân mûnshân, pavan stih, *khûdâyan* va sardârân parastîd; 20 amatshân yetibûnast hûmand, pavan zak-i khûp-vastard gâs va rabâ va bâmîk va *barâzishak*. 21 Afam avîr *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

Chapter XV.

1 Afam *khadītūnd* zak-i shapânân rūbân mūnshân, pavan stih, chahâr-pâi va *kîrâ* varzîd va parvard, 2 va nikâs dâst min gûrg va *dûzd* va stahambak marđûm. 3 Va pavan hangâm-i *mad*, mayâ va *giyâh* va khûrishn dâd; 4 va min sarmâk va garmâk-i sakht pâhrîkht; 5 va *gûshan* pavan gâs-i nafshman madam shedkūnd, va dâdyîsh pâhrîkht; 6 afash kabed mas

XIV. 19, 9. K_{20} , K_2 **ደምደም**. 20, 14. all but H_{17} add **ደ**. 21, 3. H_{17} has **ደ** for **ደ**.

XV. 1, 2. K₂₀ **လှိ၌**. 1; 11. **၌လှိ၌** in all but K₂₀. 2, 7. D. **လှိ**; H₁₇ **လှိ**.
3, 4. H₁₇ om. 3, 6—7. K₂₀ om. 5, 2. can also be read *yūddān*; H₁₈ gives
no Sans.

6. 7. H₆ om. 6, 13. H₁₇ has 11 for 10. 6, 15. K₂₀ 11. 7, 2. H₁₇
 7. 10. D. om.; H₁₇ 11; H₁₈ Sans. *phalam*. 7, 13—15.
 H₁₇ 11; P. omits 14—15. 8, 2. H₁₇ has 11 for 10. 9, 4. all
 but H₁₇ add 10. 9, 12—13. H₁₇, P. 11 and 12. 10, 9. all omit 10.
 10, 12. H₁₇ 10. 10, 15. K₂₀ omits final 11; H₁₇ 11. 11, 3. D. H₆ 11.
 11, 5. K₂₀ adds final 11. 12, 3. K₂₀ om. 13, 1. H₁₇ 11. 13, 3. H₁₇
 13, 10. K₂₀ omits 11. 13, 11. K₂₀ omits final 11.

sūdîh va bar va nadûkîh va khûrishn va jâmak-i marḍûmân-i anbâm
yehabûnd. 7 *Mûnshân sâtûnd yîn zak-i rôshanîk*, va pavan zak-i bar-
âzishak bar, va vazûrg *râmishn va shâdîh*. 8 *Afam avîr bûrshishnik*
medammûnast.

9 *Afam khadîtûnd zak-i kabed zahabâin gâs*, vastarg-i khûp, va
 bâlishn levatman *bâp pasijak*, 10 *mûnshân paḍash yetibûnast hōmand*
kaḍak-khûḍâyân va dâḍakân rūbân-i matâ dūḍak-mân, va miyân va
dastô kard, 11 va *jînâk-i avîrân âvâḍân kard*; 12 *afshân kabed katas*,
 va rūḍ, va khânîk, val varz va âvâḍânîh bar, va sūd-i dâmân yâîtyûnd.
 13 *Amatshân levîn yekavîmûnd mûn mayâ*, va mûn aûrvar, va *mûnich*
yasharûbânō fravyashar, pavan zak-i mas

XV. 6, 7. H₆ om. 6, 13. H₁₇ has 11 for 10. 6, 15. K₂₀ 11. 7, 2. H₁₇
 7, 10. D. om.; H₁₇ 11; H₁₈ Sans. *phalam*. 7, 13—15.
 H₁₇ 11; P. omits 14—15. 8, 2. H₁₇ has 11 for 10. 9, 4. all
 but H₁₇ add 10. 9, 12—13. H₁₇, P. 11 and 12. 10, 9. all omit 10.
 10, 12. H₁₇ 10. 10, 15. K₂₀ omits final 11; H₁₇ 11. 11, 3. D. H₆ 11.
 11, 5. K₂₀ adds final 11. 12, 3. K₂₀ om. 13, 1. H₁₇ 11. 13, 3. H₁₇
 13, 10. K₂₀ omits 11. 13, 11. K₂₀ omits final 11.

[illegible]

yûdân-i dûsh-mînishn-i dûsh-gûbishn-i dûsh-kûnishn-i dûsh-dînô. 15 Kâmak va kûnishnô-i lak râî, *amat* li zîsht va vaḍak va bazak-âîyînô va darḍak va pûḍak va dûsh-gônd *va* apîrûzkar va levatman bêsh *hōmanam*, chîgûn lak medammûnêḍ. 16 Amat lak khadîh khadîtûṇḍ *mûn* yazishn *va drôn*, va stâyishnô, *va nasadman*, va *parastîshn-i* Yadadân kard; 17 va mayâ, va âtâsh, va gôspend, va aûrvar, va *avârik* vêh dahîshnân pâhrikht *va* pânâkîh kard; 18 lak *kâmak-i Akharman* va shêdâân, va kûnishn-i avârûnô varzîḍ. 19 *Va amat* lak khadîtûṇḍ *mûn* dahîshn *va* yasharûbô-dâḍ-i sazâkyîsh val shapîrân va arzânîkân *sûḍ*, *mûn* min arîk, *mûn* min nazdîk frâz maḍ, *pavan* aspanj padîraftârîh kard, va mandavam

XVII. 14, 12. ד only in K_{20} , K_{26} . 14, 13. K_{20} prefixes קטן . 14, 14. K_{20} prefixes קטן . 14, 15. K_{20} prefixes קטן , and adds final ו . 15, 6. D. קטן . 15, 19. only in H_{17} . 15, 24. K_{20} om. 16, 5. D. om.; H_{17} קטן . 16, 7—8. D. om. 16, 11—12. H_{18} om. 16, 14. D. H_{17} קטן . 17, 10. H_{18} om. 17, 14. only in H_{17} . 18, 2. K_{20} only ד . 18, 3. K_{20} קטן . 19, 1. D. H_6 , H_{17} om. 19, 2. D. קטן . 19, 7. D. H_6 om. 19, 15. H_{18} , K_{20} , K_{26} קטן . 19, 24. only in K_{20} .

טמואל 20 או למען ואם עמי ואלו מלכותם 21 ואלו
 מלכותם טמואל מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם
 מלכותם מלכותם ואם מלכותם 22 ואלו מלכותם
 ואם מלכותם 23 מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם
 24 מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם
 מלכותם מלכותם 25 מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם
 מלכותם מלכותם 26 מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם
 מלכותם מלכותם 27 מלכותם מלכותם מלכותם

yehebûnd; 20 lak payûsh kard, afat babâ barâ *asrûnd*. 21 *Va amat li afravâft* yehevûnd hōmanam (aîgh, saryâ dâsht yekavîmûnâd hōmanam), afat *afravâftiktar* kard hōmanam; 22 va amat *sahmgûn* yehevûnd hōmanam, afat *sahmgûntar* kard hōmanam; 23 amat *drafshnûk* yehevûnd hōmanam, afat *drafshnûktar* kard hōmanam; 24 amat *pavan zak-i* apâkhtar jînâk yetibûnast hōmanam, afat apâkhtartar nishast hōmanam; 25 pavan *aê dûsh-humat*, va pavan aê dûsh-hûkht, va pavan aê dûsh-*hûvarsh*-i lak varzîd. 26 *Dêr samân li* gazavand pavan zak-i Ganrâk-mînavad dêr-gazishnîh va dûsh-ham-pûrsakîh.

27 *Va* akhar, fratûm gâm frâz yedrûnd, zak-i *darvandân* rûbân, pavan

XVII. 20, 7. K₂₀ 𐭪𐭫. 21, 1—3. H₁₇ 𐭪𐭫. 21, 4. H₁₈ *aparavājata*, Sans. *aprasārita*. 21, 13. H₁₇ has 𐭪 for 𐭫. 22, 3, 7. H₆, H₁₇, K₂₆ have 𐭪𐭫 for 𐭪. 23, 2. H₁₈ *darjashnî*, Sans. *drohapara*; Dest. suggests *garzishnîk*, but H₆ and K₂₀ have the circumflex. 24, 2—3. K₂₀ om. 25, 2. Z. *āēta*; or *hî*, Syr. ܐܬܐ, Chald. ܐܬܐ, Z. *hî*, *hê*. 25, 3. D. H₁₇ 𐭪𐭫𐭪𐭫. 25, 11. K₂₀ adds final 𐭪. 23, 1—3. H₁₇, P. 𐭪𐭫 𐭪𐭫𐭪𐭫; compare IV. 34—35. 26, 11. D. H₆, H₁₇ om. 27, 1. H₁₇ 𐭪𐭫. 27, 8. K₂₀ has 𐭪 for 𐭪𐭫.

28
 28
 28

Chapter XVIII.

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dûsh-humat, va *dađigar gâm* pavan *dûsh-hûkht*, va *sadîgar* pavan *dûsh-hûvarsht*, 28 *va chahârûm gâm* val *dûshahû dûbârast*.

Chapter XVIII.

1 *Va akhar*, *Srôsh-yasharûbô*, va *Âtarô yêdatô*, *zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnd*, 2 *amat agazand vazlûnd hômanam*. 3 *Pavan zak khadûinak sarmâk* va *damak* va *khûshkîh* va *gôndakîh khaditûnd*, 4 *mûnam akaraz yîn stih*, pavan *zak khadûinak*, *lâ khaditûnd*, va *lâ vashammûnd*. 5 *Va amat frâztar vazlûnd hômanam*, 6 *afam khaditûnd argônd dûshahû zôfar*, *chîgûn zak-i sahmgûntûm châh* pavan *tangtar bîmguntar jînâk frôd yedrûnd yekavîmûnâd*; 7 pavan *târîkîh*

XVII. 27, 11. D. H_{17} , K_{20} 28; H_{17} also prefixes 28. 27, 14. H_{18} ,

K_{20} , K_{26} om. 27, 18. H_{17} adds 28. 28, 1. only in H_{17} .

XVIII. 1, 12. H_6 has 28 for 28. 3, 6. H_{17} 28. 3, 8. H_{18} , K_{26} 28.

4, 1. B. 28. 4, 3. K_{20} 28. 5, 1. only in H_6 , K_{26} . 5, 2. 28 in all but

H_{17} . 6, 2. 28 in all but D. 6, 3. D. H_6 , K_{20} add 28. 6, 3—5. H_{18} Sans.

malinañ narakañ himopalam.

6 7 8 9
 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Chapter XX.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

6 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, kûn-marz kard, 8 afash gabrâ madam nafshman tanû *shedkûnd*; 9 kevan rûbân aêtûn *girânô* pâdafrâs yedrûnêd.

Chapter XX.

1 Jinâk-I *frâz* maḍ hōmanam; afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I, 2 mûnash *rîm* va palîdîh-i mardûmân tasht tasht val khûrḍanô *hamâi* yehabûnḍ hōmand.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân *ângûn* pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman *rûbân-i* valman

XIX. 7, 3. د only in D. H₆. 7, 9. H₁₇ ۛ. 8, 6. K₂₀ has ۛ for ۛ. 9, 4.

H₁₈ om.; K₂₀ ۛ.

XX. 1, 2. D. om. 2, 2. D. H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆ ۛ. 2, 4. د only in D. H₁₇. 2, 10.

K₂₀ ۛ. 3, 11. H₁₈ adds *garâ* = ۛ. 5, 3. K₂₀ om.

Chapter XXIII.

1 מִי שֶׁעָשָׂהוּ לְרִשְׁוֹן מִיָּד 2 הָאֵל הַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן
וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן 3 מִיָּד וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן
וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן
4 מִי שֶׁעָשָׂהוּ לְרִשְׁוֹן מִיָּד וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן
וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן וְהַיָּדוֹן

5. תאווה גדלתם לך וטעמו 6. שם נח לנפשו ו
 זלזל נפש אדם וטעמו שמועץ וטעמו זלזל
 נח וטעמו וטעמו וטעמו 7. וטעמו וטעמו

Chapter XXIII.

1 Afam *khaditûnd* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn, *min* gûrsakîh va tîsh-
nakîh, vâng hamâi *karđ* aîgh: Barâ yemîtûnam. 3 Afash *zak-i* nafsh-
man mûi va rêsh hamâi khefrûnd, va khûnô hamâi *vashtamûnd*, va
kêf pavan pûmman hamâi ramîtûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, *mûn* rûbân ângûn pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

5 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Den-
man rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, *pavan stih*, *Horvadađ*
va Amerôdađ mayâ va aûrvar drâyân *jald*, va adâdyîsh vashtamûnd,
va vâj lâ dâst; 7 va pavan vanâskârîh

XXIII. 1, 2. K₂₀ ذوق. 2, 2. K₂₀ om. 2, 8. K₂₀ وایم. 3, 2. H₁₇ om.; K₂₀ omits د. 3, 12. K₂₀, K₂₆ سرلم. 4, 9. D. سه. 6, 3. D. K₂₀ omit د. 6, 7—8. D. سرلوم کف و سرلوم. 6, 9. H₁₇ سرلوم. 6, 10—15. H₁₇ سرلوم کف و سرلوم سرلوم; H₆, K₂₀, K₂₆ add 1 to 6, 12. 6, 17. compare Pers. چلیدن, چلیدن 'to gnaw'; H₁₈ has *jud* 7 times, *jud* twice, *juda* twice, and *zad*, *zad*, *khurd*, each once; and in Sans., *khādanti* 5 times, *vidārayanti* twice, *vibhīndanti* twice, and *vyāpādayanti*, *nighnanti*, *khādati*, *vibhinna*, *vinā* each once.

Chapter XXVI.

1 𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 3 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 4 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥

Chapter XXVII.

1 𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥
 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥

Chapter XXVI.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rūbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûnash hûzvân pavan gardanô hamâi kashîd, va min andarvâi âvîkht yekavîmûnâd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman rūbân zak-i mûn?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rūbân-i *valman* darvand nêshman *mûn*, pavan *stîh*, shûi va sar-dâr-i nafshman *tar mînîd*, *va nafrîn kard*, *va dûshnâm dâd*, *va dâd*-pasukhôi kard.

Chapter XXVII.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rūbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn pavan kafîz va dûlak, *afrayâ* va khâkistar hamâi padmâyînd, val *vashtamûntanô* hamâi yehabûnd.

XXVI. 5, 3. K₂₀ omits 𐭠𐭥. 5, 4. K₂₀ adds 𐭠𐭥. 5, 7. H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆ 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥. 5, 9. H₁₇

𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥. 5, 14—23. K₂₀ om. 5, 15. D. H₆, K₂₆ 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥. 5, 23. D. om.

XXVII. 2, 6. or *afrâk*. 2, 12. K₂₀, K₂₆ omit final 𐭠𐭥.

[illegible]

Chapter XXVIII.

1. የገንዘብ ምርት ማረጋገጫ ደብዳቤ
2. የገንዘብ ምርት ማረጋገጫ ደብዳቤ

3 Afam pûrsîl aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Den-
man rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan *stih*, kafiz va dûlak
va sang *va andâzak* lâ râst dâsht; 6 mayâ val âs gûmîkht, va *afrayâ*
val jûrdâk kard, va pavan vahâk-i girân val mar dûmân *mazdûnd*;
7 va min shapîrân mandavam dûzdîd va *shôchrûnd*.

Chapter XXVIII.

1 Afam khaditûnd rūbân-i gabrâ-I mûnash andarvâi dâsht, 2 afash panjâh shêdâ, pavan mâr-i *shapâk*, *levîn* va akhar, hamâi makhitûnd.

XXVII. 5, 3. K₂₀ omits **ב**. 5, 6. K₂₀ **לכ**. 5, 9. H₁₇ **לכ**. 5, 15—16. K₂₀

om. 6, 6. or *afrāk*. 6, 16. D. has $\hat{S}$ for $\mathfrak{S}$. 7, 7. D. has $\mathfrak{R}$ for $\mathfrak{S}$.

XXVIII, 2, 6. H₁₉ Sans. *sancharanti*; see L. 3 and LII, 2. 2, 7. K₂₀ adds final).

3 טו וואנדען שוץ פאר אונז וואס פאר אונזער שטערן
 אונזערע זאכן

[illegible]

Chapter XXX.

1. Եւ յայնչաւ ինքն իմ 2. Եւ ինքն իմ 3. Եւ ինքն իմ

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, *mûn* rû-
bân *ânqûn* pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, *spazgîh* kard, va mard-ûmân khadûk levatman tanid patkâft; 6 *afash rûbân pavan akhar val dûshahû hamâi dâbârast*.

Chapter XXX.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn andâm*, khadûk *min*
tanid, hamâi tebrûnd *va vajârînd*.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *kard*?

XXIX. 3, 9. D. سه. 3, 11. H₆, H₁₇, K₂₆ سر. 5, 4. K₂₀ adds ذلزل. 5, 8. H₁₇
 ۛۛۛ. 5, 9. H₁₇ ۛۛۛۛۛ; K₂₀, K₂₆ ۛۛۛۛۛ. 6, 1—8. H₁₇ om.

XXX. 2, 1. H₁₇ **ሕገፍ**. 2, 2. H₁₈ *andā* = **ሰ**; all others but H₁₇ **ሕገፍ**. 2, 4.
H₁₈ *avā* = **ሕገፍ**. 2, 8. only in H₁₇, K₆. 2, 9. D. K₂₀* **ሰሕገፍ**. 3, 8.
K₂₀ adds **ሕገፍ ሕገፍ ሕገፍ ሕገፍ**.

دَڤَرْدَ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ
 لَکَ اَوَسَ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ
 گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ

Chapter XXXII.

1 گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ
 2 گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ
 3 گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ
 4 گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ گَڤَرَّاهِ

darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, khvâstak-i kated gird kard; 7 va
 benafshman lâ vashtamûnd; va val shapîrân lâ dâd, va bâhar lâ kard;
 va pavan anbâr dâsht.

Chapter XXXII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i ashgahân gabrâ-I, *Davânôs* karîtûnd
 hômand, 2 mûn *hamâk* tanû *khrafstar* hamâi *jald*, va ragelman-I-i
dashin-i valman lâ hamâi jald.

3 Afam *pârsîd aîgh*: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalelûnéd Srôsh-yusharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Den-
 man rûbân-i Davânôs-i

XXXI. 6, 7. D. گَڤَرَّاهِ. 6, 9. H₁₇ گَڤَرَّاهِ. 6, 10. H₁₇, H₁₈ omit و. 7, 2. D. omits گَڤَرَّاهِ.

XXXII. 1, 2. K₂₀ دَڤَرْدَ. 1, 6. H₁₈ only in Pahlavî; this name is altered to یونس

in the Persian prose Ard. Vîr. H₂₈; in the Pahlavî Rivâyat it is گَڤَرَّاهِ in

H₆, K₂₀, and گَڤَرَّاهِ (altered to گَڤَرَّاهِ) in a later MS. H₉. As د

= á, kh, h, and ڤ = n, v, â, ô, r, l, it follows theoretically, that this name

can be read $6 \times 3 \times 6 \times 6 = 648$ different ways. 2, 2. K₂₀ گَڤَرَّاهِ. 2, 4.

H₁₇ adds گَڤَرَّاهِ. 2, 6. H₁₈ zad, Sans. *vyâpâdayanti*. 2, 7. H₁₇ گَڤَرَّاهِ.

2, 9. — 6, 4. only in H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆. 2, 13. H₁₈ zad, Sans. *vidârayanti*.

Chapter XLI.

[illegible]

8 9 10 11
 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Chapter LIV.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

latamman al yedrûnêd, va lakhvâr *vardêd*.

8 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, val li gûft 9 *aîgh*:
 Al *dekhlûn!* maman lak râi akaraz min latamman bîm lâ yehevûnêd.
 10 *Va min* levînô vazlûnd Srôsh-yasharûbô va Âtarô yêdatô; 11 *va*
 min akhar, avî-bîmyîsh li, *Ardâi Virâf*, frâz val zak-i *tômik* dûshahû
 andarûntar vazlûnd hômanam.

Chapter LIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* zak-i sêj-hômand-i bîmgûn-i sahmgûn-i kabad-
 dard-i pûr-anâkîh-i gôndak târtûm dûshahû. 2 Va akhar andêshîd hô-
 manam *aêtûn* medammûnast; 3 chîgûn châh-I mûn hazâr vâz val bûn
 lâ yâmtûnêd; 4 *va*

LIII. 7, 7. H₁₈ *vardan*, Sans. *vyâvarttasva*; all others 𐬯𐬀. 9, 1. D. om. 9, 3.

K₂₀ has 𐬀 for 𐬀. 10, 1—2. K₂₀ om. 11, 1. K₂₆ om. 11, 6. perhaps 𐬀
 for 𐬀 = 𐬀. 11, 10. K₂₀ omits 𐬀. 11, 11. K₂₀ 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀.

LIV. 1, 2. K₂₀ 𐬀𐬀; H₁₈ adds *rvâ* = 𐬀𐬀. 1, 5. H₆, K₂₀ have 𐬀 for 𐬀.

1, 8. K₂₀ omits 𐬀. 2, 5. K₂₀ adds final 𐬀. 4, 1. K₂₀ om.

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱
 ۱۲ ۱۳ ۱۴ ۱۵ ۱۶ ۱۷ ۱۸ ۱۹ ۲۰ ۲۱ ۲۲
 ۲۳ ۲۴ ۲۵ ۲۶ ۲۷ ۲۸ ۲۹ ۳۰ ۳۱ ۳۲ ۳۳
 ۳۴ ۳۵ ۳۶ ۳۷ ۳۸ ۳۹ ۴۰ ۴۱ ۴۲ ۴۳ ۴۴
 ۴۵ ۴۶ ۴۷ ۴۸ ۴۹ ۵۰ ۵۱ ۵۲ ۵۳ ۵۴ ۵۵
 ۵۶ ۵۷ ۵۸ ۵۹ ۶۰ ۶۱ ۶۲ ۶۳ ۶۴ ۶۵ ۶۶
 ۶۷ ۶۸ ۶۹ ۷۰ ۷۱ ۷۲ ۷۳ ۷۴ ۷۵ ۷۶ ۷۷
 ۷۸ ۷۹ ۸۰ ۸۱ ۸۲ ۸۳ ۸۴ ۸۵ ۸۶ ۸۷ ۸۸
 ۸۹ ۹۰ ۹۱ ۹۲ ۹۳ ۹۴ ۹۵ ۹۶ ۹۷ ۹۸ ۹۹
 ۱۰۰ ۱۰۱ ۱۰۲ ۱۰۳ ۱۰۴ ۱۰۵ ۱۰۶ ۱۰۷ ۱۰۸ ۱۰۹ ۱۱۰

amat hamāk chībā-i yîn gêhân âit, *hamāk* yîn gôndaktûm-i tômik
 dūshahû madam val âtâsh *hankhetûnd*, akaraz bôî lâ *yehabûnêd*; 5 *va*
tanidich min gôsh vad chashm, va chand *bûsh-i asp-I* madam mûi
 yakhsenunêd, 6 ângûn kated *marak* rûbân-i darvandân yîn *yekavîmûnd*,
 7 *va* khadûk val *valman* tanid lâ khadîtûnd, va kâlâ lâ ashnûvand;
 8 kolâ khadîh pavan anâ yakhsenunêd aîgh: Tanûîhâ hômanam. 9
 Afshân tômik-i târikîh *va gôndakîh-i* bîmgûnîh-i *zâkham va* pâdafrâs-i
 gûnak gûnak-i dūshahû, 10 aîgh *mûn anâ* yôm pavan dūshahû *yehe-*
vûnêd, vâng vâdûnêd 11 aîgh: *Hâvandich* lâ bûndak *zak* 9000

I.IV. 4, 4. H₆ has ۵ for ۶; all others omit it. 4, 8. K₂₀ ۶. 4, 10. K₂₀ omits ۶.
 4, 16. D. H₁₈ have ۶ for ۷. 4, 18.—5, 2. H₁₈ *bi na dihêd tandîzha*, Sans.
kimapi na bibhartti tejomayam ujalam. 4, 19. K₂₀ adds ۶. 5, 1.
 K₂₀ ۶. 5, 2. K₂₀, K₂₆ ۶. 5, 9—10. H₁₈ ۶. *asêzhê*, Sans. *shud-*
dhayê amṛityumatâm. 5, 9. H₆ has ۶ for ۶. 5, 10. D. ۶. 6, 3.
 H₁₈ *margh*, Sans. *mṛityumatâm*. 6, 7. D. has ۶ for ۷. 7, 4. H₁₈ om.
 9, 2. D. has ۶ for ۶. 9, 4—5. K₂₀ ۶. 9, 6. K₂₆ omits ۶. 9, 7. H₁₈, K₂₆
 ۶. 9, 8. K₂₆ om. 10, 2. K₂₀ om. 10, 3. H₁₈ *ai*, Sans. *sadaiva tishṭhanti*
 for 10, 3—7; perhaps ۶ is miswritten for ۶, as both are represented
 by Pâz. ě. 10, 7. D. has ۶ for ۶. 11, 2. compare Pers. ۶. 11, 5.
 H₁₈, H₂₆ om.

1 מנחם מענדל זון אברהם אביש'ל פאטער און מוטער
2 זון אברהם אביש'ל פאטער און מוטער
3 מנחם מענדל זון אברהם אביש'ל פאטער און מוטער
4 זון אברהם אביש'ל פאטער און מוטער

[illegible]

LVII. 1, 8. K₂₀ om. 2, 5. D. adds داسر. 2. 8. و only in H₆.

۱. دنده و اس و ش دله ۶ ، سوره سوره و ش دله ۶

Chapter LIX.

1 שֶׁ מַעֲשֵׂהוּ לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְדִלְגָּהּ 2 אִי שֶׁשֶׁשׁ דְּלִדְעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְ
 וְדִלְגָּהּ אִי כִּדְּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה שֶׁשֶׁשׁ שִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה
 3 שֶׁ שִׁוּעָה שֶׁ שִׁוּעָה שֶׁ שִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה
 שֶׁ שִׁוּעָה שֶׁ שִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה וְשִׁוּעָה

[illegible]

Chapter LX.

١ مع ذيقه لرسد رسر ٢ ١٤ ١١ مع ذيقدر لرس و٣

va sâtûnân, *kabed* khalelûnd; 6 *va* Horvadađ ameshôspend âzard.

Chapter LIX.

1 Afam *khaditând* rūbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn hamâi girîst, va *pôst*
va bisrayâ min zak-i *pêstân*-i nafshman hamâi khefrûnd va hamâi
vashtamûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh : Denman tanû maman vanâs karî, mûn rûbân
 ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd ?

4 Yemalêlûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 âigh: Den-
man rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn kûdak-i nafshman nîyâz
gûrsakîh râi giryân *shedkûnd*.

Chapter LX.

1 Afam dîd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn tanû yîn dîg-I-î rûyîn kard

LVIII. 5, 28. K_{20} om. 5, 30. K_{20} $\hat{5}19$. 6, 1. K_{20} om.

LIX. 1, 2. **𐎧𐎠** in all but K₂₆. 2, 5. D. **𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠**. 2, 9. D. omits **𐎧**. 2, 10.

K₂₀ omits medial 5. 5, 14. D. has 𐌺 for 𐌽.

Chapter LXII.

1. ש' משה ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים
 2. א' ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים
 3. ש' משה ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים
 4. א' ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים
 5. ש' משה ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים
 6. א' ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר יצאו מצרים

Chapter LXIII.

1. ۵۶ موعودہ لکھنؤ وادی ۲۱ ۱۱۱۱ موعودہ لکھنؤ وادی

Chapter LXII.

1 Afam khadītūnd *rúbân-i* nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavan shânak-i ast-
ninô, var va pêstân-i nafshman hamâi *peskûnd*.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rû-
bânô ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stih, shûi *va* sardâr tar minîd, va saryâ yehevûnd va dâst; 6 afash nafshman tanû arâst, levatman gabrâ-i khadîhân avârûn kard.

Chapter LXIII.

1 Afam *khaditûnd* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 *mûn* pavan hûzvân *bari-
jan-I-i garm*

LXII. 1, 3. K_{20} om. 2, 10. K_{20} , K_{26} **سند و**. 5, 4. D. adds **د**. 5, 11. K_{20} om.

LXIII. 1, 2. K₂₀ . 2, 1. K₂₀ . 2, 4-5.  in all; H₁₉ Sans.
chhidryate sutaptā.

Chapter LXIV.

[illegible]

Chapter LXIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn *giryân* va *baramân* hamâi yâtûnd vazlûnd; 3 afash madam sar takarg-i *snêshar hamâi yâtûnd*; 4 va azîr-i ragelman *rûd-i* garm-i *rudâkhtak* hamâi sâtûnd; 5 va sar va rôd-i nafshman pavan kârd hamâi *sedkûnêd*.

6 Afam pûrsîdî aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, *amat rû-bânô ânqûn* girân pâdafrâs hamâi yedrûnêd?

7 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yashaitûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 8 aigh: Den-
man rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn min gabrâ-i khadthân *akh-
vêshkâryîsh* âpûstanô *yehevûnd*,

LXIV. 1, 2. **ذِي** in all but K₂₆. 2, 2. D. **ذِي**; H₁₈ omits it in Páz., but gives Sans. *rudanti*. 2, 4. H₁₈, P. have **ذِي** for **ذِي**. 3, 5. H₁₈ *rafar*; see LV. 1, 11. 3, 6—7. H₁₈ om. 4, 1. D. om. 4, 4. or *rú-i*. 4, 6. K₂₀ **ذِي**. 5, 4. D. omits **ذِي**. 5, 9. D. **ذِي**; H₆ **ذِي** with the gloss **ذِي**; H₁₈ *brinid*. 6, 9. D. **ذِي**. 6, 10. K₂₀ omits final **ذِي**. 6, 11. H₆ omits final **ذِي**. 8, 11. D. H₆ have **ذِي** for **ذِي**. 8, 13. D. H₆ **ذِي**.

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10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10

Chapter LXX.

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

hânō gabrâ khelmûnd va sarîtûntô yehabûnd hômand, 10 va gâs-i vastarg-i shûi tapâh dâsht, va tanû-i shûi âzard.

Chapter LXX.

1 Afam khaditûnd rūbân-i nêshmanân mûnshân nikûnsâr ramî-
 tûnd yekavîmûnând; 2 va zûzak hûmânâk-i asînîn levatman khâr azash
 rost yekavîmûnâd, pavan tanû yîn yedrûnd, lakhvâr hîsht yekavî-
 mûnâtô; 3 afash angûst zahâk shûsar-i shêdâân va drûjân-i gôndakîh
 va rîmanîh, pavan zafar va vînîk yîn hamâi vazlûnd.

LXIX. 9, 2—5. some Pâz. MSS. om. 9, 6. only in D. H₆. 9, 7—9. H₁₈ and other
 Pâz. MSS. om. 9, 7. D. has 10, 1. D. om.
 10, 2. D. has 1 for 2; K₂₀ omits 2. 10, 6—8. K₂₀ 10, 10. H₁₈ adds
 hend = 10.

LXX. 1, 3. D. adds 10, 1. H₁₈ khashtâ, Sans. uttânâ. 1, 7. D. has
 10 for 1. 1, 8. D. has 10 for 8; H₁₈ om. 2, 2. H₁₈ Sans. sihu-
 laka; Pers. 10, or 10; see Bund. 48, 1.; Z. duzhakem, Vend. XIII. 2,
 3, 4. 2, 4. K₂₀ 10, 10. 2, 10—16. H₁₈ om. 2, 15. D. 10, 10. 3, 3. H₁₈
 Sans. sthûlam. 3, 7. 2 only in H₆. 3, 9. K₂₀ om.

6. מלכות ישראל ויהוה שמו 7. שם מלך ישראל ויהוה
 8. מלכות ישראל ויהוה שמו 9. שם מלך ישראל ויהוה
 10. שם מלך ישראל ויהוה שמו

1. משה ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצרימה
בן נפתלי ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצרימה

Chapter LXXII.

LXXII. 1, 1. H_{18} aiginân = فرو . 1, 2. K_{20} دو . 1, 9. K_{20} سار .

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

Chapter LXXV.

[illegible]

*ākūst yekavīmūnād hōmand; 2 afshān kārđ pavan dīl makhītūnd ye-
kavīmūnād.*

3 Afam *pûrsîd* aîgh: Denman *rûbânân* mûn hômand?

4 Yemalêlînêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân* darvandân mûnshân, *pavan stih*, stôr, *tôrâ va kîrâ* adâdyîsh zektelûnd *va ñeksûnd*.

Chapter LXXV.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rūbânân mûnshân azîr-i pâi-i tôrâân ramîtûnd
yekavîmûnâd hōmand; 2 pavan srûbō makhîtûnd, va ashkōmbō sed-
kând, va astukhvân barâ shikast, va nâlân ychevînd hōmand.

LXXIV. 1, 10. P. . 1, 12. H₁₈ om. 2, 1. D. has , and K₂₀ , for
. 2, 2—6. H₁₈ *pa kâredê dil andar hamê jad*. 2, 5, 6. D. has  for
 and . 3, 2. D. adds     . 3, 5. D.
. 5, 4. H₁₈ adds *mardumâ*. 5, 7—8, 10—12. H₁₈ om. 5, 12. D. H₆
. 5, 15—16. H₁₈ om.

LXXV. 1, 9. D. has  for . 2, 1. H₁₅ *ka*. 2, 7—14. H₁₈ om. 2, 12. Pers. .

[illegible]

Chapter LXXVII.

1 מנה מעשויה לרצות אומנם שומע ו טף , אלה אדם
ט-ט 2 ו דו טף לך שומע יו טף וטע 3 , טקד קלם שו

‡ Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *zak-i mûn rûbânân?* *afshân* ma-
man vanâs kard?

5 Yemalêlînêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmaushân darvandân *nêshmanân* mûnshân, pavan stîh, pavan dashtân khûrishn sâkht, 7 va levîn-i gabrà-i yasharûbô yediûnd, va khûrdanô farmûd. ~8 Afshân yâtûkîh hamâi pûrsîd; 9 afshân Spendarmad *zamûk* va gabrà-i yasharûbô âzard.

Chapter LXXVII.

1 Adīnam khaditūnḍ *rūbānān* mūnshān pōshṭ va yadman va ra-
gelman *rēsh dāsht*, 2 *va kūn yīn rōd āvīkht* yekavīmūnād; 3 *va sang-i*
girān pāvan

LXXVI. 4, 5-8. K_{20} ၂၂၃. 6, 6. D. om. 7, 2. K_{20} has ၂ for ၁. 7, 3. K_{20} omits ၁. 9, 3. K_{20} ၁၂. 9, 5. K_{20} omits ၁.

LXXVII. 1, 3. K₂₀ omits final ມ. 1, 10. H₁₈ Sans. *kārcheham*. 1, 11. K₂₀ om.
2, 1—2. Dest. suggests *nikân*; H₁₈ *nân*. 2, 3—4. some Pâz. MSS. om. 2, 5.
B. H₁₈, K₂₀, P. ມາມ; H₆ ມາມາ; some Pâz. MSS. *ivashit*; H₁₈ Sans.
taptamayah sadaiva; Dest. suggests ມາມ, which is here adopted, but
the phrase may also be read: *va kîm* (or *nikân*) *yîn râ-i avîtakht*. 3, 2.
K₂₀ omits ມ.

Chapter LXXIX.

1 ستره دینو او لریسند تر است 2 آست- و است- ستره شلوان
 3 و ستره دینو او 3 و او لریسند 4 ستره دینو او
 5 ستره دینو او 5 ستره دینو او
 6 ستره دینو او 6 ستره دینو او
 7 ستره دینو او 7 ستره دینو او
 8 ستره دینو او 8 ستره دینو او
 9 ستره دینو او 9 ستره دینو او

Chapter LXXIX.

1 Adīnam khaditūnēd rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 *mūnash kolā II chashm
 khefrūnēd*, va hūzvān peskūnēd; 3 *va pavan ragelman-I yīn dāshahū
 āvīkht yekavīmūnād*; 4 *afash pavan shānak II srūbō-i rūyīn tanū
 hamāi randīd*; 5 *afash mīkh-i asīnīn yīn sar makhītūnēd*.

6 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman *mūn gabrā?* *afash* maman vanās
 kard?

7 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Âtarō yēdatō, 8 aīgh: Den-
 man rūbān-i valman darvand gabrā *mūnash*, *pavan stīh*, *dâtōbarīh-i
 drōgh-zanān* yehevūnēd; 9 *afash*

LXXIX. 2, 1-5. H₁₈ *ke chashm zad*. 3, 1. only in K₂₀. 3, 3. D. omits *د*;
 H₆ substitutes *س*. 3, 6. H₁₈ *ākushta*. 4, 1. H₁₈ *u* = *۱*. 4, 4-7. H₁₈
āhīnī sar u tan qēsh; K₂₀ omits *د*. 4, 9. H₁₈ *raodīd*; H₆ adds *۱*.
 5, 1. H₁₈ om. 5, 2. K₂₀ omits *د*. 5, 5 so in H₁₈, but it may also be read
dīl. 5, 6. D. has *س* for *ف*; H₁₈ adds *īshād* = *دینو او*. 6, 5-7. K₂₀
او. 8, 3. K₂₀ removes *د* to 8, 4. 8, 7-11. *drōjan mard ke pa zendīgā
 dāvar drōjanū*. 8, 10. K₂₀ omits *د*. 8, 11. P. omits *د*; Pers. *دروغزن*
 'a liar'; or perhaps *drōghjōān*. 9, 1. H₁₈ *u* = *۱*.

و لښو مډمړو ۱ و ټمښتو وځړل وړه ډ

Chapter LXXX.

1 مښه مښوونو لږسډ مښوډ ځاوسډ او وښوډ څو مښو
 مښو مښو مښو 2 و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و
 وښوډ و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و
 لښو مښو مښو ډ
 4 و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و ښو و

pârak yansegûnd, va dâdistân-i kadbâ kard.

Chapter LXXX.

1 Adīnam khadītūnd rūbân-i ačchand, mūnshânō nikūnsâr yīn dūshahū āvīkht yekavīmūnād; 2 va khūn va rīm va mazg-i anshūtān pavan pūmman yīn vādūnd, va pavan vīnīk guh aityūnd; 3 va hamâi vāng vādūnd aigh: Paḍmānak rāst yakhsenunēm.

4 Afam pūrsīd aigh: Denman tanūân mūn? afshān maman vanās kard?

LXXIX. 9, 5. K₂₀ omits ډ.

LXXX. 1, 3. K₂₀ omits ډ. 1, 4—5. H₁₈ mardumā ke. 1, 5. K₂₀ omits final ۱.

1, 9. H₁₈ ākushī. 2, 6. H₁₈ om.; H₆ omits ډ. 2, 7. ښوډ in D. H₆;

H₁₈ om. 2, 8. H₁₈ ezh = ځ. 2, 10—11, 13. H₁₈ om. 2, 14—16. uncertain;

و may be ځ, or ځ ‘annoyance’, or ځ ‘ice’, or a miswriting for ځ;

or the words may be ځ و ځ; H₆, K₂₀ ځ و ځ; D.

ځ و ځ; H₁₈ vīnī be dēd, Sans. nāshikebhyashcha sadaiva samāyāti. 3, 4. H₁₈ dāshī. 3, 8. H₁₈ dāshī hōm; K₂₀ has ځ for ځ. 4, 7.

K₂₀ ځ.

ساردار نافرمان کهد آزارد پان زبانه.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 منم آدینام کهدیتوند ربابان نیشمان-ی منم ناسایان نافرمان هامان
 واشتاموند.

افاش هان کهدیته یهابوند.

2 افام پورستد ائغ: دنمان نیشمان مامان واناس کرد?

3 یمالئلوند سروش-یاشاروبو، و آتارو یعدتو، 4 ائغ: دنمان
 ربابان-ی والمان دارواند نیشمان ماناش، پان سته، نیهان من

شوی، بسرائان-ی کهد واشتاموند; 5 افاش هان کهدیته یهابوند.

5 افاش هان کهدیته یهابوند.

sardâr-i nafshman kated âzard, pavan zûbân.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Adînam khadîtûnd rūbân-i nêshman-I mûn nasâi-i nafshman hamâi vashtamûnd.

2 Afam pûrstîd aîgh: Denmân nêshman maman vanâs kard?

3 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rūbân-i valman darvand nêshman mânash, pavan stîh, nîhân min shûi, bisrayâ-i kated vashtamûnd; 5 afash hânô khadîh yehabûnd.

LXXXII. 5, 6. K₂₀ وژد. 5, 7. K₂₀ adds final ۱.

LXXXIII. 2, 5. K₂₀ om. 4, 7. H₁₈ ke = کهد. 4, 9. H₁₈ zendigâ کهدیته.

4, 10.—5, 1. H₁₈ qâst hana duzdîd, u ã sâi kharîd qarashnî u = کهدیته یهابوند.
 ۱. کهدیته یهابوند.

Chapter LXXXV.

1 מִסְתַּח מִשְׁמַחֵה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְדִסְתָּהּ 2 אֶלָּא לֹא־עֲשִׂיתָ מִכְּכֶנָּה עֲשֵׂה
 אֶלָּא מִסְתַּח וְדִסְתָּהּ 3 וְאֶפְשָׁה לְמִסְתַּח וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ וְלִמְסָהּ וְלִמְסָהּ
 דִּלְכָּה מִסְתַּח־וֹדֵהּ

4 אֶלָּא לֹא־עֲשִׂיתָ מִכְּכֶנָּה וְדִסְתָּהּ אֶפְשָׁה וְאֶלָּא וְאֶלָּא
 5 מִסְתַּח וְדִסְתָּהּ מִכְּכֶנָּה וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ וְעֲשֵׂה מִכְּכֶנָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְאֶלָּא
 דִּלְכָּה וְדִסְתָּהּ אֶפְשָׁה וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ וְעֲשֵׂה מִכְּכֶנָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְאֶלָּא
 מִסְתַּח וְדִסְתָּהּ 7 מִכְּכֶנָּה וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ וְעֲשֵׂה מִכְּכֶנָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְאֶלָּא
 מִסְתַּח וְדִסְתָּהּ

Chapter LXXXV.

1 *Adīnam khaditūnd rūbân-i nêshman-I* 2 *mûn pôst-i asînîn pa-*
van tanû lâlâ vâdûnd, 3 *va pûmman lakhvâr yâityûnd*, *va lakhvâr*
val tanûr-i garm hankhetûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs kard?

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbö, *va Âtarô yêdatô*, 6 aîgh: Den-
 man rūbân-i valman darvand nêshman *mûnash*, *pavan zîvandakân*,
 valman-i hû-khîm *farzânak* gabrâ nêshman yehevûnd; 7 *afash* mitrô-i
shâû drûkht, levatman valman-i bazakar *va dûsh-khîm* gabrâ khelmûnd.

LXXXV. 1, 1. D. אֶלָּא. 1, 4. D. omits אֶלָּא. 2, 2. H₁₈ *pastê*, Sans. *upasthaḥ*.

2, 3. K₂₀ adds final אֶלָּא. 2, 7. D. has אֶלָּא for אֶלָּא. 3, 2—3. H₁₈ *pa tan bê* =

אֶלָּא וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ. 3, 4. D. has אֶלָּא for אֶלָּא. 3, 6—8. some Pâz. MSS. have *ezh*

tan awâzh = אֶלָּא וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ. 3, 10. H₁₈ *kâmend nihâdan*. 6, 7. H₁₈ *ke*

= אֶלָּא; D. adds אֶלָּא וְעֲשִׂיתָהּ. 6, 9. H₁₈ *gêthî* = אֶלָּא. 6, 10. אֶלָּא only

in H₁₈; Dest. suggests אֶלָּא. 6, 12. D. prefixes אֶלָּא. 7, 1. H₁₈ *ke*. 7, 2. H₆,

K₂₀ omit אֶלָּא. 7, 3. H₁₈ adds *bê* = אֶלָּא.

1100 1 1200 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000

tanû va rôd-i nafshman hamâi randîd; 3 va pavan pêstân, kôf-i asînûn hamâi khefrûnd.

4 *Afam pârsîd aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs kard?*

5 *Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stih, bazakô kard, 7 va khvâstak kâmak-i râi, kûdak-i nafshman shîr lâ yehabûnd. 8 Va kevan hamâi vâng vâcûnêd aîgh: Latamman vad denman kôf khefrûnam, va zak kûdak shîr yehabûnam. 9 Ke'ân vad frashakard zak kûdak lâ yâmtûnêd.*

LXXXVII. 4, 3—8. supplied by guess, as this sentence is always abbreviated in H₁₈.

6, 3. K₂₀ removes 3 to 6, 4. 6, 7. H₁₈ *ke* = 140. 6, 9. H₁₈ *zendigâ* =

140. 6, 10—11. H₁₈ Sans. *pâpakarmminî sanjâtâ*. 7, 1—4. H₁₈ om.

7, 3. K₂₆ prefixes 1. 7, 9. K₀ 140; H₁₈ adds *sûda qâstârî gêthî râ*.

8, 7. H₁₈ Pâz. om., Sans. *pratishtâ*. 8, 13—14. H₁₈ *thô* = 140; K₂₀ adds

140. 8, 16 H₁₈ adds *ke pa zendigâ nê dâd* = 140. 8, 16 H₁₈ adds *ke pa zendigâ nê dâd* = 140.

9, 1. H₁₈ om.; K₂₆ prefixes 1. 9, 4. H₁₈

adds *kôh nê khaniq â* = 140. 9, 5. K₂₀ adds final

1. 9, 7. H₁₈ *vînîl* = 140.

Chapter LXXXVIII.

[illegible]

Chapter LXXXVIII.

1 Adīnam khadītūnd rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 mūn nikūnsār min dār-I
āvikht *yekavīmūnād*, va hamāi *marzīd*; 3 afshān shūsar yīn pūmman
va gōsh va vīnik *shedkūnd*.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karđ, *mûn rû-bânô ângûn* girân pâdafrâs *yedrûnéd?*

5 Yemalelânêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan stîh, avârûnô-mar-zishnîh kard; 7 afash nêshman-i khadîhân *frîst va* nîvâzân kard.

LXXXVIII. 2, 6. D. has  for . 2, 9. H₁₈ Sans. *mathnanti*; Dest. suggests

ደብረ. 3, 9. D. has ደ for ሞ; H₁₈ adds *vash dād baḏ būi ajēr kân-*
and = ስጦት ህይወት. 4, 9. D. **ክቡር.** 4, 10. K₂₀

has $\supset$ for $\downarrow$. 4, 11. K_{20} omits final $\downarrow$. 4, 14. K_{20} om. 6, 6. H_{18} adds *ke*

(pa) zendiḡā ōī zani dashtū suḏ = ۛۛۛۛۛۛ ۛۛۛۛۛۛ
 ۛۛۛۛۛۛ. ṭ̄, 2. K₂₀ omits د. 7, 4. D. has ۛۛ, H₆, K₂₆ ۛۛ,

K_{20} 00, for 00. 7, 5. K_{20} om.

Chapter XCIV.

1 מִטְּחָה מַעֲשֵׂאוֹי לְרִשָּׁה וְלִשְׁטֵט מִלְּפָנֶיךָ אֵל וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר
 לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר 2 וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר
 וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר

3 מִטְּחָה מַעֲשֵׂאוֹי לְרִשָּׁה וְלִשְׁטֵט מִלְּפָנֶיךָ אֵל וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר
 לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר

4 מִטְּחָה מַעֲשֵׂאוֹי לְרִשָּׁה וְלִשְׁטֵט מִלְּפָנֶיךָ אֵל וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר
 לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר 5
 וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר 6 וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר לְמַעַן מִטְּחָה וְשֵׁן טָהוֹר

Chapter XCIV.

1 Adīnam *khadītūnēd* rūbān-i valmanshān mānshān mūn pavan
 yadman-i nafshman, pēstānō-i nafshman madam tāvak-i garm hankhe-
 tūnēd yekavīmūnād, 2 *va kūst val kūst hamāi gardānast*.

3 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman *nēshmanān* maman vanās kard,
 mūn rūbānō āngūn girān pādāfrās yedrūnēd?

4 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Âtarō yēdatō, 5 aīgh: Den-
 man rūbān-i valmanshān nēshmanān mūn kūḍak-i nafshman shīr lâ ye-
 habūnēd, nizār va tapāh kard; 6 va *gūāftih-i* stih rāi, shīr val kūḍak-i
 khadīhān yehabūnēd.

XCIV. 1, 2. K₂₀ ܡܬܚܐ. 1, 4. some Pāz. MSS. have *zanā*; Sans. *durgatimatām*.

1, 5—6. so in all; Sans. *yaiḥ yat tat*. 1, 13. all omit ܐ. 2, 1—6. K₂₀ om.

2, 1—4. D. ܡܬܚܐ ܡܬܚܐ ܡܬܚܐ. 3, 5. K₂₀ ܡܬܚܐ = ܡܬܚܐ. 6, 2. D. II₆, H₁₈,

K₂₀ ܡܬܚܐ ܡܬܚܐ; P. ܡܬܚܐ ܡܬܚܐ; Z. *vi + ap*.

٢ و ١١ هـ في سبب وقته ، وحده سبب له دواؤا ، و ١١ هـ (اللع

[illegible]

3 טו עוואנטען שטען זיך פאר אונדז וואס זאלן אונזערע זיין

داسر پرم پراسون دؤگم اوچ

4 מלכות וסוד מלכות וסוד מלכות 5 סוד מלכות וסוד מלכות

[illegible]

၇ နေ့၊ ၁၀ ရက်၊ ၂၀ ရက်

三 219

Chapter XCVII.

١ منزه عن عوارضه لانه ليس له وجود في ذاته

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

2 va pavan mûî hamâî kashênd, *va* nasâî hamâî *pezkûnd*, va pavan
kôfîz padmâyend.

3 Afam pûrsîdî aîgh: Denman *gabrâ* maman vanâs kard, mûn *râbânô* ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrînêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, tôkhlm yanse-gûnd, 6 afash gûft aîgh: *Peškânâm*; afash lâ afshând; 7 afash khûrd, va Spendarmad damîk *drôzanô kard*.

Chapter XCVII.

1 Adīnam *khadītūnd* rūbān-i gabrā-I va nēshman-I mūn hūzvān
peskūnd yekavīmūnād.

XCVI. 2, 6. K₂₀ om. 2, 9. II₁₈ *brinid*, Sans. *chhinatti*; compare Chald. *piē*.

3, 5. K₂₀ ॥३. 3, 10. K₂₀ omits final ॥. 6, 4. H₁₉ *brīnam*, Sans. *upam*.

7, 3. K_{20} om. 7, 6. D. $\text{ရပ်အံ}; K_{20} \text{ ၁၁ရပ်အံ}.$ 7, 7. K_{20} adds final ၂.

XCVII. 1, 2. K_{20} १७.

3 4 5 6
 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Chapter XCIX.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

girânô pâdâfrâs yedrûnêd?

3 *Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Atarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvand gabrâ va nêshman mûnshân, pavan stih, nasâi pavan vanâskârîh jalê; 5 va bavrak-i mayâîh yîn mayâ zek-telûnd, 6 va avârik dâm-i Âûharmâzd makhîtûnd va zektelûnd.*

Chapter XCIX.

1 *Va hâvandich kated khaditûnd rûbân-i darvandân gabrâân va nêshmanân; 2 va sahmîgûn-i bîmgûn-i rêshkun-i pûr-anâkîh-i kated-dard-i târik-i yîn dûshahû zâkham va pâdâfrâs-i gûnak gûnak hamâi yedrûnd.*

XCVIII. 2, 12. K₂₀ omits final ۱. 4, 3. K₂₀ omits ۱. 4, 4. H₁₈ ôi = ۱۱.

4, 6—7. H₁₈ om. 4, 9. H₁₈ ke = ۱۱. 4, 11. H₁₈ zendigâ = ۱۱.

K₂₀ ۱۱. 4, 12. K₂₀ ۱۱. 4, 12.—6, 7. H₁₈ revâ vas rêkhta, Sans.

mukhatvacham prachurataram uchchikshêpa. 5, 2. ۱ only in K₂₀. 6, 3.

K₂₀ omits ۱.

XCIX. 1, 1—2. H₁₈ om. 2, 1. D. ۱۱. 2, 3. K₂₀ has ۱ for ۱. 2, 13. D. omits ۱.

Chapter C.

1 مومن مومنان تروم و مومنان و مومنان و مومنان و مومنان
 2 مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان
 3 مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان
 4 مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان
 5 مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان و مومن مومنان

Chapter C.

1 Adīnam khaditūnđ Ganrāk-mīnavad-i pūr-marg-i gēhān-maren-chīnīdār-i dūsh-dīnō, 2 *mūn* yīn dūshahū val darvandān afsōs va *resh-kharish* hamāi kard, va *gūft* 3 aīgh: Maman rāi *lakhmayā-i* Aūhar-mazd hamāi vashtamūnēd, va *kār-i* li vādūnēd? 4 va *pavan* dādār-i nafshman lā *mīnēd*, va *kāmak-i* li varzēd? 5 Āngūn kated afsōskar-yīsh val darvandān hamāi *drāīd*.

- C. 2, 1. D. مومنان. 2, 8. D. H₆, K₀ مومنان; H₁₈ *riārī*, Sans. *upahāsyam*; Pers. ریش or ریش 'beard' + خریش or خریش 'a butt'; compare ریش خند and خند خریش. 2, 12. K₂₀ adds final ۱.
 3, 4. or *lakhmāk-i*; K₂₀ مومنان. 3, 8. K₂₀ om. 3, 9. 4, 3. K₂₀ omits د.
 4, 1—2. H₁₈ *farmā men kard, chūn tā*, Sans. *ādesho mādiyo vihitah, yat yushmābhīh*. 4, 6. H₁₈ *kunashnī*. 4, 8. D. K₂₀ omit د. 5, 7. H₁₈ adds *in pādadihishnī andā rishtākhēza, ezh ā qēsh kunashnī, arāmishnīhā pidirīd; ke men parastad ash pādadihishnī dōzhakha; azh pas suđ hōm men Ādar yazda; vaēm dīda* [one line partly cut off by the binder] *tumūtum dōzhakha; vaēm avā sīhast, chūn chāhē ke suđ hazār nēzhaa. Vaēm tārikī avā sīhast, ku agar hamā hējam khūska andar gēhā avar u ātash nihād, andar ā tumūtum dōzhakha chand mustē rōshanī nē bahōd*. — Sans. *tadīdānīm pūyam enam prasādādānān yāvat shavotthānān, tasmātsvīyāt karm-maṇah, nīrānandatayā pratikurute; yo mām ārādhayati tasya prasādo narakam; pashchāt prachalito 'ham Ādareṇa īrajdena. Ahañ dadarsha*

Chapter CI.

۱ سید دلدستمدلور و سوارو سوارو کد ل سوارو و سوارو
 ۲ و سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو
 دلدستمدلور و سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو سوارو
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Chapter CI.

1 Akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbô va Âtarô yêdatô, zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnd, 2 va min zak jînâk-i târîk-i sahmgûn-i bîmgûn barâ yâityûnd, 3 val zak-i asar rôshanîh, va hanjaman-i Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân yedrûnd.

4 Amatam yezbemûnastô namâz yedrûntanô Aûharmazd pêsh.
 5 Va âsân yehevûnd, gûft aîgh: Drûst lipamman lak, yasharûbô Ardâi Virâf, Mâz-

tat yat uktamasti ghorândhakârât narakât; mama evam pratibhâti, yathâ kila kûpako yo lakṣhaikakuntanīmnaḥ. Mama andhakârashcha evam pratibhâti, yadi sarvâṇi kâshṭhâni shushkâṇi antaḥ prithivyâm upari vahnau prakṣiptâni, antaḥ ghorândhakâranarakasya kiyanmâtra udyotam ujvalaṇ na bhavati.

- CI. 1, 1.—5, 5. H₁₈ Pasa Âdar yazda asra rôshan bē nîd, frâzh ô pêsh
 دلدستمدلور dâsht hôm. Namâzh burd, gufta دلدستمدلور bagha:— Sans. Pash-
 chât Âdar îajdo anantarochishî prañîto 'ham, prakṛishṭam purah Ahura-
 majdasya svâmino nidadhe. Prañâmañ chakâra, uvâcha Ahuramajdo
 datâ. 2, 5, 6. D. omits د. 2, 7. H₆ adds د. 2, 9. D. has ف for س.
 3, 4. D. has د for س. 4, 2. K₂₀ omits final ۱. 4, 4. K₂₀ omits final ۱۱.
 4, 6.—5, 2. P. دلدستمدلور. 5, 7. H₁₈ dil = دل; P. دل. 5, 10. D.
 has د for س.

13 *Afash guft dâdâr Aûharmazd*, min minavadân *afzûniktûm*,
14 *aîgh*: Barâ *yemalêlân* lak, *Arđâi* Virâf, val Mâzdayasnân-i *stih*,
15 *aîgh*: Khadûk aît râs-i yasharâîsh, râs-i poryô-dkêshîh; va zak-i
avârik râs, hamâk lâ râs. 16 Zak khadûk râs vakhdûnêd-i yasharâîsh;
va al pavan *farâkhûih*, va al pavan tangîh, va al pavan hîch râs
azash vardêd; 17 va barâ varzêd hûmat va hûkht va hûvarsht; 18 va
pavan zak ham-dînô yekavîmûnêd-i zyash min li mekadlûnd, Spîtâmân
Zaratûhasht va Vishtâsp yîn gêhân rûbâk kartô; 19 *va* yakhsenunêd
dâd-i *frâran*, min *avâran* barâ pâhrêjêd. 20 Va denmanîch madam
âkâs yehevûnêd, *aîgh*: afrâ *yehevûnêd* tôrâ, va afrâ yehevûnêd asp, va
afrâ yehevûnêd *zahabâ* va asîm, va afrâ

CI. 13, 7. K₂₀ omits **د**. 14, 1. H₁₈ om. 14, 3. K₂₀ omits final **ی**. 14, 5. D. K₂₀ have **د** for **س**. 14, 9. H₁₈ prefixes *pa* = **پا**; K₂₀ **پا**. 15, 4. K₂₀ omits **د**. 15, 6. K₂₀ prefixes **ی**, and omits **د**. 15, 9. K₂₀ omits **د**. 16, 9. Pers. **فراخی**; H₁₈ *barahūnash*, Pers. **برهان**. 19, 1. K₂₀ om. 19, 4. K₂₀ adds final **ی**. 19, 6. H₆, K₂₆ add **د**; K₂₀ adds **ی**. 20, 6. H₁₉ om. 20, 8. K₂₀ has **م** for **م**. 20, 17. D. **کسرس**.

טעוונג קאד פאלאסטר 21 דא צו וואס א טעלעסאפ
 און פארגעסענע טעלעסאפ א וואס א וואס א וואס א 22
 און פאלאסטר און דא א וואס א וואס א 23
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yehevûnêd zak-*i* marđûmân tanû; 21 zak khadûk val *afrâyâ* lâ gûmêjêd
mûn, yîn stih, yasharâish *stâyad*, va *kâr* kirfak vâdûnêd. 22 Drûst lak
Arđâi Virâf! zak-*i* nafshman âvâdîh *vazlânö*; 23 maman kolâ pâkih va
pâdîyâvîh-i lekûm vâdûnêd va yakhsenunêd, 24 va hamâk amat dâdyîsh

Cf. 20, 23. K₂₀ omits **د**. 21, 4. or *afrāih*. 21, 11. H₁₈ adds: Pas guftا پاش گفست
Srōsh ashô, Âdar yazda, kush nmâid ũ hvaresht varzîdârû kunashni.
Dasht gerefta hóm Srōsh ashô, Âdar yazda; faravû bâd hend andar u sar
Chînvað pihal, ku ânô Rasna râst, u Mihir yazd, u Âstûd yazda pêrozagar
spikir khudhai, hamôin nishastand; avadatar vêsh dihišni, vêsh râzihâtâr
ezh âsmâ; pêsh êshû nið hóm. Vasû gufta ku: Gó u ânô kard hād, mar-
dum, gāvū, góspondā, zamī, urvar, ātash, āva, râst gó, chi azh ědar pa
râsti bē shâyad vadardan. Pas rámeshnī bād hóm, chi fravash ashôid
gvái dād ku: Oi bazh nē kard. Pashپاش گفست guft bagh: — Sans.
atharā puṇyātmanām uttamânāñ kinchit dadāti. Pashcháduvácha Horm-
mijdo dátâ Shrosham puṇyátmakam, Ádarancha íajdam, prati yat: Dar-
shayata asya tâñ yāñ sukṛítakartṛiṇāñ karmaṇām. Haste dadhára máñ
Sroshaḥ puṇyátmaḥ, Ádashcha íajdah; saháyinau babhávatuḥ antash-
Chandorapuhalecha setau, yat yatra Rasnah satyah, Míhirascha íajdo
maitrilakshañah, Ástâda íajdo vijayi chakrádhipatishecha, sarve upavishtáh
santi; gurutaráh prachurataráh ye apisrishṭeh, adhikatejasvitaráshche
ákáshádapi; purastesham pranito ’ham. Techa avochat yat: Bráhi tat
yat tatra samácharitamasti, manushyeshu, goshu, pashusu, prithivinas-
pativahnijareshu, satyameva prabrúhi, yataḥ etasmát satyena shakyate
samuttaritum. Pashcháť sánandah sambhátô ’ham, yat vriddhayo muk-
tátmanāñ sákshiñ daduh, yadasau pápañ na krítaván. Pashcháť Horm-
mijda uvácha dátâ. 21, 13. D. سع; K₂₀ adds ج. 22, 3. K₂₀ has د for
س. 22, 5. K₂₀ omits د. 22, 8. K₂₀ omits final ج. 23, 5. D. ديدارديدار.

T h e B o o k
of
A r d á - V i r á f.

English Translation with notes

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

Observations.

Words printed in *italics* are not expressed in the original text, but are supplied, in the translation, to complete the sense. When marked as parentheses, they are merely explanations of the preceding words. As the translation is, however, not *strictly* literal, such additional words as pronouns, particles and the verb 'to be', which are clearly understood in the original, are not italicized in the translation.

Notes to which the word [Dest.] is appended, are based upon remarks affixed by Destur Hoshangji to his edition of the text. The same abbreviations are used as in the notes to the Pahlavî text.

Chapter I.

In the name of God.

1 They say that, once upon a time, the pious Zaratûst (Zoroaster) made the religion, which he had received, current in the world; 2 and till the completion of 300 years, the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. 3 But afterwards, the accursed Evil-spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, 4 instigated the accursed Alexander, the Rûman¹, who was dwelling in Egypt², so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; 5 he also slew the ruler of Iran, 6 and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate.

7 And this religion³, namely, all the Avesta and Zand, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink, was deposited in the archives⁴, in Stâkhar Pâpakân⁵; 8 and the hostility of the evil-des-
tined, wicked Ashemôk, the evil-doer, brought onward Alexander, the

¹ That is, a native of those Greek provinces which afterwards became an important part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

² The word Mûjrâyik, which has been wholly misunderstood by the Pâzand writers, is evidently connected with anc. Pers. *Mudrâya*, Heb. מִצְרַיִם 'Egypt', and alludes to the fact that Alexander came from Egypt to complete the overthrow of the Persian empire. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxix.

³ That is, the religious writings.

⁴ Or, 'among the city documents'; *karitâ*, or *kiritâ*, must be traced to Chald. כְּרִיתָא, Heb. קְרִיתָא, which latter is used, in the names of several towns, as the English word 'fort' is in the names Fort-William, Fort-George, etc. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xl.

⁵ The name of Persepolis in Sasanian times, the modern Persian اصطخر.

Rûman, who was dwelling in Egypt, and he burnt them up¹. 9 And he killed several desturs and judges and herbads and mobads and

¹ This statement, regarding the burning of the religious books by Alexander, which often occurs in Parsi writings, has been supposed to have originated in a modern misunderstanding, whereby the destruction consequent upon the Mohamedan conquest, has been attributed to the Greek invader. Heeren first expressed the opinion that, as the persecution of foreign religions was quite contrary to Alexander's policy, this statement of the Parsis was not to be credited; and his opinion has been generally adopted by later writers, without further examination. On comparing, however, the statements made in Pahlavi books, with the accounts of the destruction of Persepolis, given by classical writers, it appears that the latter rather confirm, than contradict, the statements of the Parsis. From the account given in the text, and that quoted from the *Din-kard* in the *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, p. xxxi—xxxviii., it seems that the books deposited in the archives at Persepolis were burnt at the time of Alexander's conquest; but the latter account speaks of another copy of the books, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, and was translated by them; from which it must be concluded, that the Persians do not complain of any special religious persecution on the part of Alexander, but only of the ordinary devastation of a conqueror. The same two copies of the books are also mentioned in the proclamation of Khusrû, son of Kovâd, quoted from the *Din-kard* in my *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 145—152; wherein he likewise states that Valkhash the Ashkânian (Vologeses the Arsacidan) ordered the collection and preservation of such fragments of the Avesta and Zand as had escaped the destruction and ravages of Alexander and his soldiers; these ravages could not have been those of the Mohamedans, as Khusrû reigned a century before the Mohamedan conquest. Turning to the accounts given by classical writers, we find from Diodorus (17, 72) and Curtius (5, 7), that Alexander really did burn the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, in a drunken frolic, at the instigation of the Athenian courtesan Thais, and in revenge for the destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes; Arrian (*Exped. Alex.* 3, 18) also speaks of his burning the royal palace of the Persians. This act of barbarous folly was evidently the result of hasty impulse, and was probably committed at night, when the palace was full of attendants, courtiers and priests; the last, who had special charge of the archives, would naturally attempt to save their treasures, and would certainly be opposed by the intoxicated Greeks, at the cost of many lives. The religious books would be burnt with the archives, in which they were deposited, and many Persians, priests and others, would lose their lives in the confusion;

upholders of the religion¹, and the competent and wise of the country of Iran. 10 And he cast hatred and strife, one with the other, amongst the nobles and householders of the country of Iran; 11 and self-destroyed, he fled to hell².

12 And after that, there were confusion and contention among the people of the country of Iran, one with the other. 13 And so they had no lord, nor ruler, nor chieftain, nor destur who was acquainted with the religion, 14 and they were doubtful in regard to God; 15 and religions of many kinds, and different fashions of belief, and

such would be the natural consequences of the facts mentioned by the western writers, and such are the statements made by the eastern writer in our text.

¹ These names refer to the various grades of the Zoroastrian priesthood. The destur (Pahl. *dastōbar*) is the highpriest, and is compared by the Parsis to the bishop in Christian churches. The word does not occur in the Zand-avesta, and is probably not Zand, but Persian, meaning 'one who wields power', and is also used, in Persian, to signify a minister of state; the ancient form was, no doubt, *dastō-bara*. In the Zand-avesta, the dignity of a destur, that is, of a spiritual head and guide, is expressed by the term *zarathushtra* (see Yasna XIX. 18., and my Essay 'über die Ahuna-vairya Formel' in the Sitzungsberichte der phil.-phil. und hist. Classe der K. bay. Akad. der Wiss. 1872, p. 125).

The judge (Pers. *dāwar*, Pahl. *dātōbar*, originally, no doubt, *dātō-bara*, 'upholder of justice') is always distinguished from the destur, but like him, was a *ratu*, 'head or chief'. He appears to have held a high rank, which was probably hereditary, as it is still claimed by a high Parsi family at Surat, though not acknowledged by the majority.

The herbads, Z. *aēthrapaiti* (see the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 127—130), are now those students of Zoroastrian theology, and of the priestly order, who have finished their studies, and successfully read their first Izhshne, Pahl. *yazishn*.

Those herbads who are chiefly engaged in the performance of ceremonies, become mobads, Pahl. *magōpat* which indicates a form *magō-paiti* in ancient Persian. The 'upholders of the religion' are the students of the Avesta. The herbads and mobads, as well as the students, are subordinate to the destur, between whom and the mobad, a marked distinction is made, whenever they are mentioned in Pahlavi books.

² This appears to refer to Alexander's premature death.

and the people of this religion (*religious books*), deposited in Shaspigân¹, were in doubt.

19 And afterwards, there were other magi and desturs of the religion; 20 and some of their number², were loyal and apprehensive. 21 And an assembly of them was summoned in the residence of the victorious Frôbâg fire³; 22 and there were speeches and good ideas, of many kinds, on this *subject*: 23 that 'it is necessary for us to seek 'a means, 24 so that some one of us may go, and bring intelligence 'from the spirits; 25 that the people who exist in this age, shall know '26 whether these Yazishn and Drôn and Âfrînagân *ceremonies*, and 'Nîrang *prayers*, and ablution and purifications⁴ which we bring into

his chest (*var*); but sometimes the heated metal was applied to the tongue, or the feet, as appears from another passage in the Dîn-kard (MS. H₁₃ b. p. 181—183), 'on the distinction between the lawful and proper miracle of the *var nîrang*, and the demoniacal and improper *nîrang* of sorcery'. If the person remained uninjured by the application of the melted metal, the truth of his statements was considered as established, provided the ordeal had been conducted in a lawful and pious manner, and with a due regard to purity of person and clothing.

¹ That is, those who believed in the religious writings deposited in the treasury of Shaspigân. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxvi.

² Or 'on that account they were', etc.

³ This is one of the three most ancient fires in Iran, which were held in great reverence, and are mentioned in various Pahlavî books. A short sketch of the history of these old sacred fires, is to be found in the Bundeshesh (p. 41. Westerg.). The Frôbâg fire is there said to have been first established in the *âtesh-gâh* on the mountain Gadman-hômand in Khvârizem (Z. Qâirizem), the ancient Khorasmia, on the banks of the Oxus, and extending to the Caspian sea. After Yima's death, this fire was preserved from Dahiâk, and in the reign of Gushtâsp, it was transported from Khvârizem to the mountain Rôshan in Kâbulistân, where it is said to have been still existing, when this account, in the Bundeshesh, was written. The assembly of desturs, mentioned in the text, would therefore appear to have been held in Kâbulistân.

⁴ These ceremonies, which are all accompanied by prayers, are commonly practised by Parsi priests, at the present day.

The *Yazishn* (Izeshne) ceremony consists chiefly of the preparation, offering

'operation, attain unto God, or unto the demons; 27 and come to the 'relief of our souls, or not.'

and drinking of the Homa juice, during the recital of the prayers contained in the Yasna. It is the most sacred ceremony of the Parsi religion, and is evidently a remnant of the ancient Vedic Soma sacrifice. With regard to the blessings resulting from this ceremony, see the Homa Yasht (Yas. IX.).

The *Drôn* (Darûn) and *Âfrîngân* ceremonies are often performed together, especially at the solemn repasts of the Parsis, called *chashnîs*, which take place at some of the great festivals, such as the Khordâd-sâl, and in honor of the deceased. Of these two ceremonies, the Darûn is considered the more important. The *drôn* (Z. *draonô*) are small, flat, round cakes of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. Of these, four are generally used; two of them, specially called *drôn*, are arranged on the left, parallel to the left side of the table, and the two others, called *frasasti*, are similarly arranged on the right. Some butter (*gâush hudhâo*) is put upon the nearer, or lower, *drôn*; and a twig of the pomegranate-tree on the further, or upper, *frasasti*. Between the further *drôn* and the further *frasasti*, an egg is placed; and the presence of the bunch of sacred twigs, called Barsom (*baresman* = *brahman*), is also indispensable. The *drôn*s are now consecrated, and the name of him, in whose honor the ceremony is performed, must be mentioned, whether he be an angel, or a deceased Zoroastrian. Afterwards, pieces are broken off the *drôn*s by the Mobad, and given to those present to eat.

When the Darûn ceremony is over, the *Âfrîngân* commences, at the great festivals; but it may, however, on other occasions, be performed without the Darûn. A tray, containing wine and fruits, is used; with flowers on the left side. The wine and fruits are consecrated, when the priest drinks first, and then gives the wine to those who are present to drink. This ceremony is like the Darûn, performed in honor of some angel, or deceased Zoroastrian; and its name is derived from the word *âfrînâmi*, 'I bless', which is used during its performance.

The word *Nîrang* is used both in a general and a more restricted sense. In the former, it signifies a prayer formula, usually short, to be recited on certain occasions; for instance, when cutting the nails, or hair, and after the completion of certain ceremonies, such as that of the Homa. These formulas are now mostly in the so-called Pâzand; and are supposed to ensure the success of the ceremony performed, or to avert any evil which might arise. In a more restricted sense, *Nîrang* means the ceremony, as well as the prayer formula, relating to the preparation of the *gômêz*, 'cow's urine', which is used as the most efficacious means of purification.

28 Afterwards also, with the concurrence of the desturs of the religion, they called all the people to the residence of the Frôbâg fire. 29 And from the whole number, they set apart seven men who had not the slightest doubt of God and the religion, 30 and whose own thoughts and words and deeds were most orderly and proper; 31 and they were told thus: 'Seat yourselves down, 32 and select 'one from *among* you, who is best for this duty, and the most innocent and respected'.

33 And afterwards, those seven men sat down; 34 and from the seven, three were selected; and from the three, one only, named Virâf; 35 and some call him the Nîshâpûrian¹. 36 Then that Virâf, as he heard that decision, stood upon his feet, 37 joined his hands on his breast, and spoke 38 thus: 'If it please you, then give me not 'the undesired narcotic², 39 till you cast lots for the Mazdayasnians 'and me³; 40 and if the lot come to me, I shall go willingly to that

'Ablution' is the translation of the term *pâdyâvîh*, which can be traced to the Z. *paityâpa*, a word which has not, however, the same meaning as is generally attached to *pâdyâvîh*, by which the Parsis understand washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles; which they perform whenever they are going to recite prayers, repeating a formula during the ablution.

'Purification' (*yôshdâsarîh*, Z. *yaozhdâthrya*) is the so-called Barashnom ceremony, which is described in Vend. IX. This process of purification, in which cow's urine plays an important part, lasts for nine nights.

¹ Or 'by the name of Nîkhshâpûr', according to the orthography of the old MSS. This name, which is also written Nîshâpûhar, Nîkhshâpûhar, etc., is that of a commentator on the Avesta who is quoted in the Pahlavî translation of Vend. V. 34. VIII. 22., and also many times in the Nîrangistân.

² When natives of India wish to obtain supernatural information, they sometimes give (it is said) a narcotic prepared from the seeds of the *dhatura* plant, to a boy, or old man, and place much reliance upon his answers to their questions, while under its intoxicating influence. [Dest.]

³ It is possible that the text is incorrectly read, and that *var nahîchak* is a technical name for some mode of casting lots; especially as the change of per-

‘place of the pious and the wicked, 41 and carry this message correctly, and bring *an answer* truly’.

42 And afterwards, the lots of those Mazdayasnians and me were drawn; 43 the first time with the *word* ‘well-thought’, and the second time with the *word* ‘well-said’, and the third time with the *word* ‘well-done’; each of the three lots came to Vîrâf.

Chapter II.

1 And that Vîrâf had seven sisters, 2 and all those seven sisters were as wives¹ of Vîrâf; 3 they had also learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers. 4 And when they heard *those tidings*, then they came upon them so very grievously, 5 that they clamored and shrieked, 6 and went into the presence of the assembly of the Mazdayasnians, 7 and they stood up and bowed, 8 and said thus: ‘Do not this thing, ye Mazdayasnians; 9 for we are seven sisters, and he

sons in 42, is awkwardly suspicious. H₁₇ alters 𐬨𐬀 to 𐬨𐬀 in both places; H₁₈ reads *u man* in 39, and *Vîrâja ô* in 42; and Destur Hoshangji would omit 𐬨𐬀 in 42; but no editor is justified in making arbitrary alterations in an old text. The Pâzand MSS. read *nâhîcha*, and some desturs *vâijeh*, for *nahîchak*; the Sans. version has *ḍangaraka*.

¹ This incident appears to be introduced, merely as an illustration of the extraordinary piety of Vîrâf, in obeying the precepts of his religion with regard to *khvaîtvadatha*, or ‘next-of-kin marriage’; it also indicates that the tale was written before the ancient practice of marriage between brothers and sisters, was discontinued. The later Pâzand and Persian MSS. obscure the meaning by omitting this sentence; and H₁₈, by sometimes changing ‘sisters’ into ‘wives’, and ‘brother’ into ‘husband’, conveys the idea that Vîrâf had seven wives who were merely sisters to each other. Destur Hoshangji thinks that they were not married, but only a sisterhood of nuns, in imitation of Christian customs; though he admits that there is no evidence that such an institution ever existed among Zoroastrians. If, however, they were married, he thinks it may have been merely a *nominal* marriage. As an instance of the ancient practice of marriage between brother and sister, may be mentioned that of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, with his sister Atossa (Herod. III. 88).

'is an only brother; 10 and we are, all seven sisters, as wives of that 'brother. 11 Just as the door of a house, in which seven lintels ¹ 'were fixed, and one post below, 12 they who shall take away that 'post, will make those lintels fall; 13 so for us seven sisters, is this 'only brother, who is our life and maintenance; 14 every benefit from 'him, proceeds from God. 15 Should you send *him*, before *his* time, 'from this realm of the living to that of the dead, 16 you will commit 'an injustice on us without cause'.

17 And afterwards, those Mazdayasnians, when they heard those words, pacified those seven sisters, 18 and said thus: 'We will deliver 'Vīrāf to you, safe and sound ², in seven days; 19 and the happiness 'of this renown will remain with this man'. 20 Then they became satisfied.

21 And then, Vīrāf ³ joined his hands on his breast before the Mazdayasnians, and said to them 22 thus: 'It is the custom that I 'should pray to the departed souls, and eat food, and make a will; 'afterwards, you will give me the wine and narcotic'. 23 The desturs directed thus: 'Act accordingly' ⁴.

24 And afterwards, those desturs of the religion selected, in the dwelling of the spirit ⁵, a place which was thirty footsteps from the

¹ Or 'joists'; the meaning may be that the lintel of the doorway was formed of seven narrow timbers laid, side by side, over the opening, which, when large timber is scarce, and walls are thick, is an easy way of making a large lintel; or it may refer to an entrance verandah, in which one post supports seven joists by means of a post-plate.

² Literally: 'healthy'.

³ Literally: 'that Vīrāf', which is more definite than is necessary in English; so the demonstrative pronoun is omitted in the translation, here and elsewhere.

⁴ That is, in accordance with the custom mentioned by Vīrāf.

⁵ That is, the dwelling of the angel of fire (*Ātarō yčdatō*), the fire-temple in which they were assembled, previously called 'the residence of the Frōbāg fire'; see I. 21, 28.

good¹. 25 And Vîrâf washed his head and body, and put on new clothes; 26 he fumigated himself with sweet scent², and spread a carpet, new and clean, on a prepared couch³. 27 He sat down on the clean carpet of the couch⁴, 28 and consecrated the Drôn, and remembered the departed souls, and ate food. 29 And then those desturs of the religion filled three golden cups with wine and the narcotic of Vishtâsp⁵; 30 and they gave one cup over to Vîrâf with the *word* 'well-thought', and the second cup with the *word* 'well-said', and the third cup with the *word* 'well-done'; 31 and he swallowed the wine and narcotic, and said grace whilst conscious, and slept upon the carpet.

32 Those desturs of the religion and the seven sisters were *occupied*, seven days and nights, with the ever-burning fire and fumigations; and they recited the Avesta and Zand of the religious ritual⁶,

¹ Literally: 'as to that which is good'. As the soul of Vîrâf was about to quit the body, it was necessary that the latter should be treated as a dead body, and be kept thirty footsteps away from fire, water and other holy things; see Vend. VIII. 7. [Dest.]

² Such fumigation is not now practised by the Parsis, but that it was so formerly, is evident from Vend. IX. 32. [Dest.]

³ Divan, or dais.

⁴ Or 'at the *proper* time, he sat down on the clean carpet'.

⁵ This specific name of a narcotic is also used in the Pahlavi translation of Vend. XV. 14, as follows: *zak mûn hân frâz barad mang, ayûf shêt, ayûf zak-i Vishtâspân, ayûf zak-i Zaratûhashtân*: 'that old woman brought *mang*, or *shêt*, either that of Vishtâsp, or that of Zaratûst'. [Dest.]

⁶ The original term is *nîrang-i dinôk*, by which is generally understood the ceremony and prayers requisite for the preparation of the *gômêz*, or cow's urine for purificatory purposes; and it may probably be taken in this sense here. This ritual was recited in order to avert any evil influence which might do harm to Ardâ Vîrâf, on his journey to the other world. It is interesting to observe that both the Avesta and Zand of these prayers were recited; that is to say, both those which were composed in the Avesta, or so-called Zand language, and those in the proper Zand idiom, or Pahlavi, (see the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary under those terms).

33 and recapitulated the Nasks¹, and chanted the Gâthas², and kept watch in the dark. 34 And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Vîrâf, 35 and seven days and nights, the Avesta was repeated. 36 Those seven sisters, with all the desturs and herbads and mobads of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, discontinued not their protection in any manner.

Chapter III.

1 And the soul of Vîrâf went, from the body, to the Chinvat bridge of Chakât-i-Dâitîk, 2 and came back the seventh day³, and went into the body. 3 Vîrâf rose up, as if he arose from a pleasant sleep, 4 thinking of Vohûman⁴ and joyful.

5 And those sisters, with the desturs of the religion and the Mazdayasnians, when they saw Vîrâf, became pleased and joyful; 6 and they said thus: 'Be thou welcome, Vîrâf, the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, who art come, from the realm of the dead, to this realm of 'the living'. 7 Those herbads and desturs of the religion bowed before

¹ The 21 *Nasks* (Nosks), or 'books', of the Avesta are frequently mentioned in the Parsi writings. They comprised the whole religious and scientific literature of the Zoroastrian priesthood (see the word *nask* in the Pahl-Pâz. Glos.). It is doubtful whether the recapitulation of the Nasks refers to the whole of them, or only a portion; but it means, probably, only a recital of their general contents, as it can scarcely be supposed that all the Nasks were extant, in their entirety, in the time of Ardâ Vîrâf. An abstract of the contents of many of them, is preserved in the Din-kard, in the Pahlavi language. But fragments of only three of them, are now extant in the old Avesta language, viz. the larger portion of the Vendidad, a fragment of the Hâdôkht Nask, and another of the Vishtâsp Nask. The Vendidad and Vishtâsp Nask are still recited, as prayers for religious purposes, by the Parsi priests; and the formulas used, when the Vendidad is so recited, are given in Westergaard's *Zend-avesta*, p. 485.

² The recital of the five Gâthas, which are the most sacred hymns and prayers the Parsis possess in the Yasna, is compulsory on every Zoroastrian.

³ Literally: 'day and night'; that is, the natural day of twenty-four hours.

⁴ That is, 'inspired with good thoughts'.

Vîrâf. 8 And then Vîrâf, as he saw them, came forward and bowed, and said thus: 'For you is a blessing from Aûharmazd, the lord, and 'the archangels (*ameshâspends*); 9 and a blessing from the pious Zaratûst, the descendant of Spitâma; 10 and a blessing from Srôsh the 'pious, and Âtarô the angel (*yazad*), and the glorious religion of the 'Mazdayasnians; 11 and a blessing from the remaining pious; and a 'blessing from the remaining spirits of paradise who are *in* happiness 'and repose'.

12 And afterwards, the desturs of the religion said 13 thus: 'A 'faithful minister ¹ art thou, Vîrâf, who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians; and may thy blessing be for thee also. 14 Whatever 'thou sawest, relate to us truly'.

15 Then Vîrâf spoke thus: 'First this is to be said, 16 that to 'give the hungry and thirsty food, is the first *thing*, 17 and afterwards 'to make enquiry of him, and appoint his task'.

18 Then the desturs of the religion assented ² thus: 'Well and 'good'. 19 And well-cooked and savory ³ food and broth, and cold water and wine were brought. 20 They also consecrated the ceremonial cake (*drôn*); and Vîrâf muttered grace, and ate the food, and having finished the sacred repast (*myazd*), he said grace. 21 And he recounted the praises of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and thanks to Horvadað and Ameredað, the archangels; and he uttered the benedictions (*âfrîmagân*).

22 He also directed thus: 'Bring a writer who is wise and learned'. 23 And an accomplished writer, who was learned, was brought by them, and sat before him; 24 and whatsoever Vîrâf said, he wrote correctly, clearly and explicitly.

¹ Literally: 'a proper servant'.

² Literally: 'ordered'.

³ Literally: 'well-scented'.

*2. Vîrâf is
a destur
from a
Tale:
Gâth.
Saying*

Chapter IV.

1 And he ordered him to write 2 thus: In that first night, Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel came to meet me, 3 and they bowed to me, and spoke 4 thus: 'Be thou welcome, Ardâ Virâf, although thou 'hast come when it is not thy time'.¹ 5 I said: 'I am a messenger'. 6 And then the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold of my hand. 7 *Taking* the first footstep with the good thought, and the second footstep with the good word, and the third footstep with the good deed, I came up to the Chinvat bridge, the very wide ² and strong and created by Aûharmazd.

8 When I came up there, 9 I saw a soul of the departed ³, whilst in those first three nights the soul was seated on the top of the body, 10 and uttered those words of the Gâtha: 11 'Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi 'ushtâ kahmâichîd'; that is, 'Well is he by whom that which is his 'benefit, *becomes* the benefit of anyone else'. 12 And in those three nights, as much benefit and comfort and enjoyment came to it, 13 as all the benefit which it beheld in the world; 14 just as a man who, whilst he was in the world, was more comfortable and happy and joyful through it.

15 In the third dawn, that soul of the pious departed into the sweet scent of trees; 16 and he considered that scent pleasanter than every pleasant scent which passed by his nose among the living; 17 and the air of that fragrance comes from the more southern side, from the direction of God.

18 And there stood before him ⁴, his own religion and his own deeds, in the graceful form of a damsel, as a beautiful appearance, that

¹ Or 'although the time of thy coming is not yet'.

² Or 'the refuge of many', or 'the much-protecting', according to II₁₈.

³ The remainder of this chapter is nearly the same as the Hâdôkht Nask, II. 4—32.

⁴ Compare Mkh. II. 125—139 with the remainder of this chapter.

is, grown up in virtue; 19 with prominent breasts, that is, her breasts swelled downwards ¹, which is charming to the heart and soul; 20 whose form was as brilliant, as the sight of it was the more well-pleasing, the observation of it more desirable.

21 And the soul of the pious asked that damsel 22 thus: 'Who art thou? and what person art thou? than whom, in the world of the living, any damsel more elegant, and of more beautiful body than thine, was never seen by me'.

23 To him replied she who was his own religion and his own deeds, 24 thus: 'I am thy actions, O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion. 25 It is on account of thy will and actions, that I am as great and good and sweet-scented and triumphant and undistressed as appears to thee. 26 For in the world, the Gāthas were chanted by thee, and the good water was consecrated by thee, and the fire tended by thee; 27 and the pious man who came from far, and who was from near, was honored by thee. 28 Though I have been stout, I am made stouter through thee; 29 and though I have been virtuous, I am made more virtuous through thee; 30 and though I have been worthy, I am made more worthy through thee; 31 and though I have been seated on a resplendent throne, I am seated more resplendently through thee; 32 and though I have been exalted, I am made more exalted through thee; 33 through these good thoughts and good words and good deeds which thou practisedst. 34 They honored thee, and the pious man after thee, 35 in that long worship and communion with Aûharmazd, when thou performedst, for Aûharmazd, worship and proper conversation for a long time. 36 Peace be from it'.

Chapter V.

1 Afterwards, the width of that Chinvat bridge became again nine javelin-lengths. 2 With the assistance of Srôsh the pious, and

¹ This appears to be the simplest way of reconciling this explanatory phrase with the preceding epithet; but the whole sentence is somewhat obscure.

Âtarô the angel, I passed over easily, happily, courageously and triumphantly, on the Chinvat bridge. 3 *I had* much protection from Mitrô the angel, and Rashn the just, and Vâi the good¹, and the angel Vâhrâm the powerful, and the angel Ashtâd the world-increasing, and the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; 4 and the guardian angels² (*fravashis*) of the pious, and the remaining spirits first bowed to me, Ardâ Virâf. 5 I also saw, I Ardâ Virâf, Rashn the just, who held, in his hand, the yellow golden balance, and weighed the pious and the wicked.

6 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold of my hand, 7 and said thus: 'Come on, so that we may show 'unto thee heaven and hell; and the splendor and glory and ease and 'comfort and pleasure and joy and delight and gladness and fragrance 'which are the reward of the pious in heaven. 8 We shall show thee 'the darkness and confinement and ingloriousness and 'misfortune and 'distress and evil and pain and sickness and dreadfulness and fearful- 'ness and hurtfulness and stench in the punishments of hell, of various 'kinds, which the demons and sorcerers and sinners perform. 9 We 'shall show thee the place of the true and that of the false. 10 We 'shall show thee the reward of the firm believers in Aûharmazd and 'the archangels, and the good which is in heaven, and the evil which 'is in hell; 11 and the reality of God and the archangels, and the non- 'reality of Akharman and the demons; and the existence of the resur- 'rection of the dead and the future body. 12 We shall show thee the 'reward of the pious, from Aûharmazd and the archangels, in the midst 'of heaven. 13 We shall show thee the torment and punishment of 'various kinds, which are for the wicked, in the midst of hell, from 'Akharman and the molestations of the demons'.

¹ That is, the Yazad Râm, 'the good flyer'; see Mkh. Glos. p. 203—204.

² More correctly 'spiritual representatives'. Every creature and object created by Aûharmazd, is supposed to possess a spiritual representative in the other world see Mkh, XLIX. 23.

Chapter VI.

1 I came to a place, 2 and I saw the souls of several people, who remain in the same position. 3 And I asked the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Who are they? and why remain they here?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'They call this place, Hamêstagân (*the ever-stationary*); 6 and these souls remain in this place till the future body ¹; 7 and *they are* the souls of those men whose good works and sin were equal. 8 Speak out to the worlds thus: 'Let not avarice and vexation prevent you from doing a very easy good work ²; 9 for everyone whose good works are three "Srôshô-charanâm ³ more than his sin, *goes* to heaven; 10 *they* whose sin is more, *go* to hell; 11 *they* in whom both are equal, remain among these Hamêstagân till the future body'. 12 Their punishment is cold, or heat, from the revolution of the atmosphere; and they have 'no other adversity'.

Chapter VII.

1 And afterwards, I put forth the first footstep to the star track, on Hûmat, the place where good thoughts (*hûmat*) are *received* with hospitality. 2 And I saw those souls of the pious whose radiance, which ever increased, was glittering as the stars; 3 and their throne and seat were under the radiance ⁴, and splendid and full of glory.

¹ That is, 'the resurrection'.

² Literally: 'Consider not the easier good works with avarice and as vexation'.

³ This is evidently the name of some very small weight, the value of which is no longer known. It is apparently identical with the *sraoshô-charanaya* which is so frequently mentioned in the Vendidad, in connection with numerals, when a *fine* is awarded.

⁴ Or 'were very brilliant'.

4 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and which people are these?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This place 'is the star track; and those are the souls 7 who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gâthas, and contracted no next-of-kin mar- 'riage; 8 they have also exercised no sovereignty, nor rulership nor 'chieftainship. 9 Through other good works they have become pious'.

Chapter VIII.

1 When I put forth the second footstep, *it was* to Hûkht of the moon track, the place where good words (*hûkht*) *find* hospitality; 2 and I saw a great assembly of the pious.

3 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and who are those souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This place 'is the moon track; and these are those souls who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gâthas, and contracted no next-of-kin 'marriage; 6 but through other good works they have come hither; '7 and their brightness is like unto the brightness of the moon'.

Chapter IX.

1 When I put forth the third footstep on Hûvarsht, there where good deeds (*hûvarsht*) are *received* with hospitality, there I arrived. 2 *There* is the radiance which they call the highest of the highest; 3 and I saw the pious on thrones and carpets made of gold; 4 and they were people whose brightness was like unto the brightness of the sun.

5 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and who are those souls?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'sun track; and those are the souls 8 who, in the world, exercised 'good sovereignty and rulership and chieftainship'.

Chapter X.

1 I put forth the fourth footstep unto the radiance of Garôdmân, the all-glorious; 2 and the souls of the departed came to meet us, and they asked a blessing, and offered praise, 3 and they spoke thus: 'How hast thou come forth, O pious one? 4 From that perishable and very 'evil world, thou hast come unto this imperishable, unmolested world 5 *Therefore* taste immortality¹, for here you see pleasure eternally'.

6 And after that, Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, came forward, saluted me, 7 and said thus: 'A fine supplier art thou, Arđâ 'Vîrâf, of green wood, who art the messenger of the Mazdayasnians!'

8 Then I saluted, and said 9 thus: 'Thy servant, O Âtarô the 'angel, *it was* who, in the world, always put upon thee wood and perfume seven years old, 10 and you exclaim about my green wood!' ²

11 Then Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, said 12 thus: 'Come on, that I may show thee the tank of water of the green wood 'which was put upon me'.

13 And he led me on to a place, and showed the blue water of a large tank, 14 and said: 'This is the water which that wood exuded, 'which thou puttdest upon me'.

Chapter XI.

1 Afterwards, arose Vohûman, the archangel, from a throne made

¹ Destur Hoshangji considers this as referring to the *zaremayâ raoghna* (Hâdókht Nask II. 38; the *maidyôzarm raogan* of Mkh. II. 152), otherwise called *mînô rôghan*, a gobletful of which is said to be given, by the archangel Vohûman, to the soul of a pious person before it enters paradise. By drinking it, the soul is supposed to become oblivious of all worldly cares and concerns, and is thus prepared for eternal happiness.

² The text of this conversation may be corrupt in some places, but it is hazardous to attempt emendations. The translation gives the most plausible meaning which can be extracted from the original, with the minimum of alteration.

*Then
water was
objected
to fire.*

of gold ¹, 2 and he took hold of my hand; with *the words* 'good thought' and 'good word' and 'good deed', he brought me into the midst of Aûharmazd and the archangels and other holy ones, 3 and the guardian angels of Zaratûsht Spîâtâma, Kaî-Vishtâsp, Jâmâsp ², Isadvâstar *the son* of Zaratûsht, and other upholders and leaders of the religion, 4 than whom I have never seen *anyone* more brilliant and excellent.

5 And Vohûman ³ said 6 thus: 'This is Aûharmazd'. 7 And I wished to offer worship before him.

8 And he said to me thus: 'Salutation to thee, Ardâ Vîrâf, thou art welcome; 9 from that perishable world, thou hast come to this 'pure, bright place'. 10 And he ordered Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, 11 thus: 'Take Ardâ Vîrâf, and show him the place and reward 'of the pious, 12 and also the punishment of the wicked'.

13 Then Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand; 14 and I was led by them from place to place. 15 I also saw the archangels, and I beheld the other angels; 16 I also saw the guardian angels of Gayômart, Zaratûsht, Kaî-Vishtâsp, Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and other well-doers and leaders of the religion.

Chapter XII.

1 I also came to a place, and saw 2 the souls of the liberal, who walked adorned, 3 and were above the other souls, in all splendor; 4 and Aûharmazd ever exalts the souls of the liberal, who are brilliant and elevated and mighty. 5 And I said thus: 'Happy art thou who

¹ Compare Vend. XIX. 31: *ushishtad Vohu-manô hacha gâtvo zaranyô-keretô*. [Dest.]

² In the Jâmâsp-nâmah, Jâmâsp is said to have been the mobad of mobads, or chief highpriest, who succeeded Zaratûsht in the time of king Vishtâsp. In the Avesta, his name is generally mentioned with that of Frashôshtar (see Yasna 12, 7. 46, 16-17. 49, 8-9. 51, 17-18. Yasht 13, 103.), as it is also in sentence 16 of the text; and they are supposed to have been brothers.

³ There is probably some omission here; see the note in the Pahlavî text.

'art a soul of the liberal, that are thus above the other souls'. 6 And it seemed to me sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of those who, in the world, chanted the Gāthas and used the prescribed prayers (*yeshts*), 8 and were steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, which Aûharmazd taught to Zarātûst; 9 when I advanced, *they were*¹ in gold-embroidered and silver-embroidered clothes, the most embellished of all clothing. 10 And it seemed to me very² sublime.

11 I also saw a soul of those who contract next-of-kin marriages³, in material-fashioned splendor, 12 when the lofty splendor of its residence ever increased thereby⁴. 13 And it seemed to me sublime.

¹ This appears to be the meaning intended, when this sentence is compared with 12 and 16. Arđā Virāf can hardly be describing his own dress here, as he confines his descriptions, elsewhere, to the state of the souls he sees. If there be no omission in the text, it is possible that *hōmand* should be read for *hōmanam*, and the translation would then be: 'when they advanced to me'.

² Or 'more'.

³ The ideas of the modern Parsis, with regard to *khvâstvâdatha* or next-of-kin marriage, may be gathered from the following translation of a note appended to a Persian version of Akharman's advice to Aêshma about the Gahanbârs, Myazd and Khvêtûdat, in the MS. H₅: 'Therefore, it is necessary to know that the greater *khvêtûdat* is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; the medium *khvêtûdat* is that of a brother's son with a brother's daughter, or of a sister's son with a sister's daughter; and inferior to the medium *khvêtûdat* is that of a sister's son and a brother's daughter. It is also necessary to know that any one who performs *khvêtûdat*, if his soul be fit for hell, will go among the *hamêstagân*; and if he is one of the *hamêstagân*, he will go to heaven'. An older treatise on *khvêtûdat*, which occupies seven folio pages in the *Din-kard*, appears not to mention first cousins, but confines itself to the three nearest relations (mother, sister and daughter), and defends the practice on the grounds of mythological history and general expediency.

⁴ The original text is so obscure that it is hazardous to be more explicit in the translation; *azash*, or *afash*, may refer to the soul itself, or its good deeds, or its splendor.

*He had
married
his seven
sisters
himself*

14 I also saw the souls of good rulers and monarchs, 15 who ever increased their greatness, goodness, power and triumph thereby ¹, 16 when they walk in splendor, in their golden trowsers ². 17 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the souls of the great and of truthful speakers, who walked in lofty splendor with great glory. 19 And it seemed to me sublime.

Chapter XIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those women of excellent thoughts, of excellent words, of excellent deeds, and submissive to control, who consider their husbands as lords, 2 in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, and set with jewels. 3 And I asked thus: 'Which souls 'are those?'

4 And Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These 'are the souls of those women who, in the world, have honored water, 'and honored fire, and honored earth and trees, cattle and sheep, and 'all the other good creations of Aûharmazd. 6 And they performed 'the Yazishn and Drôn *ceremonies*, and the praise and service of God; '7 and they performed the rites and praises of the angels of the heav- 'only *existences*, and the angels of the earthly *existences*; 8 and they 'practised acquiescence and conformity, reverence and obedience to 'their husbands and lords; 9 and they were without doubts on the 'religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 They were diligent in the doing of

¹ This sentence is also obscure, but *azash* appears to refer to the walking.

² The reading adopted in the Pahlavi text is *rânô-varđînô*, which is equivalent to *rân-girdîn* in Persian, and may be compared with *gird-rân* and *rânîn*; another probable reading is *rukho va varđînô*, which may be translated: 'coronets and crowns'; *rukho* and *girzîn* (*garzan*, or *karzan*) being both terms for Persian crowns; *gardân* and *karjawân* are also somewhat similar terms; and as *varđînô* can be read *vartîrô*, it might perhaps be likewise compared with *kartîr*, the term for 'crown' in the Sasanian inscription of Naksh-i Râjab.

‘good works, 11 and they have been abstainers from sin’. 12 And it seemed to me sublime.

Chapter XIV.

1 I also saw the souls of performers of the Yazishn *ceremony*, and of those who know the scriptures by heart, splendid among the lofty, and exalted among the great¹. 2 And it seemed to me sublime.

3 I also saw the souls of those who solemnized the whole *ritual of the religion*, and performed and directed the worship of God, 4 who were seated above the other souls; 5 and their good works stood as high as heaven². 6 And it seemed to me very sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of warriors, whose walk was in the supremest pleasure and joyfulness, and together with that of kings; 8 and the well-made arms and equipments of those heroes, were made of gold, studded with jewels, well-ornamented and all embroidered; 9 *and they were in wonderful trowsers*³, with much pomp and power and triumph. 10 And it seemed to me sublime.

11 I also saw the souls of those who killed many noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) in the world; 12 and the prosperity⁴ of the waters and sacred fires, and fires *in general*, and trees, and the prosperity also of the earth was ever increased thereby; and they were exalted and adorned⁵. 13 And it seemed to me very sublime.

14 I also saw the souls of agriculturists, in a splendid place, and

¹ Literally: ‘splendid in what is lofty, and exalted in what is great’.

² Literally: ‘stood sky-high’.

³ Or ‘greaves’; but more probably ‘coronets and crowns’, see note to XII. 16. It will be observed that the sentences 7—9 are more closely connected in Pahlavi than in this translation.

⁴ It must be recollected that the Huz. *gadman* means both *bakht* and *khûrah* in Pazand, and the former, which appears to be its original meaning, is here the better suited to the context.

⁵ Literally: ‘they were in exaltation and adornment’.

glorious and thick majestic clothing; 15 as they stood, and offered praise, before the spirits of water and earth, trees and cattle; 16 and they utter thanksgiving and praise and benediction; 17 their throne also is great, and the place they occupy is good. 18 And it seemed to me sublime.

19 I also saw the souls of artizans who, in the world, served their rulers and chieftains; 20 as they sat on thrones which were well-carpeted and great, splendid and embellished. 21 And it seemed to me very sublime.

Chapter XV.

1 I also saw the souls of shepherds, by whom, in the world, quadrupeds and sheep were employed and fed, 2 and preserved from the wolf and thief and tyrannical man. 3 And at appointed times¹, water and grass and food were given; 4 and they were preserved from severe cold and heat; 5 and the males were allowed *access* at the usual time, and properly restrained *when inopportune*; 6 whereby very great advantage, profit and benefit, food and clothing were afforded to the men of that time. 7 Which *souls* walked among those who are brilliant, on a beautiful eminence², in great pleasure and joy. 8 And it seemed to me very sublime.

9 I also saw many golden thrones, fine carpets and cushions decked with rich cloth³, 10 on which are seated the souls of householders and justices, who were heads of village families, and exercised mediation and authority, 11 and made a desolate place prosperous; 12 they also brought many conduits, streams and fountains for the improvement of tillage and cultivation, and the advantage of creatures. 13 And as they stand before those who are the guardian angels of water, and of trees, and also of the pious, in great power and triumph, 14 they offer them

¹ Or 'when the time arrived'.

² As *bar* has many other meanings, this phrase is doubtful.

³ Pers. *bûb* = *yûb*.

blessings and praise, and repeat thanksgivings. 15 And it seemed to me very sublime.

16 I also saw the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, in the greatest gladness on a splendid throne. 17 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the friendly souls of interceders and peace-seekers, 19 who ever increased thereby their brilliance, which was like the stars and moon and sun; 20 and they ever walked agreeably in the light of the atmosphere.

21 I also saw the pre-eminent world of the pious, which is the all-glorious light of space, much perfumed with sweet basil (*ocymum*), all-bedecked, all-admired, and splendid, full of glory and every joy and every pleasure, 22 with which no one is satiated ¹.

Chapter XVI.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand, and I went thence onwards. 2 I came to a place, and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful hell; 3 on which river were many souls and guardian angels; 4 and some of them were not able to cross, and some crossed only ² with great difficulty, and some crossed easily.

5 And I asked thus: 'What river is this? and who are these people 'who stand so distressed?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This river 'is the many tears which men shed from the eyes ³, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. 8 They shed those tears

¹ Literally: 'which no one knows satiety from'.

² Literally: 'and there are who ever crossed'.

³ Most probably, *chashm* has been accidentally admitted into the text, from the margin of some old MS., being merely the Pâz. equivalent of the preceding Huz. *ainman*; unless it be corrupted from *chashmak*, when the phrase might be translated: 'from the fountain of the eyes'.

‘unlawfully, and they swell to this river. 9 Those who are not able to cross over, are those for whom, after their departure, much lamentation and weeping were made; 10 and those *who cross* more easily, are those for whom less was made. 11 Speak forth to the world¹ thus: ‘When you are in the world, make no lamentation and weeping unlawfully; 12 for so much harm and difficulty may happen to the “souls of your departed”’.

Chapter XVII.

1 I came back again to the Chinvat bridge. 2 And I saw a soul of those who were wicked, when in those first three nights, so much mischief and evil were shown to their souls, as never such distress was seen by them in the world. 3 And I inquired of Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: ‘Whose soul is this?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This soul of the wicked wandered there where the wicked one died, over the place where the life went forth; 6 it stood at his head, and uttered the Gâtha words 7 thus: ‘Creator Aûharmazd! to which land do I go? “and what do I take² as a refuge?’ 8 And as much misfortune and difficulty happen to him, that night, 9 as in the world, unto a man who lived in the world, and lived in difficulty and misfortune’.

10 Afterwards³, a stinking cold wind comes to meet him. 11 So it seemed to that soul as if it came forth from the northern quarter,

¹ In Pahlavî, the plural is here used, to express ‘the inhabitants of the world’.

² Or it can be read *vâdûnam*, ‘I make’, as indicated in K₂₀ and adopted in Mkh. II. 159. In the Hâdôkht Nask III. 4., this quotation from Yas. XLVI. 1. is differently translated. The translation which is given here, is nearly the same as that which I proposed in my work on the Gâthas II. pag. 46, without knowing the book of Ardâ Virâf.

³ It is not very clear whether the remaining incidents in this chapter are represented as actually seen by Ardâ Virâf, or as merely described by Srôsh, but the former seems the more likely.

from the quarter of the demons ¹; a more stinking wind than which, he had not perceived in the world. 12 And in that wind, he saw his own religion and deeds, as a profligate woman ²; naked, decayed, gaping ³, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted ⁴, so that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous ⁵ noxious creature (*khrafstar*), most filthy and most stinking.

13 Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou? thou whom I never saw anyone of the creatures of Aūharmazd and Akharman uglier, or filthier, or more stinking?'

14 To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion. 15 It is on account of thy will and actions, that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as appears to thee. 16 When thou sawest anyone who performed the Yazishn and Drōn *ceremonies*, and praise and prayer and the service of God; 17 and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and trees, and other good creations; 18 thou practisedst the will of Akharman and the demons, and improper actions. 19 And when thou sawest one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who came from far, and who were from near; 20 thou wast avaricious, and shuttedst up thy door. 21 And though I have been unholy, (that is, I have been considered bad), I am made more unholy through thee; 22 and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through

¹ The north is supposed to be the special residence of Akharman and the demons, see Vend. XIX. 1.; and hell is also referred to the same region in Mkh. XLIX. 15—17.

² This description, which is no longer extant in the Hādōkht Nask, closely resembles that of the *druksh yā nasush* in Vend. VII. 2. VIII. 71. IX. 26.

³ The reading of this epithet is doubtful, and consequently, its meaning is uncertain.

⁴ Or perhaps: 'scaled'.

⁵ Literally: 'sin-accustomed', 'sinful' or 'criminal'.

'thee; 23 though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous 'through thee; 24 though I am settled in the northern region *of the* 'demons, I am settled further north through thee; 25 through these 'evil thoughts, and through these evil words, and through these evil 'deeds, which thou practisedst. 26 They curse me, a long time, in the 'long execration and evil communion of the Evil spirit' ¹.

27 Afterwards, that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dûsh-hûmat (*the place of evil thoughts*) ², and the second footstep on Dûsh-hûkht (*the place of evil words*) ³, and the third on Dûsh-hûvarsht (*the place of evil deeds*) ⁴; and *with* the fourth footstep, he ran to hell.

Chapter XVIII.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand, 2 so that I went on unhurt. 3 In that manner, I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, 4 to such a degree as I never saw, nor heard of, in the world. 5 And when I went further, 6 I also saw the greedy jaws of hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; 7 in darkness so gloomy, that it is necessary to hold by the hand; 8 and in such stench that everyone whose nose inhales that air ⁵, will struggle and stagger and fall; 9 and on account of such close confinement, no one's existence ⁶ is possible; 10 and everyone thinks thus: 'I am alone'; 11 and when three days and nights have *clapsed*, he says thus: 'The nine thousand years ⁷ are

¹ Compare IV. 34—35.

² Compare VII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil thoughts'.

³ Compare VIII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil words'.

⁴ Compare IX. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil deeds'.

⁵ Literally: 'everyone into whose nose that air ascends'; compare Mkh. VII. 30—31.

⁶ More correctly: 'stay', 'endurance', or 'continuance'.

⁷ At the end of which, the opposition of Akharman is to cease, and the resurrection to take place.

‘completed, and they will not release me!’ 12 Everywhere, even the lesser noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) are as high as mountains ¹, 13 and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked, as would be unworthy of a dog ². 14 And I easily passed in there, with Srôsh the pious, the well-grown and triumphant, and Âtarô the angel.

Chapter XIX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a man, 2 through the fundament of which soul, as it were a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; 3 and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.

4 And I inquired of Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, 5 thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body ³, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?’

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed sođômy, 8 and allowed a man *to come* on his body; 9 now the soul suffers so severe a punishment’.

Chapter XX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a woman, 2 to whom they ever gave to eat cup after cup of the impurity and filth of men.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This is the

¹ Literally: ‘stand up mountain high’.

² Or ‘as a dog a bone’, according to Mkh. VII. 29.

³ Or ‘by the body of this one’, which would represent the Pahlavi of this frequent phrase equally well, and be more correct in language; but being clumsy, and the souls being described as possessing bodies of their own, it is not adopted in the translation.

‘soul of that wicked woman who, having not abstained, nor lawfully withheld *herself*, approached water and fire during her menstruation’.

Chapter XXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 the skin of whose head they ever widen out ¹, and with a cruel death they ever kill him.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, ‘whose soul suffers such a punishment?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked man who, in the world, slew a pious man’.

Chapter XXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 into whose jaws they ever pour the impurity and menstrual discharge of women, 3 and he ever cooked and ate his own seemly child.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, ‘whose soul suffers such a punishment?’

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked man who, in the world, had intercourse with a ‘menstruous woman; 7 and every single time, it is a sin of fifteen and ‘a half Tanâpûhars’ ².

¹ That is, they ever flay his head.

² According to the Pahlavî Rivâyat, the penalty for a *tanâpûhar* is 300 *stîrs* of 4 *dirams* each, in weight. The value of the *diram* is uncertain; but according to a passage in the Persian MS. II₅, on the five kinds of marriage, the proper dowry for a first-class wife is ‘2000 *dirams* of silver, that is, 2300 *râpîs*, and 2 *dirams* of gold, that is, 2¼ *tolas*’; the *râpî* is now a *tola* weight of silver, but when this MS. was written, 150 years ago, neither denomination was very definite; however, this passage fixes the penalty for a *tanâpûhar* between 1350 and 1380 *râpîs*; and consequently, the sin described in the text, would cost about 2000 pounds sterling, if the penalty were exacted only in silver.

Chapter XXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, because of hunger and thirst, ever cried thus: 'I shall die'. 3 And he ever tore out his hair and beard, and devoured blood, and east foam about with his mouth.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, devoured talkatively¹, and 'consumed unlawfully, the water and vegetables of Horvadađ and 'Amerôdađ, and muttered no grace; 7 and through sinfulness, he celebrated no Yesht; 8 such was his contempt of the water of Horvadađ, 'and the vegetation of Amerôdađ. 9 Now this soul must suffer so severe a punishment'.

Chapter XXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who was suspended, by the breasts, to hell; 3 and its noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) seized her whole body.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, left her own husband, '7 and gave herself to other men, and committed adultery'.

Chapter XXV.

1 I also saw the souls of several men, and several women, 2 whose legs and necks and middle parts a noxious creature (*khrafstar*) ever gnawed, and separated one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer such a punishment?'

¹ The Parsis are not permitted to talk when eating.

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked ones who, in the world, walked without 'shoes¹, 6 ran about uncovered², made water on foot³, and performed 'other demon-service'.

Chapter XXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever stretched out her tongue on her neck, and she was suspended from the atmosphere.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, scorned her husband and 'master, and cursed, abused and defied him'⁴.

Chapter XXVII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they ever forced to measure dust and ashes, with a bushel and gallon⁵, and they ever gave it him to eat.

¹ Literally: 'performed walking with one shoe'; in all places where this sin is mentioned, its name refers to only one shoe; but the Pahlavi characters for *khadû-mûk*, 'one-shoe' could have been easily corrupted from those for *avi-mûk*, 'without shoes'; and it seems more probable that 'walking without shoes' should be prohibited, than the inconvenient practice of 'walking with one shoe'. [Dest.]

² That is, without *sadrah* and *kûsti*, shirt and sacred thread. [Dest.]

³ That is, whilst standing, whereby more than a *frabda* measure of the ground is polluted. [Dest.] See Vend. XVIII. 40; *frabda* is the fore-part of the foot, Sans. *prapada*; perhaps the instep. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wen-didâd, pag. 12. Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Kgl. baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von 1869.

⁴ Literally: 'offered abuse and made justificatory replies'.

⁵ Or 'bucket', 'goblet', or perhaps 'scale-pan'; if *dûlak* be a measure, its amount can only be guessed; but the *kafiz* is defined as 'a measure containing 64 pounds weight', which corresponds very closely with a bushel. The present tense is used in the Pahlavi of this sentence and some others, as it might be in English.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept no true bushel, nor gallon, nor weight, nor measure of length; 6 he mixed water with wine, and put dust into grain, and sold them to the people at a high price; 7 and stole and extorted something from the good'.

Chapter XXVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man who was held in the atmosphere ¹, 2 and fifty demons ever flogged him, before and behind, with darting ² serpents.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, was a bad ruler ³, 6 and was unmerciful and destructive ⁴ among men, and caused torment and punishment of various ⁵ kinds'.

Chapter XXIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man ² whose tongue hung on the outside of his jaw, and was ever gnawed by noxious creatures (*khrafstars*).

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

¹ Literally: 'whom the atmosphere held'.

² Compare Vend. XVIII. 65.; Z. *khshvaêwô*, Tir Yasht 6 and 37.; Pers. شپ, Sans. *kshap*, *kship*; all these imply motion, otherwise 'stinging, sharp' would suit the context both here and in the other passages, L. 3 and LII. 2, where *shapâk* occurs. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wendidâd, pag. 48.

³ Literally: 'performed misgovernment'.

⁴ Or 'a destroyer'.

⁵ Literally: 'such'.

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that man who, in the world, committed slander, and embroiled 'people one with the other; 6 and his soul, in the end, fled to hell'.

Chapter XXX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose limbs they ever break and separate, one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who made unlawfully much slaughter of cattle 'and sheep and other quadrupeds' 1.

Chapter XXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, from head to foot, remained stretched 2 upon a rack; 3 and a thousand demons trampled upon him, and ever smote him with great brutality and violence.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, collected much wealth; '7 and he consumed it not himself, and neither gave it, nor allowed a 'share, to the good; but kept it in store' 3.

1 Though the Parsis, nowadays, do not use beef, owing probably to an understanding with the Hindu governments of former times, its 'lawful' use is evidently contemplated in this chapter, and put upon the same footing as that of mutton. It is only the immoderate, or unnecessary, slaughter of domestic animals, which is here reprobated as a sin. [Dest.]

2 Literally: 'placed'.

3 The moral seems to be that the proper use of wealth is first, for our own reasonable gratification, and next, in works of charity. The Parsis are enjoined by their religion to be liberal towards the good and worthy and helpless. [Dest.]

Chapter XXXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a lazy man, whom they called Davânôs ¹,
2 whose whole body a noxious creature (*khrafstar*) ever gnawed, and
his right foot was not gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the
'soul of the lazy Davânôs who, *when* he was in the world, never did
'any good work; 6 but with this right foot, a bundle of grass was cast
'before a ploughing ox'.

Chapter XXXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man ² whose tongue a worm ever
gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the

¹ Destur Hoshangji suggests that this may be the name of some Greek, noted for his laziness, or neglect of duty; and no doubt, such a name as *Λαρός* might be proposed; but it should be recollected that the name is very indeterminate, as the Pahlavî characters with which it is written, admit of 648 different readings, theoretically; moreover, neglect of good works is a sin more likely to be attributed to a co-religionist than to an infidel.

This tale of Davânôs, or Danâvôs, may be traced to the thirteenth, or Spend. Nask, as appears from the following passage from the Pahlavî Rivâyat: *chîgûn yîn Spend, madam gabrâ-I, val Zaratûhasht namûd, aigh hamâk hanâm yîn anâkîh yehevûnd, va ragelman âê birûno yehevûnd. Zaratûhasht, madam zak babâ, min Aûharmazd pûrsîd. Aûharmazd gûft aigh: Zak gabrâ âê, Davânas shem, madam XXXIII matâ pâdakhshah yehevûnd; afash akaraz hîch kîrfak lâ var-zîd, barâ hangâm-I, amatash pavan zak ragelman-I, vavâstar (?) frâz gôspend yedrûnd. 'As in the Spend nask, it was shown to Zaratûsht, regarding a certain man, that all his limbs were in torment, and one foot was exempt. Zaratûsht asked Aûharmazd the reason of it. Aûharmazd said thus: That man, named Davânas, was ruler over thirty-three countries; and he never practised any good work, but once, when he conveyed fodder (?) to a sheep with that foot.*

‘soul of that wicked man who, in the world, spoke many lies and falsehoods; 6 and, thereby, much harm and injury were *diffused* among *‘all* creatures’.

Chapter XXXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 whose whole body the noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, dressed her hair-curls ‘and hair ¹ over the fire; 6 and threw hairs *from the head* and scurf ² ‘and hair of the body upon the fire; 7 and introduced fire under the ‘body ³, and held herself on the fire’.

Chapter XXXV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever chewed with her teeth, and ever ate, her own dead refuse.

3 And I asked thus: ‘Whose soul is this?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, sorcery was ‘practised’.

Chapter XXXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who stood up, in hell, in the form ⁴ of a serpent like a column; 3 and his head was like unto a human head, and the remaining body, unto a serpent.

¹ The reading of the Pahlavî text is rather uncertain.

² Or ‘vermin’.

³ Nowadays the Parsis do not consider it wrong to heat, or foment, the body and limbs over the fire. [Dest.] This passage may, however, refer to scorching hairs off the body, or even to burning the body itself.

⁴ Or ‘manner’.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed apostacy; 7 and 'he fled into hell, *in* the form of a serpent'.

Chapter XXXVII.

1 I also saw the souls of several men and several women 2 who were suspended, head downwards, in hell; 3 and snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever gnawed all their bodies.

4 And I asked thus: 'Of which people are these souls?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those people, by whom, in the world, water and fire were 'not cared for, 7 and corruption was brought to water and fire, and 'fire was extinguished intentionally' ¹.

Chapter XXXVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they ever gave to eat, the flesh and dead refuse of mankind, with blood and filth, and other corruption and stench.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, brought bodily refuse and 'dead matter to water and fire and his own body and those also of 'other men; 6 and he was always carrying *the dead* alone ², and *was* 'polluted; 7 he also did not wash *himself* in *this* occupation'.

¹ Or perhaps, 'by looking' at it, with the evil eye.

² The term *khadûk-bar* is also technically extended to all who neglect *sag-did*, or *paivand*, or any other observance, or abstinence, appointed with regard to the dead. It is the *iristô-kasha* of Vend. III. 15, or one who carries the dead in an unlawful manner; which must be carefully distinguished from the *nasu-kasha* of Vend. VIII. 11—13, Pahl. *nasâ-sâlâr*, who carries the dead with all the prescribed observances and precautions. [Dest.]

Chapter XXXIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever ate the skin and flesh of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is 'the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the wages 'of laborers, and the shares of partners; 6 and now the soul must suffer 'severe punishment'.

Chapter XL.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever carried a mountain on his back; 3 and in snow and cold, he had that mountain upon *his* back.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, by whom, in the world, falsehood and irreverence and depreciating words were much spoken about people; '7 and now his soul ever suffers the punishment of such severe frost'.

Chapter XLI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they gave excrement and dead refuse [and corruption to eat; 3 and the demons ever beat *him* with stones and axes.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who was at the warm baths which many 'have frequented, 7 and he carried their bodily refuse and dead matter 'to water and fire and earth; 8 and the pious went in, and came out 'wicked' ¹.

¹ That is, 'contaminated' by the impurity of the place. The *darvand*, 'wicked', is the infidel who does not keep the Zoroastrian law.

Chapter XLII.

1 I also saw the souls of several people 2 whom they cause to weep; and they ever make piteous cries.

3 And I asked thus: 'Which people are these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those who had a father in their mother'¹; 6 and when they 'were born, the father did not acknowledge *them*; 7 and now they 'ever make lamentation for a father'.

Chapter XLIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 at whose feet several children fell, and ever screamed; 3 and demons, just like dogs, ever fell upon and tore *him*.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, did not acknowledge his 'own children'.

Chapter XLIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever dug into a hill with her own breasts; 3 and ever held, on her head, a mill-stone like a cap.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the

¹ This sentence and the next can be translated in various ways, but all seem to imply that this chapter treats of illegitimate children, though it is not very clear why their misfortune should doom them to hell, unless we read: 'the father was not acknowledged *by them*', in the next sentence.

'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, destroyed her own infant, and threw away the corpse'.

Chapter XLV.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 all whose limbs were ever gnawed by a worm.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed perjury; 6 and 'he extorted wealth from the good, and gave it to the bad'.

Chapter XLVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who holds human skulls in his hands, and ever eats the brains ¹.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man whose wealth, in the world, was not *acquired* 'by honesty, but was stolen from the property of others; 6 and it 'was left by him among his own enemies, 7 and only he himself must 'be in hell'.

Chapter XLVII.

1 I also saw many people 2 whose heads and beards were shaved, and complexion yellow, and the whole body rotten, and noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever crept *upon them*.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who and which are these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those people who, in the world, have been apostates and

¹ Compare Mkh. II. 48—49: 'since it is said, that: Whoever eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, he is such-like as one who holds in hand men's heads and eats men's brains'.

‘deceivers; 6 and men were ever ruined by them, and led away from the law of virtue to the law of evil; 7 and many religions and improper creeds were made current in the world’.

Chapter XLVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. 3 That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; 4 but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly and thighs of the man.

5 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?’

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them’.

Chapter XLIX.

1 I also saw the souls of several men 2 who ever devoured the excrement and bodily refuse and dead matter and corruption of mankind; 3 and the demons dug up stones, and ever threw them from behind, 4 till a mountain of them was carried on their backs, and they were not able to support it.

5 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?’

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: ‘These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, land was measured¹, and measured false; 8 and many people were rendered unsettled² and unproductive, so that they came to want and poverty; 9 and it was ever necessary to contribute heavy taxes’.

Chapter L.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever dug into a hill with

¹ Literally: ‘weighed’.

² Or ‘unsupported’.

his fingers and nails; 3 and demons ever beat and [frightened him, from behind, with darting ¹ serpents.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, removed the boundary-stones of others, and took them as his own'.

Chapter LI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who was ever given to eat of the flesh which was ever dragged from his body with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, made false covenants 'with men'.

Chapter LII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 to whom they ever applied pricking ² spurs and arrows and stones and axes.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is 'the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed many 'breaches of promise, 6 and broke promises with the pious and with 'the wicked; 7 for both are promises, alike with the pious, and alike 'with the wicked' ³.

Chapter LIII.

1 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold

¹ See XXVIII. 2.

² See the note to XXVIII. 2.

³ See the Mihir Yasht, 2. It should be remembered that the 'wicked' include all members of other religious communities, as well as the sinful Mazdayasnians.

of my hand; 2 and I was carried on to Chakât-i-Dâitîh, below the Chinvat bridge, into a desert; 3 and was shown hell in the earth of the middle of that desert, below the Chinvat bridge.

4 The groaning and cries of Akharman and the demons and demoneses and many other ¹ souls of the wicked, came so, from that place, 5 that I was frightened, because I considered that they would shake the seven regions of the earth which heard that noise and groaning. 6 And I entreated Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, 7 thus: 'Carry me not here, but turn back'.

8 And then, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said to me 9 thus: 'Fear not! since there is no danger whatever for thee from here'. 10 And in front, went Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel; 11 and in the rear, fearlessly, I, Ardâi Vîrâf, went on further into that gloomy hell

Chapter LIV.

1 And I saw the darkest hell, which is pernicious, dreadful, terrible, very painful, mischievous and foul-smelling. 2 And after further observation, it appeared to me ² 3 as a pit, to the bottom of which, a thousand cubits would not reach; 4 and though all the wood which is in the world, were all put on to the fire in the most stinking and gloomy hell, it would never emit a smell; 5 and again also, *as close* ³ as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, 6 so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, 7 but they see not and hear no sound, one from the other; 8 everyone thinks thus ⁴: 'I am alone'. 9 And for them are the gloom of darkness, and the stench and fearfulness of the torment and punishment of hell, of

¹ That is, besides those already described.

² Literally: 'and after I have reflected, it seemed thus'.

³ Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavî text, as it now stands, but it may perhaps be corrupt.

⁴ Literally: 'considers in this *manner*, that'.

various kinds; 10 so that whoever is only a day in hell, cries out 11 thus: 'Are not those nine thousand years yet completed, when they 'should release us from this hell?'

Chapter LV.

1 Then I saw the souls of the wicked who died, and ever suffer torment and punishment, in that dreadful, dark place of punishment of various kinds, such as driving snow, and severe cold, and the heat of brisk-burning fire, and foul stench, and stone and ashes, hail and rain, and many other evils.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked people, by whom, in the world, mortal sin 'was much committed, 5 and the Bahrâm (*most sacred*) fire was extin- 'guished, and a bridge of a rapid river was demolished; 6 and false- 'hood and irreverence were spoken, and much false evidence was given. '7 And their desire was anarchy; and because of *their*¹ greediness and 'avarice and lust and wrath and envy, the innocent, pious man was 'slain; 8 and they have proceeded very deceitfully. 9 Now the soul 'must suffer such severe torment and punishment'.

Chapter LVI.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents stung and ever gnawed.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are

¹ It is uncertain how many of the nouns which follow, are connected with the postposition *râî*, 'because of'; as some of the earlier ones may be intended to be coupled with the foregoing noun, 'anarchy'.

‘the souls of those wicked who, in the world, have been defrauders ¹
‘of their God and religion’.

Chapter LVII.

1 I also saw the souls of women whose heads were cut off and separated from the body, and the tongue ever kept crying.

2 And I asked thus: ‘Whose souls are those ² of these?’

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said ⁴ thus: ‘These are ‘the souls of those women who, in the world, made much lamentation ‘and weeping ³, and beat the head and face’.

Chapter LVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man ² whom the draggers drag to hell and ever beat.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said ⁵ thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked man who, in the world, often washed his head ‘and face, and dirty hands, and other pollution of his limbs, in large ‘standing waters and fountains and streams, ⁶ and distressed Horvadađ ⁴, ‘the archangel’.

Chapter LIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman ² who ever wept, and ever tore ⁵ and ate the skin and flesh from her own breasts.

¹ This appears to refer to the misappropriation of religious endowments; see also Mkh. XXXVI. 13: ‘who will devour a thing which is received in his custody, and becomes an embezzler’.

² Pointing them out of a number of others.

³ That is, for the dead; outward tokens of mourning being justly considered as a selfish sin.

⁴ The special protector of water.

⁵ Literally: ‘dug’.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who left her own infant crying on account 'of want and hunger'.

Chapter LX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose body remains set into a brazen caldron; and they ever cook it. 3 One foot, which is the right one, remained outside the caldron.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, among the living, lustfully¹ and im-'properly, went much out to married women; 7 and his whole body 'became sinful. 8 But with that right foot, the frog and ant, snake 'and scorpion, and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) were much 'smitten and killed and destroyed'.

Chapter LXI.

1 I also saw the souls of those wicked 2 who swallowed and voided, and again swallowed and voided.

3 And I asked thus: 'What souls are those of these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who, in the world, believed not in the spirit, '6 and they have been unthankful² in the religion of the creator Aûhar-'mazd. 7 They have been doubtful of the happiness which is in heaven, 'and the torment which is in hell, and about the reality of the resur-'rection of the dead and the future body'.

¹ Literally: 'with the lustfulness of the living'; but the construction is doubtful.

² Meaning, probably, that they had not uttered the appointed thanksgivings and invocations.

Chapter LXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever gashed her own bosom and breasts with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, despised her husband 'and master¹, and became and remained vile; 6 being also herself 'untrue to him, she acted improperly with other men'.

Chapter LXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever licked a hot oven with her tongue, 3 and ever burnt her own hand under the oven.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, offered defiance² to her 'own husband and master, and became abusive³; 7 she also acted 'disobediently, and did not grant cohabitation at his desire; 8 and she 'stole property from her husband, and secretly formed a hoard for 'herself'.

Chapter LXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever came and went crying and wailing; 3 upon her head also, ever came pelting hail; 4 and under foot, hot, molten brass ever streamed; 5 and she ever gashes her own head and face, with a knife.

¹ Or 'guardian'.

² More literally: 'made justificatory replies'.

³ Literally: 'dog-tongued', somewhat analogous to 'snarling' and 'snappish'.

6 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, when 'the soul ever suffers so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, undutifully, became pregnant from 'other men, 9 and she effected the destruction of the infant. 10 Because 'of the pain and punishment, she fancies that she hears the cry of that 'infant, and she runs; 11 and such vehemence of running is occasioned, 'as of one who walks upon hot brass; 12 and she ever hears the cry 'of that infant, and gashes her own head and face with a knife, and 'demands the child, 13 but she sees it not till the re-establishment of *'the world*¹; this punishment she must suffer'.

Chapter LXV.

1 I also saw several souls 2 whose chests were plunged in mud and stench, 3 and a sharp sickle ever went among their legs and other limbs; 4 and they ever called for a father and mother.

5 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 6 and what sin was 'committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who, in the world, distressed their father 'and mother; 9 and asked no absolution and forgiveness from their 'father and mother, in the world'.

Chapter LXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whose tongues were put out, and ever gnawed by the jaws of serpents².

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these? 4 and who are those souls?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are

¹ Compare ch. LXXXVII.

² Or perhaps: 'the jaws were ever gnawed by serpents'.

‘the souls of those who, in the world, ever committed slander¹, and ‘embroiled people together’.

Chapter LXVII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who was suspended by one leg in the darkness of hell²; 3 and he had an iron sickle in his hand, and ever gashed his own chest and armpits³, 4 and an iron spike was driven into his eye.

5 And I asked thus: ‘Whose soul is this? and what sin was ‘committed by him?’

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked man, to whom a city was confided for administra- ‘tion; 8 and that which was proper to do and order, was not done and ‘not ordered; 9 and deficient weights and measures of capacity and ‘length, were kept, 10 and he listened to no complaints from the poor ‘and from travellers’⁴.

Chapter LXVIII.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whom they ever drag, the man to heaven and the woman to hell. 3 And the woman’s hand was caught in the knot and sacred thread of the man, 4 and she said thus: ‘How is it when we had every benefit in union, among the ‘living, 5 now they are dragging thee to heaven, and me to hell?’

6 And the man said thus: ‘Because whatever things I received of ‘the good and worthy⁵ and the poor, I also gave *them back*⁶; 7 and ‘I practised good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 8 I also

¹ Literally: ‘acted slanderously’.

² Or ‘the hell of darkness’, as the MSS. stand.

³ Or ‘loins’.

⁴ Literally: ‘caravan people’; generally travelling merchants, foreign traders and travellers; see also ch. LXVIII. and XCIII.

⁵ One Pâz. MS. adds ‘and travellers’, as in sentence 10.

⁶ The meaning of this sentence, in the original text, is not quite certain.

'heeded God, and disregarded the demons; 9 and I have been steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 But thou despisedst 'the good and poor and worthy and travellers; 11 thou also disregardedst 'God, and thou worshippedst idols; 12 and practisedst evil thoughts and 'evil words and evil deeds; 13 and thou hast been steadfast in the religion of Akharman and the demons'.

14 Then the woman said to the man 15 thus: 'Among the living, 'thou thyself wast completely ¹ lord and sovereign over me; 16 and my 'body and life and soul were thine; 17 and the food and income ² and 'clothing which I had, were from thee; 18 then wherefore didst thou 'not chastise and punish me for it? 19 Thou hast not even taught *me*, 'the reason of thy goodness and excellence, 20 whereby thou mightest 'have caused goodness and excellence in me, 21 and so now it would 'not be necessary to suffer this evil'.

22 And afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. 23 And owing to the repentance of that woman, she was in no other affliction, in hell, but darkness and stench. 24 And that man sat in the midst of the pious of heaven, in shame from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping ³.

Chapter LXIX.

1 I also saw the souls of women, 2 into both whose eyes a wooden peg was driven, 3 tied by one leg, head downwards. 4 And many frogs, scorpions, snakes, ants, flies, worms and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) went and came inside their jaws, noses, ears, posteriors and sexual parts.

¹ Literally: 'all thyself was'.

² The Huz. *yāitānishn* may stand either for *āmādishn*, or for *āvarishn*, in Pāzand; its meaning must, therefore, be the same as that of Pers. آمدنی, or آوردنی.

³ The construction of the original text is obscure.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 6 and what sin was committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who had a husband in the world, 9 and slept and granted cohabitation with another man; 10 and the bed of the husband was kept defiled, and his body injured'.

Chapter LXX.

1 I also saw the souls of women whom they threw head downwards; 2 and *something* like a hedgehog, which had iron spines grown from it, was introduced into the body and dropped back; 3 and from it, a finger dropping the semen of the demons and demonesses, which is stench and corruption, ever went into the inside of the jaws and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those souls, who suffer such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, broke promises to their husbands, 7 and they have stayed away from the husband, and been never contented, and granted no cohabitation'.

Chapter LXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom the fangs of serpents stung and ever gnawed; 3 and in both eyes, snakes and worms ever voided; 4 and an iron spike was grown¹ upon the tongue.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man, by whom sodomy was much committed; 8 and through a desire for improper lust, he debauched the wives of others. 9 And his smooth speaking deceived and seduced the wives of others, and separated them from their husbands'.

¹ Or perhaps: 'scraped'.

Chapter LXXII.

1 I also saw the souls of women, by whom their own menstrual discharge was ever devoured.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those women who heeded not their menstruation, 5 and 'injured water and fire and the earth of Spendarnad and Horvadađ and 'Amerôdađ, 6 and looked upon the sky and the sun and the moon, 7 and 'injured cattle and sheep with their menstruation, 8 and kept the pious 'man polluted'.

Chapter LXXIII.

1 I also saw the souls of women 2 who ever shed and sucked and ate the blood and filth of their ten fingers; 3 and worms ever came into both eyes.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 5 and what sin was 'committed by them who suffer so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who beautified their faces, and kept 'the hair of others as ornament; 8 and they captivated the eyes of the 'men of God'¹.

Chapter LXXIV.

1 I also saw the souls of those who remained tied, head downwards, by one leg; 2 and a knife was driven into their hearts.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, beasts, cattle and 'sheep were unlawfully slaughtered and killed'.

¹ This is an uncommon phrase, and the Pâzand MS. II₁₈ has therefore read it 'men of the world'.

Chapter LXXV.

1 I also saw souls who were thrown under the feet of cattle,
2 struck by the horns, and their bellies torn, and bones broken; and
they were groaning.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these people?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are
'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, the mouths of
'beasts and ploughing cattle were muzzled; 6 and water was not given
'to them in the heat; and they were kept at work hungry and thirsty'.

Chapter LXXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of women who ever lacerated their own
breasts with their own hands and teeth; 2 and dogs ever tore and ate
their bellies; 3 and both feet stood on hot brass.

4 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? and what sin wa
'committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are
'the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, prepared food
'during menstruation, 7 and brought it before a pious man, and bade
'him eat. 8 They also ever resorted to sorcery; 9 and they injured
'the earth of Spendarmad and the pious man'.

Chapter LXXVII.

1 Then I saw souls whose backs, hands and legs had wounds,
2 and they were suspended with the posteriors to the face¹; 3 and
heavy stones ever rained on their backs.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those? and what sin was com-
'mitted by them?'

¹ This sentence can also be read: 'head downwards in melted brass'; but the
form *avîtakht*, for 'melted', is unusual.

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who had beasts in the world, 7 and appointed them hard work, and made the burden unlawfully heavy, 8 and gave no sufficiency of food, so they suffered through leanness; 9 and *when* sores ensued, they were not kept back from work, and no remedy was provided. 10 Now they (*the souls*) must suffer such severe punishment'.

Chapter LXXVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever dug an iron hill with her breasts; 3 and an infant cried from that side of the hill, and the cry ever continued; 4 but the infant comes not to the mother, nor the mother to the infant.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, became pregnant, not from her own husband, but from another person; 8 and she said thus: "I have not been pregnant". 9 She also destroyed the infant'.

Chapter LXXIX.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man, 2 both whose eyes were scooped out, and his tongue cut away; 3 and he remained suspended, in hell, by one leg; 4 his body also was ever raked with the two brazen prongs of a fork; 5 and an iron spike was driven into his head ¹.

6 And I asked thus: 'What man is this? and what sin was committed by him?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man whose justice, in the world, was false; 9 and he took bribes, and made false decisions'.

¹ Or 'his heart', as the Pahlavî word can be read either *sar*, or *dil*.

Chapter LXXX.

1 Then I saw the souls of several who remained suspended, head downwards, in hell; 2 and they force the blood, filth and brains of men into their mouths, and convey excrement into their noses ¹; 3 and they ² ever cry thus: 'We keep just measures'.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these bodies? and what sin was committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, weights and bushels and other small measures were kept short, 7 and things were sold to men'.

Chapter LXXXI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was cut away, and eyes scooped out; 2 and snakes, scorpions, worms and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever devoured the brain of her head; 3 and from time to time, she seized her own body with the teeth, and ever gnawed the flesh.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who was, in her lifetime, an adulteress. 7 She also practised much sorcery; and much mischief emanated from her'.

Chapter LXXXII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a certain woman whose tongue was plucked out ³.

¹ Or perhaps: 'convey them into their noses'.

² Perhaps meaning the tormentors, and not the souls; as also in the preceding sentence.

³ The text is doubtful; it may mean: 'whose tongues were many', but that would not be a very intelligible punishment, although a good illustration of this woman's fault.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the
'soul of that wicked woman whose tongue, in the world, was sharp;
'5 and her husband and master was much troubled by her tongue'.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever ate her own dead refuse.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the
'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, ate much meat con-
'cealed from her husband, 5 and gave it to another person'¹.

Chapter LXXXIV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 whose breasts they cut off;
and her belly was torn, and the entrails given to the dogs.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the
'soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, poison and oil²
'of opium were made and kept³, 6 and given by her to people to eat'.

Chapter LXXXV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman, 2 on whose body they
construct an iron coating, 3 and they turn back the mouth, and put it
back to a hot oven⁴.

¹ This is altered in some Pâzand MSS., as follows: 'who, among the living, stole the property of others, and gave the food, which her husband bought, to another person'.

² Perhaps: 'liquor', or 'infusion'.

³ Or 'were kept prepared'.

⁴ This obscure description may refer to some old Persian torture which is, luckily, now unknown.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who was, among the living, the wife of a 'well-disposed, intelligent man; 7 and she broke her faith to her husband, and slept with a sinful and ill-disposed man'.

Chapter LXXXVI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman, 2 through whose body a grievous ¹ snake ascended, and came forth by the mouth.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'where the soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus:² ['This is 'the soul of that wicked woman who violated a next-of-kin marriage'.

Chapter LXXXVII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever scraped her own body and face with an iron comb, 3 and ever dug an iron hill with her breasts.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus:] 'This is 'the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, committed a crime, '7 and through a desire for wealth, gave no milk to her own infant. 8 And now she ever makes an outcry thus: "Here let me dig into "this hill, that I may give milk to that infant". 9 Yet until the 'reestablishment of the world, she does not reach the infant'.

Chapter LXXXVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man 2 who remained suspended,

¹ Or perhaps: 'prickly'.

² In all the MSS., except H₁₈, the passage in brackets is omitted, and the former part of this chapter is united with the latter part of the next, although the connection of the narrative is not very obvious.

head downwards, from a gibbet, and ever had sexual intercourse; 3 and they dropped semen into his mouth and ears and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed improper sexual 'intercourse; 7 and deceived and seduced the wives of others'.

Chapter LXXXIX.

1 Then I saw the souls of those who, on account of weakness, were dashed about from side to side in hell; 2 and they ever kept crying on account of thirst and hunger, cold and heat; 3 and noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever bit out of the back of their legs and other limbs.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those of these 'souls, who suffer so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked whose food and clothing, in the world, were 'consumed by themselves, 7 and not given by them to the good and 'worthy; and they exercised no liberality whatever; 8 and they kept 'themselves, and the people who had come and remained under their 'control, hungry and thirsty and without clothing; 9 so they suffered 'cold and heat, hunger and thirst. 10 Now they are dead, and their 'wealth has remained for others; 11 now the souls suffer so severe a 'punishment from their own actions'¹.

Chapter XC.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents sting and ever devour their tongues.

¹ The singular number is used, in the original, throughout these last two sentences, which may be more literally rendered as follows: 'Now it has passed away, and the wealth has remained for another person, now the soul suffers so severe a punishment from its own actions'.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those, whose 'soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those liars and irreverent ¹ speakers who, in the world, 'spoke much falsehood and lies and profanity' ².

Chapter XCI.

2 Then I saw the soul of a man who slew his own child and ever ate the brains.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

• 3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that sentencing judge who made unjust decisions between ap- 'plicants for justice; 5 and plaintiffs and defendants were not looked 'upon, by him, favorably and justly; 6 but through a desire of wealth 'and covetousness, he shouted at suitors with anger and severity'.

Chapter XCII.

1 Then I saw the souls of those, into whose eye a wooden peg was driven.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those malicious ones who kept back benefits from mankind'.

Chapter XCIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those who were fallen, headlong, into hell; 2 and smoke and heat were driven upon them from below, and a cold wind from above.

¹ Or 'untruthful', if *arâst* be read instead of *anâst*.

² Or perhaps: 'untruth'.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those who, in the world, gave no place, nor caravanserai 'for travellers, nor lodging, nor space, nor baking oven; 6 or who 'gave them, and took hire for them'.

Chapter XCIV.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whose own breasts were placed upon a hot frying-pan, by their own hands, 2 and were ever turned from side to side.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these womgn, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those women who gave their own infants no milk, but 'emaciated and destroyed them; 6 and for worldly gain, gave milk to 'the infants of others'.

Chapter XCV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever dug a hill with her breasts, 2 and was ever thirsty and hungry.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who gave her infant no milk, 6 but left 'it hungry and thirsty; 7 and herself went with a strange man through 'a liking for avarice, and a lust for illicit intercourse'.

Chapter XCVI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man whose tongue was cut out; 2 and they ever drag him by the hair, and scatter about the dead refuse¹, and measure it with a bushel.

¹ Probably the hair pulled out by the roots.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this man, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, took seed, 6 and said 'thus: 'I will sow it'; and he sowed it not, 7 but ate it; and the earth 'of Spendarmad was defrauded'.

Chapter XCVII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a man and a woman whose tongues were cut out.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of that wicked man and woman who, among the living, spoke 'much falsehood and profanity ¹, 5 and deceived their own souls'.

Chapter XCVIII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a woman and a man who voided and ate up *the excrement*.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of that wicked man and woman who, in the world, devoured 'dead refuse through sinfulness; 5 and killed the water-otter ² in the 'water, 6 and smote and slew other creatures of Aûharmazd'.

Chapter XCIX.

1 And I saw as many more souls of wicked men and women;

¹ Or 'untruth', if *arâst* be read.

² The *udra upâpa* of Vend. XIII. 16, 51, XIV. 1. [Dest.] In the latter fargard, very severe penalties are attached to the crime of seriously injuring this animal.

2 and they ever suffer terrible, fearful, hurtful, harmful, painful, dark, hellish torment and punishment of various kinds.

3 Then I saw souls whose tongues were scraped with a wooden peg; 4 and they ever went down, into hell, head foremost; 5 and the demons ever ploughed their whole bodies with an iron comb.

6 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 7 and what sin 'was committed by them whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

8 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 9 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who have been disobedient unto their rulers 'in the world, 10 and have been enemies of the armies and troops 'of their rulers. 11 Now they must here suffer such severe pain and 'torment and punishment'.

Chapter C.

1 Then I saw the Evil-spirit, the deadly, the world-destroyer, whose religion is evil, 2 who ever ridiculed and mocked the wicked in hell, and said 3 thus: 'Why did you ever eat the bread of Aûhar-mazd, and do my work? 4 and thought not of your own creator, 'but practised my will?' 5 So he ever shouted to the wicked very mockingly ¹.

Chapter CI.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel took hold of my hand, 2 and brought me forth from that dark, terrible, fearful place, 3 and carried me to the eternal light, and the assembly of Aûharmazd and the archangels.

¹ The Pâzand MS. H₁₈ adds the following: 'This (corruption here), the requital of their own deeds, they receive disagreeably, until the resurrection of the dead. When he sent me to his hell of retribution, I went behind Âtarô the angel, and I saw that which is called the darkest hell; and it seemed to me like a pit which was a hundred thousand lances (deep). The darkness also seemed to me such as if all the dry wood in the world, put upon the fire, would not give so much as a handful of light in that darkest hell'.

4 When I wished to offer homage before Aûharmazd. 5 And he was gracious and said thus:¹ 'A perfect servant art thou, pious Arđâi Vîrâf, the messenger of the Mazdayasnians; go to the material world, 6 and as thou hast seen and understood, speak truly to the worlds; 7 for I, who am Aûharmazd, am with thee; 8 everyone who speaks 'correct and true, I honor and know²; 9 so say to the wise'.

10 And when Aûharmazd spoke in this manner, I remained astonished, 11 for I saw a light, but I saw nobody; I also heard a voice, 12 and I understood that: 'This is Aûharmazd'.

13 And he, the creator Aûharmazd, the most munificent of spirits, said 14 thus: 'Speak thou forth, Arđâi Vîrâf, to the Mazdayasnians 'of the world, 15 thus: 'There is only one way of piety³, the way of "the primitive religion, and the other ways are all no ways. 16 Take "ye that one way which is piety, and turn ye not from it in prosperity, "nor in adversity, nor in any way; 17 and practise good thoughts and "good words and good deeds; 18 and remain in that same religion "which, as received by him from me, Spîtâmân Zaratûsht and Vishtâsp "made current in the world; 19 and hold the proper law, but abstain "from the improper. 20 And be ye aware also of this, that cattle "are dust, and the horse is dust, and gold and silver are dust, and "the body of man is dust; 21 he alone mingles not with the dust,

¹ H₁₈ substitutes the following, for the beginning of this chapter: 'Afterwards, conducted by Âtarô the angel into eternal light, I was carried up to the presence of Aûharmazd. I offered homage, and Aûharmazd, the Deity, said'.

² H₁₈ continues as follows, to the end of sentence 13: 'I, Arđâ Vîrâf, heard his words, and could see nobody, but saw a light. I fell on my knees, in prayer, and said thus: 'I am instructed by the Mazdayasnians thus: 'Go before Arđâ "Zaratûsht, as we know not whether the good works, we do among the living, "exist, or not". Then the just Aûharmazd, the Deity, the most munificent of spirits, said'.

³ This is a translation of the Z. *aêrô pañtô yô ashakê, vîspê anyaêshâm apañtâm*; which is a phrase commonly used in the colophons of MSS., and is said to have been taken from the Hâdôkht nask. [Dest.]

‘who, in the world, praises piety ¹ and performs duties and good works’.
 ‘22 Perfect art thou, Arđâi Vîrâf! go and prosper; 23 since every
 ‘purity and purification which you perform and keep, 24 and everything
 ‘which you keep lawfully, 25 and the purification and ceremonial, when
 ‘you perform them, in like manner, mindful of God, I know them all’.

26 And when I heard those words, I made a profound bow to
 the creator Aûharmazd. 27 And then, Srôsh the pious, conveyed me
 successfully and courageously to this carpeted place. 28 May the glory
 of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians be triumphant!

29 Completed in health and pleasure and joy.

¹ Or ‘holiness’; that is, recites the *ashem vohû* formula; see Hâdôkht nask I. 3. H₁₈ inserts here the following: ‘(or gives something to the pious and good). Then said Aûharmazd, to Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel, thus: ‘Show him the proceedings of the performers of good actions’. I took the hands of Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel, and they went forward to the end of the Chînvat bridge, there where Rashn the just, and Mitrô the angel, and Âshtâd the angel, the victorious lord of the universe, all sat; much the most admirable of the creation, much more splendid than the sky; before them I was led. And they spoke thus: ‘Say ‘what thou mayst have done there, unto men, cattle, sheep, earth, trees, fire and ‘water; and speak truly, for it will be necessary to pass on from here through ‘truth’. Then I became joyful, for the guardian angel of the pious gave evidence thus: ‘He committed no sin’. Afterwards, Aûharmazd the Deity, said’ (*as in sentences 22—25.*)

Appendix I.

The tale of

G ô s h t - i F r y â n ô.

T h e P a h l a v i t e x t

with Transliteration and

the various readings of five MSS.

Edited by

E. W. W e s t, Ph. D..

Observations.

This tale of Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô is appended to the book of Arđâ Virâf, in the three MSS. H₆, K₂₀ and K₂₆; and it appears, by the colophons, to have been so appended in the old MS. of Mihrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nishâpûr, whence it was copied in A. D. 1249.

The same remarks apply to this text as to the preceding; but besides the MSS. H₆, K₂₀ and K₂₆, the following have been used:

H₇. — Dr. Haug's Pârsî-Persian MS. No. 7, dated A. Y. 1178—1179.

L₁₅. — the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; undated, but written about 135 years ago.

It will be observed that the name *Gôsh̄t* is a corruption, or more probably, a mistaken pronunciation, of *Yôsh̄t*; but as this blunder is found in the oldest existing MSS., it is retained in this transliteration of the text.

Chapter I.

[illegible]

2. משהו מן הן שוה על כד מה שיה משהו משהו משהו
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Chapter I.

1 Denman mādīkān-i *Gōsht-i Fryānō* farukhū yehevūnād, pavan
Yadadān *āīyyārīh*.

2 Aêtûn yemalelûnd aîgh: yîn zak *anâ* amat *Akht-i* yâtûk, levatman VII bêvar sipâh, val shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârânô vazlûnd, 3 afashdrâid aîgh: Shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân pîl *khûst* barâ vâdûnam. 4 Va

- I. 1, 3—4. Z. *Yôishtô yô Fryananâm*, Yasht V. 81, XIII. 120; H₇ کوشت پریان; out of 53 occurrences of this name, K₂₆ omits د once, and L₁₅ ten times; and H₆ omits the final ی four times, K₂₀ fifteen, K₂₆ five, and L₁₅ ten times. 1, 9. K₂₀ omits و. 2, 6. H₇ عهد; perhaps a miswriting of سرن, or سرن, as it would be hazardous to connect it with Chald. עֲרִינָה, or with Pers. خره 'an attack'. 2, 8. Z. *Akhtyô*, Yasht V. 82; out of 28 occurrences of this name, K₂₀ omits د six times, and L₁₅ twice; H₇ اخذ جادو. 3, 8. Pers. خوست 'a beaten road'; H₇ هوشت, Pers. پرسش.

40 مەشەد و مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد
 و 42 مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد
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43 مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد مەشەد
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mûn *Astî-vîhâd* khadîtûnêd yemîtûnêd, afash *açtûn* kâmak aîgh
 lakhvâr val zîvandak vazlûnêd; 42 va *tanidîch* Astî-vîhâd khadîtûnêd
 va barâ yemîtûnêd, afash khvâr medanmûnêd?

43 Gôšht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehe-
 vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat;
 44 maman *zak* mardûm *aît* mûn yesht lâ kard yekavîmûnêd, va parâhôm
 lâ *vashtamûnêd* yekavîmûnêd; 45 va dađîgar, *zak* mardûm val *gâs-i*
nêshmanân mad yekavîmûnêd, afash *nêshman* lâ kard yekavîmûnêd;
 46 va sađîgar, *zak* *anshûtâ* mûn *zîvandak* *rûbânô* lâ yasht yekavîmûnêd,
 va yasharûb-dâd lâ dâd yekavîmûnêd, va yazishn-i

II. 41, 11—12. Z. *Astô-vîdhôtu*, Vend. IV. 49, V. 8, 9. 41, 16. K₂₀ adds final ۱.

42, 2. H₇ مەشەد; 42, 6. K₂₀, L₁₅ om. 44, 2. K₂₀ om.

44, 4. H₆ مەشەد. 44, 13. K₂₀ has مەشەد for مەشەد; L₁₅ مەشەد. 45, 4. K₂₀ uses
 the hybrid مەشەد; 45, 6. مەشەد only in H₆;

H₇ Pers. وقت. 45, 7. H₆, K₂₀, L₁₅ مەشەد. 45, 11. H₆, L₁₅ om. 46, 4.

مەشەد in all but K₂₀. 46, 6. K₂₀ adds مەشەد. 46, 7. K₂₀ omits final ۱.

63 مَرَدَ لَاسَر مَرَم سَع كَمَرَم لَو سَوَاس سَوَاس
 هَلَد دَلَرُ دَمَدَمَل و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس 64 هَل مَرَمَوَس
 كَد لَو هَلَمَل و مَرَمَل هَل مَرَمَل لَاسَر مَرَمَوَس مَرَمَوَس
 مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَل لَاسَر و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس
 65 دَمَدَمَل لَاسَر مَرَم لَاسَر سَع مَرَم هَل و مَرَم هَل و
 س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و
 س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و س هَل و
 66 مَرَدَ لَاسَر مَرَم سَع كَمَرَم لَو سَوَاس سَوَاس
 هَلَد دَلَرُ دَمَدَمَل و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَوَس 67 هَل مَرَمَوَس
 مَرَمَوَس سَع هَل مَرَم لَاسَر سَوَاس 68 و مَرَم

63 Gôst-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 64 maman khûrishnô zak pavan mîzaktar va basîmtar, mûn min babâ-i frârûn tâkhshâkih andôkht yekavîmûnêd, va afash lakhvâr kâr va kîrfak vashtamûnêd va yakhsenunêd.

65 Sîzdahûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Khadûk maman? va II maman? va III maman? va IV maman? va V maman? va VI maman? va VII maman? va VIII maman? va IX maman? va X maman?

66 Gôst-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 67 maman khadûk, khûrshêd-i shapîr mûn hamâk gêhân rôshanô yakhsenunêd; 68 va II,

II. 64, 2—7. K₂₀ مَرَمَوَس و مَرَمَل لَاسَر و مَرَمَوَس. 64, 10. د only in H₆, K₂₆. 64, 11. K₂₀ adds و. 64, 12. K₂₀ omits و. 64, 19. only in K₂₀, K₂₆. 64, 22. K₂₀ om. 65, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32. K₂₀ om. 65, 29. H₆ om. 67, 3. K₂₀, L₁₅ omit د. 68, 1. only in K₂₀, K₂₆.

Chapter III.

1 لاد ، سراف لاسرو نرف لواندرف سرف سرف دالاسل ۵
 2 مرسرف لاسرو ترفل سرف كمراندس لوان س-وان س-وان س-وان
 ۳ دال دالرف دالاسرف ، مرفلوانوسر و كرفس مرفل ۳ سرف ل سرفوان
 ۴ لوان لوان مرفل س-وان سرفوان لوان سرفوان ۴ ، لوان سرفوان
 ۵ مرفل سرفوان لوان دالاسل دالاسل و لوان سرفوان ، سول مرفل سرفوان
 ۶ مرفل لوان سرفوان ۵ سرفوان لوان سرفوان لوان مرفل سرفوان سرفوان
 ۷ دالرف مرفل دالاسل ۵ سرفوان و سرفوان سرفوان سرفوان لوان سرفوان
 ۸ سرفوان لوان سرفوان دالاسل لوان سرفوان لوان سرفوان لوان سرفوان

Chapter III.

1 XX *va* IIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Maman sardtar?

2 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehe-
vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat;
3 *maman lâ aêtûn chîgûn lak andêshîh, barâ aêtûn chîgûn li khavî-
tûnam*; 4 *va lak aêtûn andêshîh*, aîgh vafar sardtar-i madam kôf
yetîbûnêd, va akaraz khûrshêd aûbash lâ tâvêd; 5 *barâ lâ aêtûn chîgûn*
lak andêshîh, maman darvand gabrâ mînishn sardtar. 6 Afash *nîshân*
denman, *aîgh* lak, Akht-i yâtûk, râi akh-I aît darvand; 7 afash zâhar
pavan libbemman chand *mûstîh* yîn yekavîmûnêd, lak lâ pavan khûrshêd,
va lâ pavan âtâsh

III. 1, 2. K₂₀ om. 3, 3, 8. 4, 3. K₂₀ adds final ۱. 3, 7.—4, 4. H₆, L₁₅ om. 4, 7.

K₂₀ adds ۱۴ to ۵; L₁₅ omits ۵. 5, 3. K₂₀ adds final ۱. 6, 2. K₂₀, K₂₆

add final ۱. 6, 4. K₂₀ ۱۴. 7, 6. K₂₀, K₂₆ have س for ۵.

22 23 24 25 26 27 28
 29 30 31

gêhânô pûr min mayâ va âtâsh, va pûr min mar-i darvand sâstâr-i chîgûn lak *hómanih*, va gêhânô dâshtanô lâ *shâyast*.

22 XX *va VIâm* frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Min kôf maman girântar? 23 va min kârd-i pûlâvîdnô maman tîztar? 24 va min *angupînô* maman shîrînôtar? 25 va min dûmbak-i mêsh maman *charptar*? 26 va min râqlân mûn râqltar? 27 va min *râstânô* mûn râsttar?

28 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 29 maman min kôf, zûr *va anâst* girântar; 30 va min kârd-i pûlâvîdnô, hûzvânô-i marđûmânô tîztar; 31 va min angupînô, abîdar vâ amîdar râi, fardand-i *rôjôih*

III. 21, 17. K₂₀ has 𐭮𐭥 for 𐭮𐭥. 21, 22. H₇, K₂₀ 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥. 22, 2. K₂₀ om. 22, 3.

L₁₃ omits 𐭮𐭥. 24, 3. K₂₀ 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥. 25, 6. K₂₀ has 𐭮𐭥 for 𐭮𐭥. 27, 3. K₂₀

omits final 𐭮. 29, 5. K₂₀ om. 29, 6. K₂₀ adds 𐭮𐭥; H₇ 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥. 31, 9. H₇

𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥; it can also be read *ranjôih*.

37 مریخی لایسوی تریه سے کمراندس لای وای وای سواوس
 فاد ذلرڈ دسوسا، و پوساوس و کمراندس مریه 38 فہ لوسا
 فای ورواوس، و ورواوس 39 مای وایسوی تریه سے فہ سے فای
 لای مریساوس مری وای لری 40 و فہ سے مریلای لای
 مریساوس مری وای سواوس

41 لای و مریخی لایسوی تریه سے وایسوی وای وای
 لایسوی فہ فہ

42 مریخی لایسوی تریه سے کمراندس لای وای سواوس
 فاد ذلرڈ دسوسا، و پوساوس و کمراندس مریه 43 فہ لای
 سواوس لای مریخی وای سواوس لای سواوس 44 سے

37 Gôšht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 38 *maman pâê-i Mayâ nadûkûktar va nadûktar*. 39 Afat *nêshânô* denman, aîgh tamman aîgh Mayâ ragelman hankhetûnêd, khavið barâ *rôdêd*; 40 va tamman *aîgh* Hû-parsh ragelman hankhetûnêd khûshk barâ yehevûnêd.

41 XX *va* VIIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: *Nêshmanânô vazûrg* râmishnô min maman?

42 Gôšht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 43 *maman lâ aêtûn* chigûn lak andêshîh, barâ *aêtûn* chigûn li *khav-itûnam*; 44 aîgh

III. 38, 1. K₂₀ om. 38, 2. perhaps *pâdyô*, compare Z. *paidhya*. 38, 3. H₇ آ.

38, 4. K₂₀ om. 38, 5. only in H₆, H₇. 39, 2. K₂₀ omits final ی. 39, 12. H₆, L₁₅

om. 40, 3. K₂₀ om. 41, 2. K₂₀ om. 41, 8. K₂₀ omits final ی; H₇ adds ی.

41, 9. K₂₀ adds و. 43, 3, 8. K₂₀, L₁₅ add final ی. 43, 11. H₆, L₁₅ مریخی.

71 *akhar* *man* *hat* *zak-i zîvandak*, *va* *maman* *zak-i mûrdaq lakhvâr zîvan-*
dak yehévûnêd, *denman* *frashnô vajârdanô lâ tûbânô hômanâd*.
 72 *Akhar*, *Aûharmazd-i khûdâi Nêryôsang yêdatô*, *pavan pêtkham*,
val Gôšht-i Fryânô shêdûnêd, 73 *va afash gûft* *aîgh*: *Frashnô pasukhô*
yehabûn, *mûn denman*: *tôrâ dvâd* *ait-i levatman gabrâ mûn kâr va*
varz vâdûnêd. 74 *Va Gôšht-i Fryânô chîgûn vâng ashnûd*, *va adînash*
khadih lâ khadîtûnd, *gûmân yehévûnd*; 75 *afash pavan mînishnô an-*
dêshîd *aîgh*: *Al hat Akharman* *va shêdâânô hômand*, *va azshân avâ-*
yast va kâmak *denman*, *aîgh li barâ zektelûnd*; 76 *va hat li denman*
frashnô ham-gûnak pasukhô yehabûnam, *adînam zak mar-i darvand*
sâstâr barâ zektelûnêd.

III. 71, 1. L₁₅ *akhar*. 71, 11. K₂₀ *akhar*. 71, 17. H₆, L₁₅ *akhar*; H₇ om.

72, 5. K₂₀ omits final *o*. 72, 11. — 73, 3. K₂₀ *akhar*. 73, 10. perhaps *tôrâk*;

K₂₀, L₁₅ *akhar*. 73, 11. H₇ *جفتان*. 73, 17. K₂₀ om. 75, 3. K₂₀ omits

final *o*. 75, 6—7. H₇ om. 75, 13. or *afshân*. 75, 15—16. H₇ *دانم*; K₂₀ omits

o. 76, 12. H₆, K₂₆ add *o*.

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stared barâ yehevûnd yekavîmûnâd, va III yôm va shapânô *stared* yehevûnd yekavîmûnâd. 84 Va akhar min III yôm shapânô, lakhvâr val hûsh yâtûnd, *val* Gôšht-i Fryânô gûft 85 aîgh: *Frashnôihâ-i* lak, Gôšht-i Fryânô, mûn aûmêd val Aûharmâzd-i *khûdâi* vakhdûnd mûn, pavan ham-zamân, val pôsht va aîyyârîh yâmtûnêd.

86 XXXûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Asp kađâm nadûktar?

87 Gôšht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 88 maman asp-i gûshan-i farâkhtak *va* pavan gôhar nadûk; *amatshânô* yakhsenunishnô levatman *aspân-i shahîh* shâyađ.

III. 83, 10. ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰ in all, but see 83, 19. and II. 8, 7. 83, 17. K₂₀ om. 83, 19.

K₂₆ ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰. 84, 8. H₇ adds ۱۰۰. 84, 11. H₇ ۱۰۰. 84, 13. H₇ adds ۱۰.

85, 2. H₆, L₁₅ have ۱۰۰ for ۱۰۰; K₂₀, K₂₆ omit ۱۰; H₇ ۱۰۰, Pers. ۱۰۰.

85, 9. K₂₀, L₁₅ omit ۱۰. 85, 10. H₆, K₂₆ ۱۰۰. 88, 5. K₂₀

om. 88, 9. final ۱ only in H₆. 88, 12—13. H₆ gloss ۱۰۰; H₇

۱۰۰, Pers. ۱۰۰. 88, 13. or *siyâh*.

95. لو، سراج و لیسو تک ایوانده سو لو تزیید و لیسو
 لاس سوسو و اژده سو

96 קטעך עלטער קען ער קומען שוין צווייטע טאג
 פאר זיין צעטער, און ער וועט זיך 97 פאר א
 מענטשן שוין צווייטע קען ער קומען שוין צווייטע
 און ער וועט זיך 98 פאר א מענטשן שוין צווייטע

Chapter IV.

1 سید محمد علی قزوینی سے اور اس نے لکھا کہ
لکھنؤ میں پیدا ہوا ہے۔ 2 اور اس نے لکھا کہ

95 XXX va IIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Lak, Gôst-i
Fryânô, *râi* khvâstak chand *ait*?

96 Gôst-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 97 maman li *râi* khvâstak III *aît*: khadûk, zak-i vashtamûnam; va khadûk, zak-i pađmûjôm; va khadûk, *zak-i val* daregûshân va arjânîkân yehabûnam.

Chapter IV.

1 Akhar, Gōsht-i Fryânô gūft aîgh: XXX *va* III frashnô, *lak*
min li *pûrsîd*, hamâk râstyîsh *vajârd*; 2 kevan li min lak III frashnô
pûrsêm;

III. 95, 11. K_{20} om. 95, 14. H_6 ; K_{20} om. 97, 3. K_{20} om. 97, 6. H_6 , L_{15}

97, 16—17. H₇ omits דד ; K₂₀ omits ב .

IV. 1, 7, 10. K_{20} om. 1, 13. K_{20} adds ~~afw~~. 1. 16. K_{20} adds final η . 2, 7.

K_{20} မှလည်း; K_{26} မှလည်း.

10 11 12 13

[illegible]

10 *Akht*-i yâtûk, pavan yâtûkîh, yîn dûshahû dûbârast; 11 afaš val Akharman drâyîd aîgh: Gajêstak! *samîk* aê dast tôkhm arj chand? 12 va dađîgar aîgh: tôrâ-*I* varzâk arj chand? 13 va sađîgar, khvêtûk-das kêr *va* kirfak arj chand?

14 Gajêstak Akharman val Akht-i yâtûk drâîd aîgh: Li denman
frashnôîhâ-i lak râî, pasukhò lâ *túbânôm* karðanö; 15 maman hat barâ
yemalelûnam, dâm-i li *hamâk* birûnö vazlûnêd, levatman shêdâân *va*
drûjân *va* parîkân; 16 *va* li lak râî dôsttar lâ yakhsenunam aîgh dâm-i
benafshman râî. 17 Denman *frashnôîhâ*-i lak min li *pûrsîdö hómányîh*,
afat pasukhò yehabûnam, 18 *hamâk* dâm-i li akâr barâ yehevûnêd, *va*
patîyârak mandavamîch barâ lâ

IV. 10, 1. K_{20} , K_{26} prefix $\downarrow$. 11, 7. K_{20} ~~20~~. 12, 4. H_7 , K_{20} omit $\downarrow$. 13, 5.

H₇, K₂₀ om. 14, 10. K₂₀ omits د. 14, 15. K₂₀ ۛۛۛۛۛۛۛ; K₂₆ ۛۛۛۛۛۛۛ.

15, 7. K_{20} ~~only~~. 15, 12. K_{20} om. 17, 2. medial) only in K_{20} . 17, 6. K_{20}

omits final $\downarrow$. 17, 7. K_{20} ~~adds~~. 18, 1. K_{20} adds $\downarrow$. 18, 8. H_6, L_{15} have

W for W.

19 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
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23 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
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ketrûnêd, 19 *min madam dâm-i Aûharmazd barâ kêr yâtânêd*; *va pavan ham-samânô rist-âkhêz va tanû-i pasînô yehevûnêd*. 20 *Vazlûn, va gardanô levînô vâdûnô*; *mitrô-drûjîh lâ, amat kirdak yakhsenunêd*; 21 *va amat samânô frâz mad, vardînêdanô lâ tûbânô*; 22 *maman jînâk-i lak dûshahû, va pâdâfrâs-i lak sakhttar aîgh hamâk darvandân*.

23 *Va Akht-i yâtûk madam dûbârast min dûshahû anaûmêd, va aôsh-i valman râi hamâi yâityûnd vad levîn-i Gôsht-i Fryânô*. 24 *Va Akht-i yâtûk val Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft* 25 *aîgh: Frashnôihû-i lak, Gôsht-i*

- IV. 18, 12. K₂₀ 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀. 19, 7. L₁₅ 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀. 19, 10. K₂₀ omits final 𐬵. 19, 11. K₂₀ inserts 𐬵 after 𐬵. 19, 12. K₂₀ om. 19, 13. K₂₀ omits 𐬵. 20, 1. H₇ prefixes 𐬵. 20, 2. K₂₀, K₂₆ om. 20, 5. K₂₀, K₂₆ omit final 𐬵. 20, 7. H₇, K₂₀, K₂₆ 𐬵𐬀. 20, 8. H₇ om. 20, 9. compare Pers. 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀. 21, 3. K₂₀ 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀. 21, 6. H₇ 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀. 22, 6. K₂₀, K₂₆ omit 𐬵. 23, 10. H₇ 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀, Pers. 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀; K₂₀ omits 𐬵. 23, 16. K₂₀ has 𐬵 for 𐬵; the rest of K₂₆ is missing. 24, 1—6. L₁₅ om. 24, 4. H₇ 𐬵𐬀, 𐬵. 25, 2. H₆, L₁₅ have 𐬵𐬀 for 𐬵𐬀; H₇ 𐬵𐬀𐬀, Pers. 𐬵𐬀𐬀.

۱. ۲. ۳. ۴. ۵. ۶. ۷. ۸. ۹. ۱۰. ۱۱. ۱۲. ۱۳. ۱۴. ۱۵. ۱۶. ۱۷. ۱۸. ۱۹. ۲۰. ۲۱. ۲۲. ۲۳. ۲۴. ۲۵. ۲۶. ۲۷. ۲۸. ۲۹. ۳۰. ۳۱. ۳۲. ۳۳. ۳۴. ۳۵. ۳۶. ۳۷. ۳۸. ۳۹. ۴۰. ۴۱. ۴۲. ۴۳. ۴۴. ۴۵. ۴۶. ۴۷. ۴۸. ۴۹. ۵۰. ۵۱. ۵۲. ۵۳. ۵۴. ۵۵. ۵۶. ۵۷. ۵۸. ۵۹. ۶۰. ۶۱. ۶۲. ۶۳. ۶۴. ۶۵. ۶۶. ۶۷. ۶۸. ۶۹. ۷۰. ۷۱. ۷۲. ۷۳. ۷۴. ۷۵. ۷۶. ۷۷. ۷۸. ۷۹. ۸۰. ۸۱. ۸۲. ۸۳. ۸۴. ۸۵. ۸۶. ۸۷. ۸۸. ۸۹. ۹۰. ۹۱. ۹۲. ۹۳. ۹۴. ۹۵. ۹۶. ۹۷. ۹۸. ۹۹. ۱۰۰.

Fryânô, yîn yôm-i Fravardînô, bidanâ Vohûman, shanat-i DCCLXVI Yazdakard malkâân malkâ Aûharmazdakânô; 5 li, dînô bôndak, aêrpat zâdak, aûstâd, Pêshyôtanû Râm Kâm-dînô Shatrô-yâr *va* Nêr-yôsang *Gâyômarđ va* Shatrô-aîyyâr *va* Bâhrâm *va* magôpat Hôrmazd-yâr *va* aêrpat Râm-yâr; *va* min yadman nipîk aêrpat Rûstâm-i Mitrô-âpân-i nipisht. 6 Pavan Yadadân kâmak yehevûnâd; *va* min shatrôstân. *Brôhach.*

VI. 5, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21. the conjunction *و* used instead of the idhâfat *د*, and omitted between some of the other names in this genealogy. 5, 13. commonly written *۱۳۵۵*. 5, 30. *د* is probably superfluous, the writer having copied it from 2, 5, without observing that the omission of the succeeding names, renders it unnecessary here. 6, 8. Pers. *بهرزج*; Gujrâti *Bharuch*; this name is supplied from another colophon in H₆; the folio here being moth-eaten, so as to leave nothing legible but fragments of the letters *ر* and *ل*.

The tale of
G ô s h t - i F r y â n ô.

English translation

by

E. W. W e s t, Ph. D.

Observations.

The same remarks apply to the text of this translation, as those prefixed to that of the book of Arđâ Virâf.

Chapter I.

1 May this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô¹ be fortunate through the assistance of God.

2 They say that, at the time when Akht, the sorcerer, with an army of seven myriads, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, 3 he also shouted thus: I will make the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants. 4 And when he came thither, he also demanded a man that had not been negligent of the law of God from fifteen years of age; 5 and he asked him an enigma. 6 Everyone who was not able to solve it, was also seized and slain by him.

7 And afterwards, in that city of Enigma-expounders, was a man, Mârspend by name, 8 and he said to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: Make not the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants, and slay not these innocent people; 9 for² in this city of Enigma-expoun-

¹ The identity of this person with the *Yôishtô yô Fryananām* of the Âbân Yasht 81, is well known to the Parsi priests, and was mentioned in Haug's 'Account of a tour in Gujarat, in 1863-64', p. 5, note. The passage, referring to him, in the Âbân Yasht 81-83, may be translated as follows: 'Yôishta, who was of the 'Fryânas, offered her the worship (contained) in a hundred of male horses, a thousand of cattle, a myriad of new-born animals, on the shore (or island) of Ranha. 'Then he begged this favor of her: 'Grant me, O good and most gracious Ard-
'visûra Anâhita, that I may be victorious over the evil Akhtya, the gloomy, and
'that I may answer his questions, ninety and nine of the hard and maliciously
'hurtful which the evil Akhtya, the gloomy, asked me'. He is also mentioned in the Fravardîn Yasht 120, thus: 'We honor the *fravashi* of Yôishta of the Fryânas'.

² Or 'who are in this city of Enigma-expounders. There is a man', etc.; according to the reading of the MSS.

ders, there is a man, Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô by name, who has not been negligent of the law from fifteen years *of age*; 10 and each enigma of those which thou askest him, he will explain to thee.

11 Then Akht, the sorcerer, sent a message to Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô, 12 thus: Come up to my residence, so that I may ask thee thirty and three ¹ enigmas; 13 and if thou givest no answer, or you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

14 And Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô came to the residence of Akht, the sorcerer; 15 and because Akht, the sorcerer, had the dead matter ² of men under the carpet, he went not in. 16 And he sent a message to Akht, the sorcerer, 17 thus: You have the dead matter of men under the carpet; 18 and when I come in, the archangels ³ are with me, in that place where the dead matter of men exists, and into which I come; 19 then my archangels withdraw from protecting me, 20 and afterwards I shall not be able to explain those enigmas which thou askest me.

21 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to carry away that carpet and covering, and to bring and lay ⁴ a new carpet; 22 and he also spoke, in his request to Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô, 23 thus: Come, sit upon this covering and cushion, and truly explain the enigma which I ask thee.

24 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Felon and ⁵ wicked tyrant! I sit not upon this cushion; for in this cushion is the dead matter of men; 25 and with me are the angels ⁶ and archangels; they are my pro-

¹ Ninety-nine are mentioned in the Âbân Yasht, 82.

² Either some part of a dead body, or some refuse of a living one, such as: hair, nail-parings, etc., by contact with which the 'pious' are defiled.

³ The seven ameshâspends.

⁴ Literally 'throw'.

⁵ Literally 'felon of a wicked tyrant', which is precisely the common English way of putting epithets in apposition, as in the colloquial phrases: 'fool of a servant', 'rascal of a lawyer', 'knave of a priest', 'angel of a woman', etc.

⁶ The yazads.

tection; 26 and *if* I shall sit upon this cushion, then my spirits withdraw from protecting me; 27 consequently it will not be possible for me to explain the enigmas which thou askest me.

28 And after Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to carry away that cushion, and bring a new one, 29 Gôsht-i Fryânô sat upon that new cushion.

Chapter II.

1 The first enigma Akht, the sorcerer, asked Gôsht-i Fryânô, was this: 2 Is the paradise in the world good, or that which is in heaven?

3 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living¹, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead²; 4 for the paradise which is in the world, is better than that which is in heaven. 5 And a token of it is this, that anyone who performs no duty, nor good work, in the world, meets not there with censure therefrom. 6 And a second token for thee is this, that if thou shalt do, in the world, anything which is not virtuous, then thou comest not, through it, to the good paradise.

7 And Akht, the sorcerer, as soon as he heard those words, became confounded, 8 as though a man who performs a *yesht*³, had become stupified. 9 And so he said thus: It is a misfortune for me, Akht the sorcerer, owing to thee, Gôsht-i Fryânô, that thou art victorious over me. 10 As a strong man over the strongest man, and a strong horse over the strongest horse, and a strong bull over the strongest bull, as the sky over the earth, thou art predominant⁴.

¹ Literally 'in the misery of the living'.

² Literally 'to the hell of the dead'.

³ A thanksgiving, with invocation and praise of some particular angel, or archangel; the recitation of which, in an unknown tongue, if long continued, is very apt to deaden the faculties.

⁴ That is, merely through accident, or circumstances; not through natural strength, or intellect.

11 For I have slain, through this enigma, nine hundred Magian men,
 12 who had so much performed their worship of God, that on account
 of drinking so much hóm-juice, all their bodies had become yellow.
 13 I also slew the nine daughters of Spîtâma¹, although through
 glorifying the religion, they obtained a crown, *inlaid* with gold and
 pearls, from the rulers. 14 When I asked them, and they said that
 the paradise which is in heaven is good, 15 I said thus: As you deem
 it good, so also it is well that you go to that good paradise. 16 And
 I took and slew them.

17 The second enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing,
 of the creatures of Aûharmazd, which sits on its posteriors higher than
 it stands on foot?

18 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
 living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for
 that is a dog.

20 The third enigma he asked, was this: What is that, of the
 creatures of Aûharmazd, which walks and plants no footstep?

21 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
 living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 22 for
 that is a sparrow which walks and plants no footstep².

23 The fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing, of
 the creatures of Aûharmazd, whose tooth is horny, and horn fleshy?

24 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
 living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 25 for
 they call that a cock, the bird of Srôsh the pious; 26 and when
 it crows, it keeps away the misfortunes of life from the creatures
 of Aûharmazd.

¹ Spîtâmân in Pahlavi, the usual orthography for Spitama, the ancestor of
 Zarathushtra; although it is also a patronymical adjective, meaning 'the Spitaman',
 or 'descendant of Spitama'. But as Zarathushtra had only three daughters, the
 name Spîtâmân cannot refer to him here.

² That is, takes no stride, but merely hops.

27 The fifth enigma he asked, was this: Is a small knife good, or little eating?

28 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for a small knife is better than little eating; 30 since it is proper to cut and collect the baresôm¹ with a small knife; 31 and little eating reaches not to the belly, and if it reaches, it produces wind.

32 The sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is full? and what is that which is half full? and what is that which is never full?

33 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 34 for that which is full is fame which is powerful² here, and when it shall pass away, the soul is pious; 35 that which is half full is indigent misery whose life is wretched, *and* when it shall die, the soul is pious; 36 and that which is empty, which is never full, is that misery whose life is wretched, *and* when it shall die, the soul is wicked.

37 The seventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing which men wish to conceal, and it is not possible for them to conceal it?

38 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 39 for that is old age which no one is able to conceal; 40 for old age is self-evident.

41 The eighth enigma he asked, was this: Which is that living man who sees Astî-vîhâd³ and dies, and his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 42 and again also he sees Astî-vîhâd and will die, and it appears to him easy?

43 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst

¹ The small twigs of the pomegranate, tamarisk, or date, tree which are tied together in a small bundle and have to be present at all the sacrificial ceremonies of the Parsis.

² Or 'wealthy'.

³ The demon of death.

living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 44 for that is the man who has performed no worship¹ and has drunk no h  m-juice; 45 and a second is that man who has come to the time of marriage, and has not married a wife; 46 and a third is that man who has not honored a living soul, and has not given alms², and has not performed the worship of God, and of his alms to the good man he said thus: 'I give', and he has not given; 47 and *when* he dies, his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 48 and again also he dies, and sees Ast  -v  h  d, and it appears to him easy.

49 The ninth enigma he asked, was this: In how many months do the elephant and the horse and the camel and the ass and the cow and the sheep and woman and the dog and the pig and the cat give birth?

50 G  sh̄t-i Fry  n   said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 51 for the elephant gives birth in three years, and the horse and camel and ass give birth in twelve months, and the cow and woman give birth in nine months, and the sheep gives birth in five months, and the dog and pig give birth in four months, and the cat gives birth in forty days.

52 The tenth enigma he asked, was this: Which man³ lives in more pleasure and more comfort?

53 G  sh̄t-i Fry  n   said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 54 for that man lives in more pleasure and more comfort, who is more unalarmed and contented and more wealthy.

55 The eleventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing which, in the world, is like unto A  harmazd and the archangels?

56 G  sh̄t-i Fry  n   said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 57 for

¹ Or 'thanksgiving'.

² Literally: 'a pious gift'.

³ Literally: 'Which of mankind'.

in the world, a ruler is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; 58 and the abode¹ of rulers is like the resplendent Garôdmânô²; 59 and the ministers of rulers are like unto the archangels, 60 and are in the residence of kings³, like unto that constellation which they call Parvîz⁴; 61 other men, when they are industrious and skilful, are like unto the other small stars which are in the sky.

62 The twelfth enigma he asked, was this: Of food, which is the more agreeable and more savory?

63 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 64 for of food, that is the more savory and more agreeable, which is acquired by means⁵ of honest exertion, and duties and good works consume it again and possess it.

65 The thirteenth enigma he asked, was this: Which is the one? and which, the two? and which, the three? and which, the four? and which, the five? and which, the six? and which, the seven? and which, the eight? and which, the nine? and which are the ten?

¹ Literally: 'place'.

² The highest paradise, or heaven of Aûharmazd; literally: 'the abode of song'; see *Arđâ-Virâf nâmak* X.—XI.

³ Or 'kings in residence are'.

⁴ Generally identified with the Pleiades, which were considered by the ancients to be seven in number (although one of them had become invisible) and might, therefore, be readily compared with the heavenly council of the seven Ameshâspends. In the *Bundehesh*, Parvîz is the third lunar mansion which, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, must have best corresponded with the Pleiades about 1800 years ago. Its Zand name is *Paurvanya* but the 'star-studded, spirit-fashioned, Paurvanyan girdle' of *Yas.* IX. 26, may perhaps be a much older application of the name, to the more brilliant seven stars of Orion, which would have well represented the third lunar mansion, some 3500 years ago. It would be hazardous to assume that the introduction of the name Parvîz into the text, is any allusion to Khûsrô Parvîz who reigned from A.D. 590 to 628; otherwise, this passage might afford a means of estimating the age of the Pahlavi text.

⁵ Literally: 'from the way'.

66 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 67 for the One is the good sun, which keeps the whole world illumined; 68 and the Two are the inhaling and exhaling ¹ of the breath; 69 and the Three are the good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 70 and the Four are water and earth and trees and beasts; 71 and the Five are the five good Kayanians²; 72 and the Six are the six times of the Gâhanbârs³; 73 and the Seven are the seven archangels; 74 and the Eight are the eight good celebrities⁴; 75 and the Nine are the nine openings in the bodies of men; 76 and the Ten are the ten fingers on the hands of men.

Chapter III.

1 The twenty and third ⁵ enigma he asked, was this: What is the colder?

2 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 3 for it is not so as thou thinkest, but so as I know; 4 and it is thus thou thinkest, that the snow is colder which remains on the mountain, and the sun never warms it; 5 but it is not so as thou thinkest, for the mind of a wicked man is colder. 6 And a token of it is this, that thou, Akht

¹ Literally: 'fetching and carrying'.

² These five Persian kings were Kaî-Kabâd, Kaî-Kahûs, Kaî-Khûsrôv, Kaî-Lôrâsp and Kaî-Gushtâsp.

³ The season festivals held respectively on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th and 365th days of the Parsi year, which begins now on the 21st September, according to the reckoning of the Indian Parsis.

⁴ Or 'stories'. It is uncertain what celebrated octade of notables, or legends, is here referred to.

⁵ With regard to the apparent omission of nine enigmas, between this and the thirteenth, see the note in the transliteration of the Pahlavi text.

the sorcerer, hast¹ a brother who is wicked; 7 and as many handfuls of poison² as reside in his heart, thou art not able to melt, not with the sun and not with the fire; 8 and when I take it in the palm of my hand, it will melt.

9 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to bring and slay his own brother, and to take away the poison from the heart; 10 *but* he was not able to melt it, not with the sun and not with the fire; 11 and Gósht-i Fryânô took it up in the palm of the hand, and melted it.

12 The twenty and fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is the hotter?

13 Gósht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 14 for the palm of the hand of a pious man is the hotter; 15 and a token *of it* for thee is this, that it was not possible to melt thy brother's poison, not with the sun and not with the fire; 16 but when taken up in the palm of my hand, it melted away.

17 The twenty and fifth enigma he asked, was this: What is good *when* it goes down? and what is good *when* it is chilled? and what is good when³ it shall die?

18 Gósht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for water is good which goes down; and fire is good which is chilled; and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, is good who shall die. 20 Since, if water goes not down, and fire cools not, and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, dies not, 21 then so the whole world would be full of water and fire, and full of felons and wicked tyrants, like thee, and it would not be possible to preserve the world.

22 The twenty and sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is

¹ Literally: 'that for thee, Akht the sorcerer, is'.

² Or perhaps 'gall'.

³ In the text 'which', but the Huzvâresh *mân*, 'which', is often substituted for *amat*, 'when'; the Pâzand of both being *ka*. or *ke*.

heavier than a mountain? 23 and what is sharper than a steel knife? 24 and what is sweeter than honey? 25 and what is fatter than the tail of a sheep? ¹ 26 and what is more liberal than the liberal? 27 and what is juster than the just?

28 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for falsehood and irreverence are heavier ² than a mountain; 30 and the tongues of men are sharper than a steel knife; 31 and a child of fortune ³ is sweeter than honey, for its father and mother; 32 and the earth and rain of Spendarmad ⁴ are fatter than the tail of a sheep; 33 and Tishtar, the angel, is more liberal than the liberal; 34 and juster than the just is Vâyô ⁵ the good, who is no favorer of any person, and takes no bribe, and has justice for the lord and the slave, one with the other.

35 The twenty and seventh enigma he asked, was this: Which foot is the better and handsomer? 36 because of the many feet which I have seen, her foot is the handsomest and best which I have seen, who is Hû-parsh, thy sister and my wife.

37 Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 38 for the foot of Water ⁶ is handsomer and better. 39 And a token of it for thee is this, that there where Water places a foot, vegetation will grow; 40 and there where Hû-parsh places a foot, will be dry.

¹ Referring to the fat-tailed species of sheep, common in some parts of Asia and Africa.

² That is, 'more burdensome'.

³ Or 'affliction', if the Pahlavî be *ranjoih*, as seems likely.

⁴ The female archangel of the earth, 'the bountiful Ârmaiti'; perhaps the rain is misplaced in the Pahlavî text, as it is the special gift of Tishtar, see Mkh. LXII. 41—42.

⁵ The 'air', a name of the angel Râm; but the actions here attributed to him, are rather those of Rashn, the just, the weigher of the actions of men.

⁶ The female angel of water, *Ardevî-sûra Anâhîta*; see the Âbân Yasht.

41 The twenty and eighth enigma he asked, was this: Whence is the great pleasure of women?

42 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 43 for it is not so as thou thinkest, but so as I know; 44 for it is thus thou thinkest, that the great pleasure of women is from various kinds of dress and seemly housewifery, when they have them. 45 However, it is not so; the great pleasure of women is from being with their own husbands.

46 Akht the sorcerer said thus: You speak false¹, and through this enigma I will slay thee; 47 now come along, I will go unto Hû-parsh, to her who is thy sister and my wife, 48 and she never told a lie, nor tells it, and by her word I will abide.

49 Gôsht-i Fryânô was acquiescent; and Akht the sorcerer, with Gôsht-i Fryânô, went into the presence of Hû-parsh; 50 and they also spoke thus: Sit down, and explain this enigma truly. 51 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Is the great pleasure of women from dress of various kinds and seemly housewifery, when they have them? 52 or is their great pleasure from being with their own husbands?

53 Then Hû-parsh thought thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which thing is the felon and wicked tyrant, the sorcerer, as he will not cease till he shall slay me; 54 and since if I speak false, then he will slay my brother, and I shall become wicked, and so it will be well that I speak true; 55 and moreover, if I speak false, I shall be wicked myself, and he will destroy the law and religion and custom²; but when he slays me through³ truth, I shall be more pious. 56 And she covered over her head with a veil, and spoke out 57 thus: The great pleasure of women is from dress of various kinds and seemly

¹ Or 'he speaks false', or perhaps 'a lie is spoken', as the Huz. *yemalelûnêd* appears to be used for the past participle, as well as for the present tense.

² By slaying her brother, who was their main support.

³ That is, 'because of'.

housewifery; 58 but when they are without cohabitation, *they are* in pain and uneasiness, and those pleasures are nothing whatever but pain and discomfort; 59 and when they have cohabitation ¹, then they are in greater pleasure.

60 And afterwards, Akht the sorcerer, when he heard those words, became angry ², and slew Hû-parsh at once. 61 And the soul of Hû-parsh went, at once, to Garôḍmanô ³; 62 and it cried thus: Good am I; hitherto I have been pious, and now I am still more pious; 63 but evil art thou, Akht the sorcerer; hitherto thou hast been wicked, and now *thou hast* become still more wicked.

64 The twenty and ninth enigma he asked, was this: What is that which *has* ten feet ⁴, and three heads, and six eyes, and six ears, and two tails, and three pair of testicles, and two hands ⁵, and three noses, and four horns, and three backs, and the life and preservation of the whole world *comes* from it?

65 Gôsh-t-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 66 for it is thus declared by the religion, that when the call of nature ⁶ arises, it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask.

67 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Go and sit down ⁷ in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain the enigma; 68 for if you speak false, or if you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee at once.

¹ Literally: 'when cohabitation is with them'.

² Literally; 'seized anger'; the usual Persian idiom.

³ The highest paradise.

⁴ Or 'legs'.

⁵ Or 'arms'.

⁶ According to the explanation in the Persian text, which seems probable; *pêshkâr* is a euphemism analogous to *pêshyâr* and *pêshâb*.

⁷ Europeans should bear in mind, that it is a sin for a Mazdayasnian to make water whilst standing.

69 And Gôsht-i Fryânô went out, and sat down upon a stone¹; 70 and he thought, in his mind, thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which is this felon and wicked tyrant, and which ceases not till he shall slay; 71 for if those who are living, and moreover those who are dead, become living again, had to explain this enigma, they would not be able.

72 Afterwards, Aûharmazd the lord, sent Nêryôsang the angel, with a message to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 73 and he said to him thus: Give the answer of the enigma, which is this: 'It is a yoke of oxen, with a man who performs ploughing and tillage'. 74 And Gôsht-i Fryânô, as he heard a voice and then saw no one, was doubtful; 75 and he thought, in his mind, thus: Nay but if they be Akharman and the demons, and their desire and wish be this, that they shall slay me; 76 and if I give this enigma such an answer, then that felon and wicked tyrant will slay me.

77 And afterwards, Nêryôsang, the angel, came near to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 78 and he said thus: Fear not, for I am Nêryôsang the angel, I am sent to thee, 79 and it is said by him who is Aûharmazd, the lord, thus: 'Give the answer of this enigma; for the enigma is a yoke of oxen, with a man who performs tillage'. 80 And Gôsht-i Fryânô, when he heard those words, then became extremely joyful². 81 Immediately, he went into the presence of Akht the sorcerer, and said 82 thus: Lo!³ felon and wicked tyrant, the answer of this enigma is this: 'for this is a yoke of oxen, with a man who performs ploughing for cultivation'.

83 And Akht, the sorcerer, when he heard those words, at once became confounded, and remained confounded three days and nights. 84 And after three days and nights, he returned to consciousness, and

¹ That is, a stone used as a seat in the ceremony of purification.

² Or 'the afflicted became joyful'.

³ Or perhaps, 'this is it'.

said to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 85 thus: The enigmas are thine¹, Gôsht-i Fryânô, who puttedst trust in² Aûharmazd, the lord, who comes immediately to *thy* support and assistance.

86 The thirtieth enigma he asked, was this: Which horse is the better?

87 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 88 for the male horse which is extolled³, and with a pedigree, is good; when they ought to keep it with the horses of royalty⁴.

89 The thirty and first enigma he asked, was this: What is that which is dry and will not burn?⁵ and what is that which is damp and will burn?⁶

90 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 91 for that is dust which is dry and burns not, and it is grease which is damp and will burn⁶.

92 The thirty and second enigma he asked, was this: Which king is good?

93 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 94 for that king is the better who is the more merciful, and is excellent in wisdom and knowledge, and he is fond of the creation⁷.

95 The thirty and third enigma he asked, was this: How many riches are there for thee, Gôsht-i Fryânô?

¹ Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.

² Literally: 'whose trust clung to'.

³ Or perhaps, 'swift'.

⁴ Or perhaps, 'blackness', an epithet of the Arabs; but both the text and translation of this sentence, are doubtful.

⁵ Or 'but burns not'.

⁶ Or 'but burns'.

⁷ Literally: 'and kindness for the creation is with him'.

96 Gosht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 97 for there are three riches for me: one is that which I eat; and one, that which I wear; and one, that which I give to the poor and worthy.

Chapter IV.

1 Afterwards, Gôsh-t-i Fryânô said thus: The thirty and three enigmas, asked me by thee, are all truly explained; 2 now I ask thee three enigmas; if thou givest no answer, I will slay *thee* immediately. 3 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Ask, so that I may explain.

4 And Gôsh-t-i Fryânô said thus: How much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 5 And the second he asked, was this: How much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 6 And the third he asked, was this: How much is the value of the duty and good work of one next-of-kin marriage?

7 Akht, the sorcerer, knew not, and he said thus: The call of nature arises, and it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask. 8 Gôsh-t-i Fryânô said thus: Go and sit down in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain these three enigmas; 9 for if you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

10 Akht, the sorcerer, through sorcery, rushed into hell; 11 and he shouted to Akharman, thus: Accursed! how much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 12 and second, thus: how much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 13 and third, how much is the value of the duty and good work of a next-of-kin marriage?

14 The accursed Akharman shouted to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: I am not able to answer these enigmas of thine; 15 for, if I shall speak, my creatures *will* all depart, with the demons and demonesses and witches; 16 and I have not more friendship for thee than for my own creatures. 17 Should I give thee the answer of these enigmas which thou hast asked me, 18 all my creatures will become inefficient, and

nothing whatever of opposition will remain, 19 owing to the efficiency which will come upon the creatures of Aûharmazd ¹; and the resurrection of the dead and the future body would occur ² immediately. 20 Go and put forth *thy* neck; it is not a breach of promise, though he preserves the enigma; 21 and when the time has arrived, it is not possible to avert it; 22 for thy place is hell, and thy punishment is more severe than *that of* all the wicked.

23 And Akht, the sorcerer, rushed up from hell hopeless, and was brought, for his destruction, into the presence of Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô. 24 And Akht, the sorcerer, said to Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô 25 thus: The enigmas are thine ³, Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô, with whom have been Aûharmazd and the archangels; that which thou hast not known, they have said for thee; 26 but I, whose trust rested on Akharman and the demons, asked three enigmas of Akharman and the demons, *and* for me they have given no answer.

27 And after that, Gôsh̄t-i Fryânô destroyed ⁴ Akht the sorcerer, at once, with the nîrang (*religious formula*) of the baresôm-gathering knife, and destroyed ⁴ the demoness in his body.

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavî text.

² Literally: 'would be', or 'is'.

³ Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.

⁴ Literally: 'rendered useless'.

*There is something, as before, that
enigma however. This is the
change in the scene.*

V. Postscript. ¹

1 Whoever shall read this tale together with *his* servants², and shall say one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ at the end, 2 the good work, in his soul, is such as though they should kill a snake with the nîrang⁴ of the Avesta; 3 the spiritual life, in his soul, is such as when he offers up the prayers⁵ of the recited Gâthas for three years; 4 and there was a destûr who said, that there is no spiritual life at the end of⁶ one year's sin of non-worship.

5 Completed in health, pleasure and joy. 6 May Akht, the sorcerer, be destroyed, with all the demons and demonesses and sorcerers and witches.

VI. Colophons. ⁷

1 Completed *and* ended this tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, with this Ardâ Virâf, on the day of Amerdâd, the month Shahrîwar, the Parsi

¹ The first paragraph of this postscript, may have been written by the author of the tale, as it occurs in both the old MSS.; but the second paragraph is found in only one MS.

² Or perhaps, 'to *his* kindred and servants'.

³ One of the most sacred religious formulas of the Parsis, which ought to be recited before and after any act of importance; in some cases, several times.

⁴ A religious formula used in such cases as a charm, or exorcism.

⁵ Or 'praise'.

⁶ That is, 'after'.

⁷ These colophons are given as they stand in H₆; the first one also occurs in K₂₀, with variations merely in the date and name of the copyist; so that both of these old MSS. are traced back to the same original, the MS. of Mîhrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nîshâpûr, which was existing in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. The names are translated into their Persian form.

year 618 ¹; 2 written by me, the servant of the religion, Rustam *son* of Mihrbân, *son* of Marzabân ², *son* of Dahishyâr, the herbad, from the handwriting ³ of herbad Mihrpanâh, *son* of Srôshyâr of Nishâpûr, the herbad. 3 May it be with the will of God.

4 Completed *and* ended this Arđâ Virâf, and this tale of Gôsh-t-i Fryânô, on the day of Fravardîn, the month Bahman, the year 766 of Yazdagard ⁴, king of kings, son of Aûharmazd; 5 written by me, the servant of the religion, the herbad's son, the teacher Pêshyôtan, *son* of Râm, *son* of Kâmdîn, *son* of Shahriyâr, *son* of Bahrâm, *son* of the môbad Hôrmazdyâr, *son* of the herbad Râmyâr; and from the handwriting of the herbad Rustam, *son* of Mihrbân. 6 May it be with the will of God; and *it is* from the city of Bhrôch.

¹ Corresponding to the 18th July A.D. 1249, if written in India, where the Rasmî computation would be used.

² The copyist named in K₂₀, is 'the herbad's son Mihrbân, *son* of Kai-Khûsrô, *son* of Mihrbân, *son* of Spendâd (*elsewhere, Spend-dâd*), *son* of Mihrbân, *son* of Marzabân'; identifying the last two names with the same names in H₆, we may conclude that the Spendâd of K₂₀ was a brother of the Rustam of H₆, and therefore, Mihrbân, the copyist mentioned in K₂₀, was a great grand-nephew of Rustam, the copyist mentioned in H₆; this conclusion is confirmed by the date mentioned in K₂₀, which corresponds to the 8th November A.D. 1321, or 72 years later than the date given in H₅, which interval would be necessary for the three generations inferred from the genealogy.

³ That is, MS.

⁴ Corresponding to the 20th November A.D. 1397; the year in which the MS. H₆ was written.

Appendix II.

The three Fargards

of the

H â d ô k h t N a s k

which are still extant.

The Zand and Pahlavî Texts,

with a transliteration of the Pahlavî.

and various readings.

(Westergaard's Yasht Fragments XXI. 1.—XXII. 36.)

Edited by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

Observations.

The same remarks apply to this text as to the foregoing. The Zand and Pahlavî versions alternate as they are found in the MSS., and the sentences are numbered in accordance with those alternations; but the numbers of Westergaard's sections are also given, in the margin, for the convenience of the student. Additional sentences in the Pahlavî version are marked *a*), as supplementary to the preceding sentence.

The transliteration applies only to the Pahlavî text, and phrases which are merely explanatory of the preceding words, are marked as parentheses, when transliterated.

In the various readings, all references marked *Z.*, relate to the Zand text, in which the words alluded to, are marked with an asterisk *, and the components of compound words are counted separately. Besides the MSS. *H*₆ and *K*₂₀, which have been previously described, some references are made to the following:

*K*₂₁ — the Copenhagen MS. No. 21, which is a careless and modern copy of *K*₂₀.

*P*₇ — the Paris MS. No. 7 of Anquetil's collection, which is a somewhat older copy of *K*₂₀.

The variations of the Zand version in *K*₂₀, *K*₂₁ and *P*₇ are taken from Westergaard's published text, which is very correct, but does not notice some of the minor variations in orthography. Some variations, indicated by *G.*, have been taken from a Gujarâti transliteration of the Zand text, contained in the *Farjât-e Jaratoshti*, Bombay, A.Y. 1207 (A.D. 1838), which may have been derived from other MSS. The Pahlavî version, however, has been settled from a collation of the two old MSS. *H*₆ and *K*₂₀.

Chapter I.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXI. 1—17.]

[illegible]

Chapter I.

[Pahlavi.] 1 Pûrsîq̄ *Zaratûhasht* min Aûharmazd aîgh: Aûharmazd, mînavad-i afzûnîk, dâdâr-i gêhân-i ast-hômandân-i yasharûbö, 2 kađâr lak min valmanshân *gûbishnânō* mûn pavan *gûbishnō* harvisp *âvâdîh* va harvisp yasharâish pêdâkîh hamâk

1. Z. 1, 7. H₆ has **د** for **ذ**. Z. 1, 8. K₂₀ has **د** for **ذ**. 1, 2. K₂₀ omits **د**, here and elsewhere. 1, 9. both omit **ذ**. 1, 11. K₂₀ has **د** for **ذ**. Z. 2, 1. compare Z. *ahmya* and *yahmya*; all the MSS. have **د** for **ذ**, which is a blunder easily made. Z. 2, 6, 8. H₆ has **د** for **ذ**, here and elsewhere. 2, 5, 8. K₂₀ omits final **د**. 2, 10. or perhaps *ázādih*.

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۱۰. ۱۸. ۸. ۱ for ۱۰; H₆ omits ۱۱; see III. 17, 10. 18, 15. K₂₀ omits final ۱.
 Z. 19, 4. K₂₀ ۱۰. Z. 19, 6. H₆ has ۱۰ for ۱۰. 19, 8. H₆, K₂₀ ۱۰.
 Z. 21, 1—2. G. ۱۰. ۱۰. Z. 21, 5. H₆ omits first ۱. Z. 21, 19. H₆ has ۱
 for first ۱. Z. 21, 20. so in H₆; Westergaard has ۱ for the obsolete ۱.
 21, 5. K₂₀ ۱۰.

sadigar lêlyâ rôêshman ash pavan âzdahîshnîh medammûnêd pavan
 aûshbâm, mûn gabrà-i yasharûbö rûbânô aîgh yîn aûrvar madam va
 bôd ash barâ dâsht medammûnêd tanû-i nafshman. 19 Zak valman vâd
 madam vâyéêd medammûnêd min rapîtvinîtar nêmak, min nêmak-i Savâk,
 min rapîtvinôtarikân nêmakân, min nêmak-i Yadadân; 20 hû-bôd va
 hû-bôdtûm min zak han vâdân zyash pavan stîh yâtûnd. 21 Valman
 vâd ash pavan bînîk lâlâ

II. 18, 8. ۱ for ۱۰; H₆ omits ۱۱; see III. 17, 10. 18, 15. K₂₀ omits final ۱.
 Z. 19, 4. K₂₀ ۱۰. Z. 19, 6. H₆ has ۱۰ for ۱۰. 19, 8. H₆, K₂₀ ۱۰.
 Z. 21, 1—2. G. ۱۰. ۱۰. Z. 21, 5. H₆ omits first ۱. Z. 21, 19. H₆ has ۱
 for first ۱. Z. 21, 20. so in H₆; Westergaard has ۱ for the obsolete ۱.
 21, 5. K₂₀ ۱۰.

۲۲ مکتوبه * . و د . ۲۳ مکتوبه * . ۲۴ مکتوبه * . ۲۵ مکتوبه * . ۲۶ مکتوبه * . ۲۷ مکتوبه * . ۲۸ مکتوبه * . ۲۹ مکتوبه * . ۳۰ مکتوبه * . ۳۱ مکتوبه * . ۳۲ مکتوبه * . ۳۳ مکتوبه * . ۳۴ مکتوبه * . ۳۵ مکتوبه * . ۳۶ مکتوبه * . ۳۷ مکتوبه * . ۳۸ مکتوبه * . ۳۹ مکتوبه * . ۴۰ مکتوبه * . ۴۱ مکتوبه * . ۴۲ مکتوبه * . ۴۳ مکتوبه * . ۴۴ مکتوبه * . ۴۵ مکتوبه * . ۴۶ مکتوبه * . ۴۷ مکتوبه * . ۴۸ مکتوبه * . ۴۹ مکتوبه * . ۵۰ مکتوبه * . ۵۱ مکتوبه * . ۵۲ مکتوبه * . ۵۳ مکتوبه * . ۵۴ مکتوبه * . ۵۵ مکتوبه * . ۵۶ مکتوبه * . ۵۷ مکتوبه * . ۵۸ مکتوبه * . ۵۹ مکتوبه * . ۶۰ مکتوبه * . ۶۱ مکتوبه * . ۶۲ مکتوبه * . ۶۳ مکتوبه * . ۶۴ مکتوبه * . ۶۵ مکتوبه * . ۶۶ مکتوبه * . ۶۷ مکتوبه * . ۶۸ مکتوبه * . ۶۹ مکتوبه * . ۷۰ مکتوبه * . ۷۱ مکتوبه * . ۷۲ مکتوبه * . ۷۳ مکتوبه * . ۷۴ مکتوبه * . ۷۵ مکتوبه * . ۷۶ مکتوبه * . ۷۷ مکتوبه * . ۷۸ مکتوبه * . ۷۹ مکتوبه * . ۸۰ مکتوبه * . ۸۱ مکتوبه * . ۸۲ مکتوبه * . ۸۳ مکتوبه * . ۸۴ مکتوبه * . ۸۵ مکتوبه * . ۸۶ مکتوبه * . ۸۷ مکتوبه * . ۸۸ مکتوبه * . ۸۹ مکتوبه * . ۹۰ مکتوبه * . ۹۱ مکتوبه * . ۹۲ مکتوبه * . ۹۳ مکتوبه * . ۹۴ مکتوبه * . ۹۵ مکتوبه * . ۹۶ مکتوبه * . ۹۷ مکتوبه * . ۹۸ مکتوبه * . ۹۹ مکتوبه * . ۱۰۰ مکتوبه * .

vakhdûnd medianmûnêd mûn gabrâ-i yasharûbô rûbâu aê *yemalelûnêd*
 aîgh: Min aîgh dahishnô anâ vâd vâyéld, mûnam akaraz vâd pavan
 hû-hôdtar vakhdûnd? 22 Yîn zak vâd valman ash fravâft medianmûnêd
 zak-i nafshman dînô kûnishnô-i nafshman, 23 pavan kanîk kerp *nadûk-i*
 rôshan-i avârik tanû-i arûs bâzâi-i amâvand-i hû-rôst-i lâlâ astâdâk
 (aîgh yûdân) va bûland, va stîk pêstân-i

- II. 21, 14. K₂₀ omits one ۱. Z. 22, 1. K₂₀ has ۳ for ۴. Z. 22, 3. so in H₆; ۲۳
 being almost illegible in K₂₀, has been mistaken for ۲ by the copyists of
 K₂₁, P₇; G. ۲۴ مکتوبه . 22, 11. H₆ omits ۱. Z. 23, 1. H₆ ۲۵ مکتوبه . Z. 23, 5.
 H₆, K₂₀ omit initial ۲. Z. 23, 9. H₆, K₂₀ omit ۳. Z. 23, 10. only in H₆;
 the Vishtâsp Yasht (24, 56) has ۴ for ۱. Z. 23, 11. G. *credvâ-frashnyâo*.
 Z. 23, 12. H₆ adds ۲ to ۱. Z. 23, 16. H₆ has ۲۵ for ۲۳. Z. 23, 19. H₆
 and Yt. 24, 56 have ۲ for ۳; G. *srira*. 23, 4. K₂₀ om. 23, 9. K₂₀ has ۱
 for ۲.

[illegible]

hû-mînishn-i hû-gûbishn-i hû-kûnishn-i hû-dînô *hôman* aêtûnô mas va shapîr va nadûk va hû-bôd va pîrûzkar va avîbêsh chîgûn lak *medam-mûnêl*. 28 Amat lak zak-i *zak* anâ khadîtûnd *hôm*and amatshân afsôs kard va bôndak (aîghshân shedayâzakîh) *kard*, afshân pavan kâmak-i *nafshman kâmak* hamkhâkân makhîtûnd (aîgh mûn mandavam bavî-hûnast, ashân lâ yehabûnd), afshân aûrvar babâîhich kard (aîghshân babâ barâ asrûnast);

11. 27, 10. so in both, the personal suffix being omitted. 27, 25. K₂₀ has 𐬔 for 𐬌.
Z. 28, 3. all but H₆ have 𐬀𐬀𐬀. Z. 28, 4. H₆, K₂₀ have 𐬀𐬀 for 𐬀; 𐬀𐬀𐬀
being illegible in K₂₀, have been altered into 𐬀𐬀 in H₇. Z. 28, 8. G. omits
𐬀). 28, 4. only in H₆. 28, 15. K₂₀ adds final 𐬀. 28, 19—20. only in H₆.
Z. 29, 1. all but H₆ and G. add 𐬀𐬀𐬀 by mistake. Z. 29, 5. G. *srāvayōish*.
Z. 29, 7. H₆ has 𐬀 for 𐬀. Z. 29, 14. H₆ omits first 𐬀, and G. substitutes 𐬀
for it. Z. 29, 15. H₆ 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀. 𐬀𐬀𐬀; in the others 𐬀𐬀𐬀. 𐬀𐬀𐬀.
Z. 29, 16—17. omitted in all, but added from Vishtāsp Yasht (24, 59) in ac-
cordance with the Pahlavī.

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29 adîn lak yetibûnast hômanîh, afat gâsân srûd, afat mayâieh-i shapîr
 yezbekhûnd, va âtâshieh-i Aûharmazd azat pâhrêj kard, va gabrâieh-i
 yasharûbô at shinâyînîd, mûn min nazdîk mad, va mûnich min rakhîk.
 30 Adîn li mûn fravâft yehevûnd hômanam (aîgh khûp dâsht hômanam
 yekavîmûnâd hômanam), at fravâfttar kard hômanam (aîghat khûptar
 dâsht hômanam); va nadûk yehevûnd hômanam, afat nadûktar dâsht
 hômanam; va arjânîk yehevûnd hômanam, afat arjânîktar dâsht hô-
 manam avâyishnîktar; 31 pavan zak-i frâztar gâs yetibûnast hômanam-i
 chashmak, afat

II. 29, 9. H₆ omits 𐬔. 29, 11. K₂₀ 𐬔𐬀. 29, 28. K₂₀ adds 𐬔. 29, 30, so in
 both, and more correct than *arîk*. Ard. Vîr. IV, 27, as has been pointed out,
 in the notes on Mkh. gloss. p. 60, 66. Z. 30, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10. H₆ has 𐬔 for 𐬔.
 30, 11. K₂₀ has 𐬔 for 𐬔. 30, 12 — 19. K₂₀ om. 30, 20 — 21 illegible in
 K₂₀. 30, 25, 33. K₂₀ adds 𐬔. Z. 31, 3. K₂₀ has 𐬔 for 𐬔. Z. 31, 5. K₂₀ omits
 𐬔. Z. 31, 6. H₆ adds 𐬔 to 𐬔. 31, 7. H₆ adds 𐬔.

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pavan zak-i frāztūmtar gās yetībūnast hōmanam (*aīgh* gās mas barā kard hōmanam). 32 Pavan anā hūmat, *va* pavan anā hūkht, *va* pavan anā hūvarsht-i lak varzīd, adīn li gabrā akharīeh yezbekhūnd, pavan zak-i Aūharmazd dēr-yazishuīh va ham-pūrsakīh, dēr *zamānō* amatshān Aūharmazd *rāī* yazishnō va ham-pūrsakīh-i *frārūnō kard*.

33 Fratûm gâm frâz *yedrûnd* mûn gabrâ-i yasharûbô rûbânô pa-
van Hûmat barâ yehabûnâd (zak jînâk aîgh hûmat

H. 31, 15. K₂₀ adds ٣٦ . 32, 4, 8. K₂₀ om. 32, 27. K₂₀ ٣٦ . 32, 30. K₂₀ ١٥ .

32, 34. K_0 omits final յ . 32, 35. K_{20} adds final յ . Z. 33, 1, 11, 21. H_6 has յ for ւ . Z. 33, 18. H_6 has յ for դ . 33, 4. both have ն for ն .

33, 6. K_{20} omits $\mathfrak{J}$.

30 |as in II. 21. 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

[Omitted in the MSS., being the converse of II. 22—33] 21—32 27—33

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vâḡ pavan gandak va dûshgandtar [vad ghal; the converse of II, 22—33] 33 tasûm gâm frâz yedrând mûn gabrâ-i darvand rûbânô-i zak-i asar târîkîh barâ yehabûnâḡ.

34 Valman yemalelând, afash pûrsênd zak-i levînô darvand-i frôḡ yemîtûnd, aîgh: Chîgûn darvand frôḡ yemîtûnd hōmanîh? chîgûn barâ maḡ hōmanîh? 35 min zak-i mânishn - hōmand-i gôspend - hōmand-i khvahîshn - hōmand-i mâyûvaḡ - hōmand aê

III. 20, 28. H₆ 21; with regard to the contents of the missing passage, compare Ard. Vîr. XVII. 11—27 and Mkh. II. 167—182. Z. 33, 1. H₆ has 3 for 4. 33, 4. K₂₀ has 5 for 6. 33, 8. K₂₀ omits 7. Z. 34, 11—14. H₆, G. om. 34, 2. K₂₀ omits one 8. 34, 6. K₂₀ omits final 9. 34, 14. K₀ has 10 for 11. Z. 35, 3. K₂₀ has 12 for 13. 35, 6, 10. K₂₀ omits 14.

The three Fargards

of the

H a d o k h t N a s k

t r a n s l a t e d

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

THE THREE FATHERS

by

JOHN J. MURPHY

Illustrated by

7

JOHN J. MURPHY

Chapter I.

On the value of the recital of the Ashem-vohu prayer.

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one: 2 in whom alone is thy word, the enunciation of all good, of all that is of rightful appearance¹?

3 Ahura-mazda answered him: In the Ashem-reciter², O Zarathus'tra.

¹ The Huzvâresh translation renders this passage thus: 'which of those prayers of thine is it, in whose words are all prosperity, and all manifestation of righteousness, the whole foundation and effect of which is declared thus: 'It is created excellence of which I said it is my own?' This rendering is no strict translation, but rather a paraphrase. *Kahmya*, which alone is the correct reading (see the note on the text), is erroneously rendered as a nominative; *âêvahmi*, which is clearly the locative of *âêva* 'one', is translated by *min valmanshân gûbishnûno*. It is difficult to understand how the translators arrived at such a meaning; they seem to have identified *âê* in *âêvahmi* with *âêsha* 'this', and taken *vahmi* as *vachô* 'saying, prayer', which proceeding is grammatically inadmissible. The words: 'it is created excellence', etc. are evidently the translation of some other Avesta passage which is no longer known.

² I have taken *ashem-stûtô* in the sense of a locative, since the answer must tally with the question. *Kahmya* (or *kahmi*, as the other reading is) being a locative case, the substantive corresponding to it in the answer, must be in the locative also. Now *ashem-stûtô* does not look like a locative, but as to its form it seems to be either a nominative of the part. pass. *stûta*, or a genitive of the part. pres. *stût* = *stavat*, but by no means a nominative of an abstract noun with the meaning of *stâiti*, as the Huzvâresh translation has taken it, which renders it by *stâyishnûh*. The genitive appears to stand for the locative. The following words: 'who recites the Ashem', etc. indicate that *stûtô* cannot be taken as 'praise', but must mean 'one who praises':

4 Who recites the Ashem, with believing inquiry (*remembrance*) in his mind for the continuance of life¹, 5 he praises me who am Ahura-mazda,

¹ The Huzvâresh translation renders this passage thus: 'Whoever praises piety (*recites the Ashem*) with much invocation, that is, many times, and practises this work which is in the thinking of the mind that *there is* continuation of life'. The words *fraoreḷ-frakhshni* — *anhugad hacha* occur several times in the Zand texts (Vsp. 14, 2. W. Yt. 10, 9, 51. 13, 92.), and appear to be a quotation of a well-known sacred passage. As of all the texts, in which it is now found, the Visparad is the most sacred, the passage there (14, 2. W. 16, 13. Sp.) is probably the original one. I translate the first part of the chapter (Vsp. 14) which forms one long sentence, at the end of which the passage is found, thus: '(We praise the verse) with the metrical lines, the stanzas, with the explanation, with the questions and answers, with the words and syllables, which has been well remembered by those who remember (learn by heart), and well praised by those who praise (which is) in the own making, the own manifestation, the own will, the own rule, the own mastership, the own possession of Ahura-mazda, through believing inquiry in (his) mind for the continuance of life'. This refers to the so-called Gâthas, the most holy portion of the Avesta, each metrical line of this ancient part being called a *gâtha* (see Yas. 57, 8). They are represented, as having been made by Ahura-mazda, as existing in his mind, and being constantly kept up by him, by inquiring into his own mind for the benefit of the good creation, and the continuance of life. In the same way, the priest who has learnt them, keeps them in his memory and reproduces them by questioning himself each time he repeats them. The words *fraoreḷ-frakhshni avi manô* clearly indicate the mental labour it costs the repeater when reciting the prayers. *Fraoreḷ* 'believing', liter. 'professing', signifies that this mental labour is devoted to the furtherance of the good creation, which can only be kept up by praying. *Frakhshni* appears to be a locative of a form *frakhshan* 'inquiry' which I can only trace to *peres* to ask, comp. Yas. 44, 7. *frakhshnê avami* 'I go to ask'; Yt. 10, 24, 46.: *yahmâi frakhshni avi manô mithrô jasaiti* 'to whom, on asking in his mind, Mithra comes'. The Huzvâresh translation renders it by *kabed* 'many, much', which interpretation seems to rest on some misconception, since by its application we never obtain a good sense, nor can it be explained by etymology. The meaning of *zarazdâiti* appears to be rendered correctly by the Huz. *râbâk-dahishnâh* 'continuation'. This meaning can be proved from all passages in which the word occurs. The most ancient is that in Yas. 43, 11: *sâdrâ mōi sās nâsh-yaêshû zarazdâitis*, *taḍ verezidyâi hyaḍ mōi mraotâ vahis'tem* 'with difficulty,

6 he praises the water, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the trees, he praises all good, created by Mazda, that is of rightful appearance. 7 For this saying, O Zarathus'tra, being recited correctly, *in addition* to the saying Ahuna-vairya if out-spoken, 8 *is to obtain* strength and victory for the soul, and the religion that they are furthered¹. 9 For one recital of the Ashem-vohu prayer, or one

thou toldst me, is the continuation (of the religion connected); tell me that which is the best to be done'. Thus the passage is, I think correctly, interpreted by the Huzvāresh version. In Sir. 1, 29. 2, 29. Ys. 22, 29. 25, 18. Sp. the word is connected with *māthra speñta* in which context it can only mean the continuance of the sacred word; in Visp. 18, 7. Sp. it refers in the same sense to the so-called *Yasna haptanḥāiti*. The words *zarazdāo mazdāi* Yas. 31, 1. mean 'making continuance, or giving furtherance for Mazda'; that is, to his religion. The words *Hutaosa — yā mē daēnām māzdayasnēm zaras'cha dād* Yt. 9, 26. 17, 46. mean 'Hutaosa (said to be the wife of Vishtāspa) who made me current the Mazdayasnian-religion', i. e. made it continue. The *cha* in *zaras'cha* has not the meaning 'and', but is rather an expletive, or gives only some emphasis to the word.

¹ This passage offers several difficulties. The Huz. translation renders it thus: 'For that saying, Zarathus'tra, which is rightly spoken, spoken forth, and is spoken forth as true and proper, when with the words of the Ahunver it is spoken by a destur; it will increase strength and victory and the soul and religion'. The words *ā vachō ahunō vairyō* can only mean 'in addition to', or 'including the Ahuna vairya'; *ā* means 'up to'. Instead of the nominative *ahunō vairyō* we ought to expect the genitive *ahunêḥ vairyêḥ*. *Fraokhtō* (instead of *fraokhtahê*) belongs to *ahunō vairyō*. The genitives *amahêcha verethraghnahêcha* must be taken in the sense of datives, as is often the case in the Avesta languages, as for instance in the first chapters of Yasna and Visparad where the genitives after *nivāēdhayēmi* often take the place of the dative which would be the proper case. This tendency to put the genitive instead of the dative, has in the old Persian, which stands nearest to Zand, led to the complete suppression of all dative forms. *Urunacha daēnacha* are clearly instrumental cases; but the sense seems to want a dative, or a genitive. Literally, the words mean: 'for strength and victory through the soul and religion', i. e. that the soul and religion may obtain strength and victory. *Spanvanti* is taken by the Huz. as a verbal form in the plural; but this is hardly admissible, as there is no subject on which it can depend; besides, there is no root *spenv* known,

eulogy of a pious man, is worth, O Spitama Zarathus'tra, 10 a hundred sleep-prayers, a thousand prayers when eating meat, ten thousand prayers recited for the conception of the bodies which occurs in the primary existence (*of the good creation*)¹.

either in Zand or Sanskrit. It can be only an adjectival form: *spenvat* 'increasing'; the case is the locative: 'in the increasing, i. e. in the increase'. I have rendered it 'that they (the soul and religion) are furthered'. The auxiliary verb is to be understood.

¹ This passage offers several difficulties, which are not sufficiently cleared away by the Huzvâresh translation which is as follows: 'one praise of the Ashem, O Zaratusht, descendant of Spitama, one Ashem-vohu, or one eulogy of the pious, is worth a hundred sleeps (sleeping prayers) and a thousand flesh meals, and ten thousand coitions (of animals), as if one should sleep a hundred sleeps (each time reciting a prayer), and should eat flesh a thousand times, and ten thousand times permit the coition (of animals); of any of the bodies, when without the body's arrival, the life comes (i. e. when the life enters the womb before the body of the new animal is formed, which happens at the time of coition); so much it is worth'. The general meaning of the passage can be gathered from the following expositions which are given in the context itself. The unequal value of the repetitions of the Ashem-vohu prayer, on different occasions, is here spoken of; which single repetition, on a certain occasion, is worth ten, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand other repetitions of the same prayer without the occasion stated. The words *qafna* and *gêus' qareiti* do not mean simply 'sleep', and 'eating of flesh', but prayers repeated on those occasions. On such occasions, short prayers must be recited, of which the several repetitions of the Ashem form only part. For instance, when taking a meal (*gêus qareiti*) the prayer which is contained in Yasna 37, 1: *ithâ — vîspâchá*, is to be repeated, to which three Ashem-vohus are then added. After the meal is finished, in the first place, four Ashem-vohus must be recited, which are followed by two *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*, then by another *Ashem-vohu* and some other formulas, and lastly by an Ashem. — The most difficult part of the sentence is the words: *anumayanûm — jasôithyâo*. *Anumaya*, which is generally translated by 'small cattle', has not in all passages the same meaning. In some, such as Vend. 7, 43. 14, 16. it means undoubtedly the young ones of cattle, calves and lambs; for, if several grades of cattle are distinguished, it means the smallest and youngest (Vend. 7, 43); the same meaning it must have, if a certain large number of them is mentioned, as in Vend. 18, 70. 22, 4. Yt. 5, 21.; but in at least two passages (Vend.

11 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

12 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra,
13 which a man recites for Haurvatâd and Ameretâd when eating,

2, 24 and 9, 38) this meaning is doubtful. The former: *yađ idha pasēush anumayêhê padhem vaēnâitê*, can be translated: 'that he may espy a place (fit) for the calving of cattle'; the second: *pasēush garebush anumayêhê*, can only mean 'the fruit of the copulation of cattle'. Now in our passage, the meaning of coition appears to suit best, and is actually borne out by the Huzvâresh translation which has 'ten thousand coitions'. This may look rather strange, but one has to bear in mind, that it is regarded in the Zoroastrian religion as a very meritorious work to procure the coition of cattle at the proper time, and in the proper place. That *mayā* bears such a meaning, see the Zand-Pahlavī Glossary 25, 3. and 109 s. v. *mayāo*; compare the modern Persian *māyah* 'origin'. The number 'ten thousand', here refers to the prayers to be recited at the time of the copulation of cattle, when one wishes to make it successful. — *Parō-asti* is the same as *parō-asna* meaning, even to the letter, 'pre-existence'. The pre-existence of souls is one of the doctrines of Zoroastrianism which is well known to all Parsi priests, but is, as yet, not properly comprehended by European Zandists. This word occurs in the phrase: *parō-asnāi anuhê* (Ys. 55, 2. Vend. 9, 44. 13, 8.), which is generally translated by *barā pavan zak-i nazdik ahvō* 'away to (or in) the next life'. This translation is quite literal, but does not express the sense of the original correctly; *parō* is rendered by *barā* and *asnāi* by *nazdik* 'near, next'. The 'next life' is of course that one in the other world, after death. Although this seems to be hinted at in Ys. 55, 2. by the words *pascha astascha baodhanhascha vî-urvîstīm* 'after the separation of body and soul', which follow after *parō-asnāi anuhê*, I do not think this meaning is quite correct. The *parō-asti* is not the life in the other world, as we understand it, but it signifies the primary state of the soul, to which it returns, after its separation from the body; this state is then identified with that of everlasting life. This primary existence does not refer only to man, but also to cattle. Regarding the case, *parō-asti* is to be taken as a locative, which depends on the gen. of the part. pres. fem. *jasōithyāo* qualifying *kaiñhāoschi* which is also a gen. sing. fem. referring to *tanunām*. The meaning of the phrase *parō-asti jas* (comp. Yt. 1, 25: *parō-asti jaseñtām mana dāma*) seems to be 'to occur in the primary existence', to take part in it. Here the bodies of all the young ones of animals, respectively their embryos, which all take part in the pre-existence, are to be understood.

14 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 15 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

16 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a hundred of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

17 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 18 which a man recites after swallowing of the out-squeezed homa, 19 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 20 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

21 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

22 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 23 which a man recites, starting up from sleep¹ and going to sleep again², 24 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 25 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

26 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

27 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 28 which a man recites, awaking and rising from sleep, 29 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 30 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

31 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth the whole region of Qaniratha with cattle, and with wealth in posterity³, in greatness and goodness and excellence?

¹ This translates *ustryamnō* which is rendered in Huz. by *lālā-nipimishnih*, a word which is not clearly intelligible to me. The Zand word is best traced to the root *tar* + *us* = Sans. *ut-tar* which means 'come out, or up'. *Qafnādha* is evidently an ablative, with which the Sans. *ut-tar* is likewise construed.

² *Avanuhabdemnō*, Huz. *barā-khelmnūnishnih*, to be derived from *qabda* 'to sleep' + *ava*.

³ The words *mad-rathem paiti vîrem* are difficult to explain. The Huzvâresh

32 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra,
33 which a man recites at the extreme end of life, 34 praising good
thoughts and good words and good deeds, 35 renouncing evil thoughts
and evil words and evil deeds.

36 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth all this
which is in the earth and in the sky, and this earth, and those lights,
and all good things created by Mazda which have their origin in truth?

37 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra,
38 when one renounces evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

Chapter II.

On the fate of the soul of the pious after death.

(Comp. *Vishtāsp Nask* VIII. 53—64. *Vend.* 19, 27—32. *Arđā Virāf* IV. 8—35.
Mainyō-i Khard II. 123—157.)

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munifi-
cent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one:
2 when a pious man passes away, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: 4 It sits down near the head, 5 chant-
ing the Gātha Us'tavaiti, imploring blessedness thus: 'Blessed is he,
blessed is everyone to whom Ahura-mazda, the ruler by his own
will, should grant (the two everlasting powers)'¹. 6 On this night the

version has: *levatman ras, barā min vir, javiđ min anshūtā*; *ras* is probably the
Zand *ratha* 'chariot'; *barā min vir* translates *paiti virem*, but not correctly, I think,
as this would mean 'without men'; and the same sense is conveyed by the gloss
javiđ min anshūtā. But *paiti* can never bear the meaning 'without'; the trans-
lator has, perhaps, confounded *paiti* with *para*. *Rathem* I have traced to the root
rā 'to give' and taken in the sense of 'wealth'; in this case, we must suppose that
the *a* has been shortened. But it may, perhaps better, be traced to *ratu* 'head':
then *rathem* would be read *rathwem*, and mean 'headship'; and the sense would
be: 'men (offspring) who are chiefs'.

¹ See Haug's 'Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the
Parsis', pag. 147.

soul perceives as much of pleasure as all that which *he had when he was* a living existence (*living in the world*)¹.

7 Where dwells his soul the second night?

8 Then said Ahura-mazda: 9—10 [*as in 4—5*]. 11 On this night also *the soul perceives* as much of pleasure [*as in 6*].

12 Where dwells his soul also the third night?

13 Then said Ahura-mazda: 14—15 [*as in 4—5*]. 16 On this night also, 17 *the soul perceives* as much of pleasure [*as in 6*].

18 On the passing away of the third night, when the dawn appears², the soul of the pious man appears passing through trees and sweet scents. 19 To him there seems a wind blowing from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, 20 a sweet scent more

¹ The Huzvāresh translation has: 'unto it in that night, is as much comfort and (as?) the soul wants for, *as much* as all that which it saw, during lifetime in the world'. The sense conveyed by it, is certainly correct; but it is not so easy to explain it grammatically. *Juyō* may be, as to its form, the gen. sg. of a nom. *jvi* fem. which never occurs; but it may also be taken as a nom. sg. standing for *jryō* = *jirya*. In our passage, I am rather inclined to take it in the latter sense; *juyō aṇhus* means 'the living existence'; the sense is: 'the soul has in that night as much pleasure as his whole living existence comprised'.

² The Huz. has: 'at the end of the third night, at the rising (of the light) also appears to him, in the dawn, what is the soul of the pious man', etc. *Thraos'ta* is thus translated by *rôeshman* 'end', which seems to be correct as regards the general sense. Grammatically, *thraos'ta* is an instrumental, in the sense of a locative. I trace it to the root *tar* 'to pass by', standing for *tarus'ta*; this is, I think, an abstract noun of *tarus* the past part. act. of *tar*, meaning 'having passed away'. The *a* of *tar* has disappeared, as the accent must have been on *us'*, and *t* is changed to *th* according to rule; the change to *ao* = *o* appears to be more a matter of pronunciation than of etymology. *Vyusā sadhayēiti* is rendered by *pavan uzda-hishnih medammînēd pavan aūshbām*, whence it follows that *vyusā* was taken as a locative. In Vend. 19, 28. there is, in a parallel passage, really the locative *vyusaiti*, but without *sadhayēiti*; I am, therefore, inclined to take *sadhayēiti* as the locative part. pres. 'in the dawning appearing' i. e. when the dawn appears.

sweet-scented than other winds. 21 Then inhaling¹ that wind with the nose, the soul of the pious man considers: Whence² blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 22 Advancing³ with this wind, there appears to him what is his own religion, 23 in the body of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, high-statured⁴, tall, with prominent breasts, straight⁵, noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful as the most beautiful of creatures.

24 Then the soul of the pious man spoke to her, asking: What virgin art thou, whom I have seen here as the most beautiful of virgins in form?

25 Then answered him his own religion: I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds (and) good religion, on account of which good religion in thy own possession, 26 everyone has loved thee for such greatness, and goodness, and beauty, and perfume, and victor-

¹ *Uzgerembyô* is translated by *lâlâ vakhdûnd* 'taken up', here 'snuffed up'. The translator has evidently derived it from *gerew* 'to take' which is, I think, correct; *mb* stands apparently for *w*, which was, perhaps, some provincialism. As to its form, it is the part. of the pres. tense of the causal form, but with suppression of the *a* before *yô*, which might have caused the change of *w* to *mb*.

² *Kuda-dhaêm*, Huz. *min aîgh dahishno* 'whence originating', which rendering is certainly correct as to the sense; but there is some difficulty as to the construction. As it refers to *rûtô* we ought to expect *kuda-dhayô*.

³ *Frêrenta*, Huz. *fravâft* 'advancing'; it is the instrumental of a noun *frêrenti* 'arrival'.

⁴ *Huzarshtayô*, Huz. *lâlâ astâḍak aîgh yûdân va būland* 'standing up, i. e. young and high; I have accordingly translated it by 'high-statured'. The derivation of the word is uncertain.

⁵ *Sraotanvô*, Huz. *nadûk tanû* 'of a good body'. The first part of the word is probably to be traced to a word *sarva*, or *srva*, which is no longer extant in the Zand, but preserved in the modern Persian سبزه 'a cypress'; thus it means 'cypress-bodied' i. e. high, tall, or straight. Persian poets frequently compare tall female statures to cypresses; and *sraotanvô* is generally used in the description of female beauties.

iousness which overcomes enemies, as thou appearest to me¹. 27 Thou hast loved me, O youth, the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, the good religion with such greatness and goodness, and beauty and perfume, and victoriousness which overcomes enemies, as I appear to thee. 28 When thou mightest see another performing burning (of the dead) and idolworship, and causing oppression, and cutting down trees, 29 then thou wouldst sit down, chanting the Gāthas, and consecrating the good waters and the fire of Ahura-mazda, and extolling the pious man coming from near and far². 30 Then *thou madest* me,

¹ This is thus rendered by the Huz.: 'She said in reply who was his own religion, thus: I am thou, I am (that is, I am thou thyself), O youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, who am thy own religion which remained as excellent as thy own self. This it is for whose will and whose deeds thou art as great and good and virtuous and sweet-scented and triumphant and unharmed as appears to me'. *Yâ hava daēna* is to be taken as an instrumental 'through the own religion', i. e. on account of the own religion; *gaēpaithē* is locative. The Huz. has, as is often the case, wrongly divided the sentences, and separated *chischa chakana* from the relative sentence *yâ hava daēna*.

² The Huz. has: 'When thou sawest those others that they committed injury and idolworship [they made demon worship], and they, with their own will, destroyed the wills of fellow-creatures [that is, whoever desired any thing, it was not given to them], and they made trees the doors [that is, their door was shut up]; then thou hast sat down, and the Gāthas were chanted by thee, and the good waters were worshiped, and the fire of Aûharmazd was cared for by thee, and the pious man was also praised by thee, who came from near and who was also from far'. *Saochaya* is rendered by *afsôs*, 'ridicule, injury'; but this can be hardly correct, for it can only be derived from *sueh* 'to burn'; it probably refers to the burning of the dead which is a crime according to the Zoroastrian religion. — *Baosavaseha* is rendered by *bôndak* (the meaning of which is not clear to me), and explained by *shedayâzakîh* 'demon-worship'. In Minokh. II. 132, the word seems to be explained by *bêshîdan u tar kardan* 'causing oppression and overbearing'. If I may venture upon a guess, I am inclined to take it as a foreign word to be identified with *bodhisatva*, the well known buddhistic term by which the candidates for the dignity of a Buddha are designated, who are worshiped. Many scholars will object to the occurrence of buddhistic terms in Zand writings; but in Yt. 13, 16. *Gaotema* is

being beloved, more beloved, me being beautiful, more beautiful, me being desirable, more desirable, 31 me being seated in a high place, sitting down in a *still* higher place, 32 through this good thought, through this good word, through this good deed. Then men afterwards worship me, Ahura-mazda, the long worshiped and conversed with.

33 The soul of the pious man first advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Humata (*good thought*); the soul of the pious

mentioned, which can only refer to *Gautama Buddha*, as Gaotema is put in opposition to Zarathus'tra (for he alone is to be understood by *vyākhanô vyākhamô hugûshayađ-ukhdhō*), and made posterior to the Pârsi prophet. Now we know that the religion of Zoroaster was partly superseded by that of Buddha, at a very early time, at Balkh. If Buddhism be alluded to in some parts of the Zandavesta, then of course, those pieces must be of a later date than the bulk of the Zand writings appear to be. There is, however, no reason to regard the Yashts as old; many of them are certainly not older than the Buddhistic times. — *Varakhedhrâoscha varôzhintem* is rendered by *pavan kâmak-i nafshman kâmak hamkhâkân makhîtând*, 'with their own will they destroyed the wills of their fellow-creatures'. *Vara* is here taken in the sense of 'will, wish'; *khedhra* appears to be identified with خود 'himself', and *zhintem* traced to the root *jan* 'to slay'. All these identifications and derivations are more than doubtful. In Minokh. II. 132, which contains a somewhat free translation of the passage, these words are explained by *qâsta ezh bazha aňdôkhtan*, 'acquiring wealth by crime'; in the account of Ardâ Virâf, the passage is omitted. There is no doubt, the traditional interpreters referred the words to goods, or wealth, acquired in an improper manner, or unlawfully, or to oppression; but I doubt whether this is the correct meaning. The first part of *varakhedhra* (the reading *vakhedhra* in Yt. 24, 37, 59. is certainly wrong) is *vara* which may mean 'choice', 'excavation, cavern, grotto', 'garden' or 'breast'. If we consider that *urvarô-strayâscha*, which can only mean 'cutting down of trees' (a great crime according to the Zoroastrian religion) follows immediately, we are justified in supposing that *varakhedhra* may refer to a similar crime against the good creation. I therefore take it as 'excavation, grotto', and *varôzhintem* as 'covering over, destroying', *varôzh* being a denominative; thus it means 'destroying excavations, or vaults', probably water-courses, which is a great sin according to the Zoroastrian religion. This is, however, only a guess of mine. In the translation, I have adopted the traditional view.

man secondly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Hūkhta (*good word*); the soul of the pious man thirdly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Huvarshta (*good action*). 34 The soul of the pious man fourthly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed on the eternal luminaries.

35 To him spoke a pious one, previously deceased, asking: How, O pious one, didst thou die? how, O pious one, didst thou come away from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds? ¹ 36 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? how long will have been thy blessing!

37 Then said Ahura-mazda: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

38 Of the nourishments brought to him, *there is some* of the Zare-maya-oil²; that is the food of a youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after death; 39 that *is* the food for a woman of very good thoughts, of very good words, of very good deeds, well-governed, ruled by a master *and* pious, after death.

¹ The Huz. renders this passage as follows: 'How didst thou come away, O pious one, to this place, from that dwelling-supplied, cattle-supplied, desire-supplied [that is, they desire others in it], cohabitation-supplied [that is, they cohabit after the menstuous discharge, which is said to be a characteristic of the world]'; *vayačibyascha hacha máyavaitibyascha* I have translated by 'from the copulating birds'. Though this may seem strange, the sense can hardly be otherwise. The Huz. renders *vayačibyascha* by *khvahishn* 'desire'; but this sense is too vague. Birds form part of the good creation; and their copulation is regarded as auspicious.

² The Huz. has: 'Let them bring him as food the Zaremaya-oil'. *Beretānām* is taken as a 3^d pers. plur. imperat.; but it is the gen. plur. of the past part. *bereta*, as to its form; though a verb is wanted by the sense. As the text now stands, the auxiliary verb must be supplied.

Chapter III.

On the fate of the wicked soul after death.

(Comp. Arđā Virāf XVII. 4—23; Mainyō-i Khard II. 158—194.)

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda [*as in II. 1*]: 2 when a wicked man dies, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: There, indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, in the vicinity of the head it runs about, 4 chanting the Gātha Kām-nemē-zām: 'To what land can I turn, where can I go to in turning?' 5 On this night, the soul perceives as much of uneasiness as all that which *he had when he was* a living existence.

6—10 Where remains his soul the second night? *etc. [as in 3—5]*.

11—16 Where remains his soul the third night? *etc. [as in 3—5]*.

17 On the passing away of the third night, O pious Zarathus'tra, when the dawn appears, the soul of the wicked man appears passing through terrors and stench. 18 To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more northern side, from the more northern quarters, 19 a stench more foul-smelling than other winds. 20 Then inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the wicked man considers: Whence blows the wind, the most stinking wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 21—32 [*Omitted in the MSS., being the converse of II. 22—33*],

33 The soul of the wicked man fourthly advanced with a foot-step *which* he placed on the eternal glooms.

34 To him spoke a wicked one, previously dead, asking: How, O wicked one, didst thou die? how, O wicked one, didst thou come away 35 from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds, 36 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? How long will be thy distress!

37 Anrô-mainyu shouted: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

38 Of the nourishments brought to him, *there are some* from poison and poisonous stench; that is the food, after death, of a youth of evil thought, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion; 39 that *is* the food, after death, for a harlot of very evil thoughts, of very evil words, of very evil deeds, ill-instructed, not ruled by a master, *and* wicked.





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THE COMPLETE TEXT OF
THE
PAHLAVI DINKARD

PUBLISHED BY
"THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION"

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
DHANJISHAH MEHERJIBHAI MADAN, M. A., LL. B.

PART I

BOOKS III — V

BOMBAY

1911



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PART I

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GANPATRAO RAMAJIRAO SINDHE

FORT PRINTING PRESS, No. 1, PARSİ BAZAR ST., FORT

PREFACE

The Pahlavi text of the Dinkard, has a special importance of its own. Besides giving us an idea of the opinions of some of the Sasanian Dasturs on various social, economic, philosophical and religious questions, this work contains in the last three books firstly, the earliest account of the so-called " marvels " ascribed to Zarathushtra in tradition, and secondly, a pretty detailed summary of all the different twenty-one Nasks which at one time constituted the Zoroastrian Scriptures in their integrity. The importance of the work was recognised by the Trustees of the charitable funds and properties of the Parsi Punchayet, who, so early as the sixties of the last century, arranged with the late Dastur Dr. Peshotan Sanjana for the publication of an annotated edition of the text with translation in English and Gujarati in parts, the Dastur receiving a very handsome remuneration for each volume. The first of the edited volumes appeared in 1869, and when the Dastur died, eight volumes were issued to the public. The ninth volume was thereafter published as his posthumous work. The trustees of the Punchayet funds then arranged for the publication of the rest of the work with the Dastur's son and successor, Shams-ul-Olma Dastur Darab, who has thus far been able to publish three more volumes bringing up the published portion of the work to just a little over half the complete work, after the lapse of over forty years.

The attention of the members of "The Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion" was drawn to the work by the Dastur's son and successor, Shams-ul-Olma Dastur Darab, who has thus far been able to publish three more volumes bringing up the published portion of the work to just a little over half the complete work, after the lapse of over forty years. and it was decided that the Society should undertake the publication of the work in an unexpurgated impression of the text without notes for the use of students and scholars who were always a few happy possessors of manuscript copies of the work. The Dastur's son and successor, Shams-ul-Olma Dastur Darab, who has thus far been able to publish three more volumes bringing up the published portion of the work to just a little over half the complete work, after the lapse of over forty years. forward with quotations from the Pahlavi work as verified. Of course, it was open to the Dastur to do the best he could, his edited volumes of the remainder of the work. After this decision was arrived at, I offered to superintend the publication as a labour of love, and through the kindness of the late Mr. K. R. Cama who evinced the

PREFACE

the scheme, I was permitted to retain in my possession the unique manuscript of the Dinkard from the Mulla Feroz Library for the purpose of my work on certain conditions.

But soon after, several gentlemen intervened to advise Mr. Cama to give up the project of printing the Pahalvi work, not the least important among them being Shams-ul-Olna Dastur Darab Sanjana. It was represented to the deceased gentleman that no student could possibly publish a correct copy of the original text, and that every pie of the money spent on a print would be wasted. A photo-zinco impression would alone be of any use, and if the Society undertook the publication of a photo-zinco facsimile, Dastur Darab would also purchase a copy. This was encouragement indeed ! And Mr. Cama immediately issued instructions to stay for a time the printing work, and estimates of the cost of the facsimile were invited from different parties in India, and even from far-off Germany. Several months thus passed by, and in the end it was found that if a facsimile of the work were issued, the cost would be so great that in all probability the sale of the work would not be even 50 copies among students and scholars. The original idea of printing was therefore again fallen upon, and I was asked to begin with my work without delay.

It is necessary for me to give a note of the manuscript which was placed at my disposal for this work. It is the well-known MS. from the Mulla Feroz Library known as the MS. B to European Scholars. This manuscript has an interesting history. Being brought over to Surat from Persia in or about the year 1783 by one Mulla Behman, it was lent to the then Dastur of the place, to allow him to have it copied. It was with great difficulty that the loan could be redeemed, and when the manuscript was returned to its lawful possessor, several folios were missing. In this defect the manuscript was bound, and it now contains fourteen inches high and ten inches wide, written on one page. About 70 folios thus appear to have been

Out of these, 14 loose folios have come into the hands of the custodians of the Mulla Feroz Library, along with the rest of the manuscript, and I was allowed to use them for the purpose of this work. Seven more folios were in the possession of Dr. Hoshang Jamasp of Poona and by the kindness of the Sardar Kaikobad Adarbad Dastur Noshirwan, the then Dastur, I was permitted to use those sheets for which thirty-three folios more were in the library of the

Dastur Dr. Peshotanji B. Sanjana, and are now in the possession of his son Dastur Darab. From the accounts I have received, relating to these latter sheets, I understand that the late Dr. Martin Haug had managed to procure those sheets from their possessors and had just a little before his retirement to Europe from India handed them to the late Dastur Peshotanji, who had about that time taken in hand the work of editing the Dinkard, to enable the latter to publish a complete edition of the volumes of the Dinkard. I tried very hard to obtain from Dastur Darab a loan of these sheets for the purpose of this publication. The Society for which I was working approached the Dastur who was then its President and requested him over and over again to be good enough to lend the sheets to me. Appeals were made to him in that behalf as a scholar, as a Dastur and as a President of the Society to assist in the Society's work. But all the answer that the Society received from Dastur Darab was that in case the Society had undertaken to issue a photo-zinco facsimile of the work, he "*might consider*" the question of making the loan. But he could on no account lend the sheets for a printed edition of the Dinkard. I do not wish to comment at any length on this attitude of the Dastur. Suffice it to say that the Dastur is now retaining in his custody a portion of the property which at one time was kept back by some people without the wish or permission of its lawful owner who never was able himself to redeem it, and which property was entrusted to the late Dastur Peshotanji by Dr. Haug for being utilised for the benefit of the public at large. It is a real pity for scholarship that Dastur Darab's ideal of a Dastur, a scholar and a President of a learned Society has remained circumscribed within such limits as not to induce him to part for a time with the few sheets of the manuscript, when his ownership of those sheets might perhaps be questioned at law, considering the history of the pilfered manuscript of which the sheets form a part. Dastur Darab did not lend me his possession. But I have not on that account left my work incomplete. At the time when the lost sheets were again discovered, several scholars had made copies of those sheets. The late Dastur Erachji Meherji Rana had made a copy of these sheets and that copy is to be found in the Mulla Feroz Library. The late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria had also made a copy of them in his own hand. My good preceptor Ervad Edulji Kersaspji Antia had made a copy for his own private library. One copy was found also in the library of the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp. These three latter copies were allowed

to be retained by me by the kind favour of their respective owners, and I must express to them all, my warmest thanks. I have made a very judicious use of these three copies which I have carefully compared with the copy of Dastur Erachji Meherji Rana at the Mulla Feroz Library, and have thus filled up the lacunæ in the MS. B.

As specially directed at a meeting of the Society under whose auspices this work is issued to the public, I am giving below the lines of the pages of this work at which the text of the different folios in the MS. B begins. By way of footnotes I shall give the exact places where I have used copies other than the MS. B in order to fill up the gaps of the 40 and odd folios which I could not obtain from their possessor. The numbering of the folios in B which is marked not in figures but in what is known as the *shikaste* or broken style of writing Persian characters, is highly erratic. Its exact nature will be seen from the table below.

I have got to add just a word particularly regarding Book Ninth of the Dinkard. A very precious manuscript belonging to the library of the late Dr. Hoshang Jamasp of Poona containing a portion of the *Bundahishn*, the complete text of the *Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht* and also portions of the Dinkard was made available for my use by Dastur Sirdar Kaikobad Adarbad Dastur Noshirwan through my friend Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria who has given a complete description of the manuscript in his Introduction to the greater Bundahishn of the late Ervard Tahmuras Anklesaria. Readers of Dr. West's translation of portions of the Dinkard in the Sacred Books of the East series will have noticed that the late scholar has had to leave two gaps in his translation of the ninth book, as a folio in each case was missed by him in the MS. B, and as the MS. K of Copenhagen did not extend far enough as regards the ninth book of the Dinkard to enable him to supplement the text in B. I have been fortunate in finding the missing portions in the manuscript of Dastur Hoshang, and have shown below where I have inserted those portions in the body of the work. One word more. I found on comparing this last manuscript with the MS. B that the text of the latter was slightly different in several places from the former, and contained also several omissions from the text. From Dr. West's translation I could gather that the MS. K, so far as it went, was almost always in agreement with the Poona Dastur's MS. I have therefore thought it my duty to let readers of the work know the variants of the two important manuscripts. The portions in Book

Ninth of the print which I have placed within large brackets thus [] are those which are found in the Poona MS. but not in MS. B. The portions which I have placed within small brackets thus () are those which are found in the MS. B, but not in the Poona MS. I trust this arrangement will not be found very inconvenient to students and scholars. At this stage, I should like to add that the writer of B in its earlier portion has capriciously placed some of the text in red ink. In some cases, every alternate line on several pages in succession appears thus in red ink. I have distinguished all that red ink portion by having it printed in heavy type in this book. On very rare occasions, the reading of individual Pahlavi words in Avestan characters is found placed above the words in B. I have inserted such readings immediately after the Pahlavi in square brackets. No such case occurs in the ninth book, and hence there is no chance of a confusion being created regarding my use of square brackets in the print.

The part which was assigned to me in the publication of this work was not that of an editor. My instructions were most scrupulously to publish a copy, and an exact copy of the MS. B. I have therefore not amended even patent mistakes in the manuscript wherever they occurred. Opinions must differ as to the advisability of this course of conduct. I have only to say that in adopting this course I was only acting on instructions.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to offer my sincere and hearty thanks to the managing committee of the Mulla Feroz Library, the members of which had the kindness, appreciating the importance of this work, to allow me for the space of nearly two years, to retain the possession of the valuable manuscript from which I have derived my material. To Dastur Sirdar Kaikobad Adarbad Dastur Noshirwan of Poona I am indebted for the loan of the precious original manuscript to which I have referred above, as well as of his duplicate copy of the portion of the text, the original of which has been carefully preserved in the strong boxes of the Dastur of the Bombay Atash-Beheram. I beg to tender him my hearty thanks for that valuable assistance, as also to my former teacher Ervad Edalji Antia for having placed at my disposal his own copy of the same portion of the text. My thanks are also due to my friend Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria for having furnished me with very valuable information regarding the publication of this work, and for the very sympathetic assistance rendered to me by him during the conduct of the work in the press.

PREFACE

Given below are the lines of the pages in this work at which the text of the folios in the MS. B begins in each case.

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|-----------|------|-------|------|------|
| 1a | } Missing | | 18b | 45 | 18 |
| 1b | | | 19a | 47 | 9 |
| 2a | 1 | 1 | 19b | 48 | 17 |
| 2b | 2 | 7 | 20a | 50 | 4 |
| 3a | 3 | 4 | 20b | 51 | 12 |
| 3b | 4 | 10 | 21a | 52 | 21 |
| 4a | 5 | 14 | 21b | 54 | 5 |
| 4b | 6 | 22 | 22a | 55 | 13 |
| 5a | 8 | 6 | 22b | 57 | 2 |
| 5b | 9 | 18 | 23a | 58 | 9 |
| 6a | 11 | 7 | 23b | 59 | 19 |
| 6b | 12 | 18 | 24a | 61 | 4 |
| 7a | 14 | 8 | 24b | 62 | 10 |
| 7b | 15 | 21 | 25a | 63 | 17 |
| 8a | 17 | 14 | 25b | 65 | 2 |
| 8b | 19 | 7 | 26a | 66 | 11 |
| 9a | 20 | 20 | 26b | 67 | 19 |
| 9b | 22 | 7 | 27a | 69 | 6 |
| 10a | 23 | 15 | 27b | 70 | 17 |
| 10b | 24 | 23 | 28a | 72 | 3 |
| 11a | 26 | 4 | 28b | 73 | 11 |
| 11b | 27 | 14 | 29a | 74 | 17 |
| 12a | 28 | 20 | 29b | 76 | 2 |
| 12b | 30 | 1 | 30a | 77 | 8 |
| 13a | 31 | 7 | 30b | 78 | 15 |
| 13b | 32 | 12 | 31a | 80 | 3 |
| 14a | 33 | 15 | 31b | 81 | 12 |
| 14b | 34 | 18 | 32a | 82 | 17 |
| 15a | 36 | 2 | 32b | 84 | 4 |
| 15b | 37 | 12 | 33a | 85 | 14 |
| 16a | 38 | 19 | 33b | 87 | 1 |
| 16b | 40 | 8 | 34a | 88 | 11 |
| 17a | 41 | 15 | 34b | 89 | 19 |
| 17b | 43 | 3 | 35a | 91 | 2 |
| 18a | 44 | 12 | 35b | 92 | 9 |

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| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 36a | 93 | 13 | 55a | 141 | 6 |
| 36b | 94 | 17 | 55b | 142 | 4 |
| 37a | 96 | 2 | 56a | 143 | 10 |
| 37b | 97 | 11 | 56b | 144 | 17 |
| 38a | 99 | 2 | 57a | 145 | 21 |
| 38b | 100 | 14 | 57b | 147 | 6 |
| 39a | 102 | 1 | 58a | 148 | 11 |
| 39b | 103 | 7 | 58b | 149 | 17 |
| 40a | 104 | 14 | 59a | 150 | 20 |
| 40b | 105 | 19 | 59b | 152 | 4 |
| 41a | 106 | 23 | 60a | 153 | 11 |
| 41b | 108 | 7 | 60b | 154 | 18 |
| 42a | 109 | 13 | 61a | 155 | 21 |
| 42b | 110 | 21 | 61b | 157 | 9 |
| 43a | 112 | 3 | 62a | 158 | 14 |
| 43b | 113 | 7 | 62b | 159 | 17 |
| 44a | 114 | 11 | 63a | 160 | 21 |
| 44b | 115 | 13 | 63b | 162 | 4 |
| 45a | 116 | 15 | 64a | 163 | 9 |
| 45b | 117 | 17 | 64b | 164 | 15 |
| 46a | 118 | 20 | 65a | 165 | 19 |
| 46b | 120 | 3 | 65b | 167 | 4 |
| 47a | 121 | 9 | 66a | 168 | 11 |
| 47b | 122 | 14 | 66b | 169 | 18 |
| 48a | 123 | 18 | 67a | 171 | 1 |
| 48b | 125 | 2 | 67b | 172 | 8 |
| 49a | 126 | 9 | 68a | 173 | 14 |
| 49b | 127 | 17 | 68b | 174 | 18 |
| 50a | 128 | 22 | 69a | 175 | 22 |
| 50b | 130 | 8 | 69b | 177 | 3 |
| 51a | 131 | 14 | 70a | 178 | 8 |
| 51b | 132 | 22 | 70b | 179 | 12 |
| 52a | 134 | 4 | 71a | 180 | 15 |
| 52b | 135 | 8 | 71b | 181 | 16 |
| 53a | 136 | 11 | 72a | 182 | 19 |
| 53b | 137 | 15 | 72b | 183 | 23 |
| 54a | 138 | 20 | 73a | 185 | 6 |
| 54b | 140 | 2 | 73b | 186 | 11 |

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| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 74a | 187 | 12 | 90b | 229 | 7 |
| 74b | 188 | 13 | 91a | 230 | 10 |
| 74a* | 189 | 19 | 91b | 231 | 12 |
| 74b* | 190 | 21 | 92a | 232 | 13 |
| 75a | 191 | 22 | 92b | 233 | 18 |
| 75b | 193 | 3 | 93a | 234 | 21 |
| 76a | 194 | 4 | 93b | 236 | 3 |
| 76b | 195 | 8 | 94a | 237 | 8 |
| 77a | 196 | 12 | 94b | 238 | 10 |
| 77b | 197 | 15 | 95a | 239 | 12 |
| 78a | 198 | 19 | 95b | 240 | 16 |
| 78b | 200 | 5 | 96a | 241 | 22 |
| 79a | 201 | 11 | 96b | 243 | 4 |
| 79b | 202 | 16 | 97a | 244 | 6* |
| 80a | 203 | 21 | 103a | 257 | 7 |
| 80b | 205 | 5 | 103b | 258 | 10 |
| 81a | 206 | 10 | 104a | 259 | 13 |
| 81b | 207 | 14 | 104b | 260 | 16 |
| 82a | 208 | 19 | 105a | 261 | 19 |
| 82b | 210 | 3 | 105b | 263 | 1 |
| 83a | 211 | 6 | 106a | 264 | 6 |
| 83b | 212 | 13 | 106b | 265 | 10 |
| 84a | 213 | 18 | 107a | 266 | 10 |
| 84b | 214 | 21 | 107b | 267 | 12 |
| 85a | 216 | 2 | 108a | 268 | 14 |
| 85b | 217 | 10 | 108b | 269 | 17 |
| 86a | 218 | 14 | 109a | 270 | 17 |
| 86b | 219 | 19 | 109b | 271 | 20 |
| 87a | 221 | 4 | 110a | 272 | 21 |
| 87b | 222 | 8 | 110b | 274 | 2 |
| 88a | 223 | 12 | 111a | 275 | 5 |
| 88b | 224 | 18 | 111b | 276 | 11 |
| 89a | 225 | 22 | | | |
| 89b | 227 | 3 | | | |
| 90a | 228 | 7 | | | |

*One folio is marked twice over at this place

* The text beginning with the word שֶׁכֵּן at this place to the word שֶׁכֵּן inclusive at page 257 line 7 constitutes the first gap of five folios which I have filled up from the copies referred to by me above.

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| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 112a | 277 | 17 | 131a | 325 | 6 |
| 112b | 279 | 1 | 131b | 326 | 11 |
| 113a | 280 | 6 | 132a | 327 | 16 |
| 113b | 281 | 12 | 132b | 328 | 21 |
| 114a | 282 | 16 | 133a | 330 | 3 |
| 114b | 283 | 21 | 133b | 331 | 9 |
| 115a | 285 | 2 | 134a | 332 | 15 |
| 115b | 286 | 8 | 134b | 333 | 20 |
| 116a | 287 | 12 | 135a | 335 | 3 |
| 116b | 288 | 15 | 135b | 336 | 6 |
| 117a | 289 | 21 | 136a | 337 | 10 |
| 117b | 291 | 6 | 136b | 338 | 18 |
| 118a | 292 | 12 | 137a | 340 | 5 |
| 118b | 293 | 20 | 137b | 341 | 12 |
| 119a | 295 | 3 | 138a | 342 | 21 |
| 119b | 296 | 8 | 138b | 344 | 4 |
| 120a | 297 | 15 | 139a | 344 | 5 |
| 120b | 298 | 20 | 139b | 346 | 6 |
| 121a | 300 | 1 | 140a | 347 | 9 |
| 121b | 301 | 6 | 140b | 348 | 11 |
| 122a | 302 | 12 | 141a | 349 | 15 |
| 122b | 303 | 17 | 141b | 350 | 17 |
| 123a | 304 | 22 | 142a | 351 | 20 |
| 123b | 306 | 5 | 142b | 353 | 1 |
| 124a | 307 | 9 | 143a | 354 | 3 |
| 124b | 308 | 18 | 143b | 355 | 6 |
| 125a | 309 | 22 | 144a | 356 | 5 |
| 125b | 311 | 4 | 144b | 357 | 10 |
| 126a | 312 | 7 | 145a | 358 | 17 |
| 126b | 313 | 13 | 145b | 360 | 3 |
| 127a | 314 | 17 | 146a | 361 | 7 |
| 127b | 316 | 1 | 146b | 362 | 11 |
| 128a | 317 | 8 | 147a | 363 | 13 |
| 128b | 318 | 17 | 147b | 364 | 17 |
| 129a | 320 | 2 | 148a | 365 | 20 |
| 129b | 321 | 10 | 148b | 367 | 1 |
| 130a | 322 | 15 | 149a | 368 | 2 |
| 130b | 323 | 21 | 149b | 369 | 10 |

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 200a* | 370 | 14 | 217b | 413 | 4 |
| 200b | 371 | 17 | 218a | 414 | 8 |
| 201a | 372 | 19 | 218b | 415 | 12 |
| 201b | 374 | 3 | 219a | 416 | 16 |
| 202a | 375 | 6 | 219b | 417 | 18 |
| 202b | 376 | 12 | 220a | 418 | 19 |
| 203a | 377 | 15 | 220b | 419 | 21 |
| 203b | 378 | 17 | 221a | 421 | 4 |
| 204a | 379 | 22 | 221b | 422 | 9 |
| 204b | 381 | 5 | 222a | 423 | 14 |
| 205a | 382 | 8 | 222b | 424 | 19 |
| 205b | 383 | 13 | 223a | 426 | 2 |
| 206a | 384 | 15 | 223b | 427 | 7 |
| 206b | 385 | 20 | 224a | 428 | 10 |
| 207a | 387 | 1 | 224b | 429 | 16 |
| 207b | 388 | 7 | 225a | 430 | 21 |
| 208a | 389 | 12 | 225b | 433 | 1 |
| 208b | 390 | 17 | 226a | 434 | 5 |
| 209a | 391 | 19 | 226b | 435 | 10 |
| 209b | 393 | 4 | 227a | 436 | 15 |
| 210a | 394 | 8 | 227b | 437 | 22 |
| 210b | 395 | 13 | 228a | 439 | 4 |
| 211a | 396 | 18 | 228b | 440 | 13 |
| 211b | 397 | 22 | 229a | 441 | 21 |
| 212a | 399 | 3 | 229b | 443 | 7 |
| 212b | 400 | 6 | 230a | 444 | 14 |
| 213a | 401 | 11 | 230b | 445 | 19 |
| 213b | 402 | 15 | 231a | 447 | 3 |
| 214a | 403 | 18 | 231b | 448 | 9 |
| 214b | 405 | 1 | 232a | 449 | 12 |
| 215a | 406 | 4 | 232b | 450 | 16 |
| 215b | 407 | 11 | 233a | 451 | 19 |
| 216a | 409 | 14 | 233b | 453 | 2 |
| 216b | 410 | 22 | 234a | 454 | 5 |
| 217a | 412 | 3 | 234b | 455 | 13 |
| | | | 235a | 456 | 15 |
| | | | 235b | 457 | 22 |
| | | | 236a | 459 | 4 |

*There is here a mistake in writing the folios. Instead of 150 we find the folio marked 200.

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| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 236b | 460 | 9 | 255b | 508 | 17 |
| 237a | 461 | 15 | 256a | 509 | 16 |
| 237b | 462 | 22 | 256b | 510 | 20 |
| 238a | 464 | 4 | 257a | 511 | 22 |
| 238b | 465 | 12 | 257b | 513 | 5 |
| 239a | 466 | 20 | 258a | 514 | 7 |
| 239b | 468 | 6 | 258b | 515 | 10 |
| 240a | 469 | 15 | 259a | 516 | 12 |
| 240b | 473 | 2 | 259b | 517 | 13 |
| 241a | 474 | 11 | 260a | 218 | 14 |
| 241b | 475 | 18 | 260b | 519 | 16 |
| 242a | 477 | 1 | 261a | 520 | 19 |
| 242b | 478 | 6 | 261b | 521 | 17 |
| 243a | 479 | 10 | 262a | 522 | 15 |
| 243b | 480 | 18 | 262b | 523 | 18 |
| 244a | 482 | 1 | 263a | 524 | 19 |
| 244b | 483 | 9 | 263b | 526 | 2 |
| 245a | 484 | 12 | 264a | 527 | 8 |
| 245b | 485 | 17 | 264b | 528 | 11 |
| 246a | 487 | 1 | 265a | 529 | 14 |
| 246b | 488 | 7 | 265b | 530 | 17 |
| 247a | 489 | 13 | 266a | 531 | 19 |
| 247b | 490 | 16 | 266b | 533 | 4 |
| 248a | 491 | 20 | 267a | 534 | 15 |
| 248b | 493 | 1 | 267b | 535 | 20 |
| 249a | 494 | 4 | 268a | 537 | 8 |
| 249b | 495 | 9 | 268b | 538 | 15 |
| 250a | 496 | 11 | 269a | 539 | 18 |
| 250b | 497 | 17 | 269b | 540 | 21 |
| 251a | 498 | 19 | 270a | 542 | 2 |
| 251b | 499 | 23 | 270b | 543 | 5 |
| 252a | 501 | 3 | 271a | 544 | 11 |
| 252b | 502 | 5 | 271b | 545 | 7 |
| 253a | 503 | 6 | 272a | 546 | 4 |
| 253b | 504 | 8 | 272b | 547 | 8 |
| 254a | 505 | 8 | 273a | 548 | 9 |
| 254b | 506 | 12 | 273b | 549 | 11 |
| 255a | 507 | 15 | 274a | 550 | 14 |

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 274b | 551 | 18 | 293b | 596 | 22 |
| 275a | 553 | 2 | 294a | 598 | 4 |
| 275b | 554 | 10 | 294b | 599 | 11 |
| 276a | 555 | 16 | 295a | 600 | 14 |
| 276b | 556 | 22 | 295b | 601 | 18 |
| 277a | 558 | 5 | 296a | 603 | 2 |
| 277b | 559 | 10 | 296b | 604 | 7 |
| 278a | 560 | 13 | 297a | 605 | 11 |
| 278b | 561 | 17 | 297b | 606 | 15 |
| 279a | 562 | 21 | 298a | 607 | 19 |
| 279b | 564 | 1 | 298b | 619 | 1 |
| 280a | 565 | 4 | 299a | 610 | 4 |
| 280b | 566 | 8 | 299b | 611 | 12 |
| 281a | 567 | 11 | 300a | 612 | 15 |
| 281b | 568 | 16 | 300b | 613 | 20 |
| 282a | 569 | 19 | 301a | 615 | 4 |
| 282b | 570 | 23 | 301b | 616 | 9 |
| 283a | 572 | 3 | 302a | 617 | 12 |
| 283b | 573 | 7 | 302b | 618 | 17 |
| 284a | 574 | 8 | 313a* | 620 | 2 |
| 284b | 575 | 9 | 313b | 621 | 8 |
| 285a | 576 | 11 | 314a | 622 | 14 |
| 285b | 577 | 14 | 314b | 623 | 19 |
| 286a | 578 | 19 | 315a | 625 | 3† |
| 286b | 579 | 21 | 314a† | 644 | 1 |
| 287a | 581 | 2 | 314b | 645 | 4 |
| 287b | 582 | 5 | 315a | 646 | 7 |
| 288a | 583 | 8 | 315b | 647 | 9 |
| 288b | 584 | 14 | 316a | 648 | 14 |
| 289a | 585 | 18 | | | |
| 289b | 586 | 20 | | | |
| 290a | 587 | 22 | | | |
| 290b | 589 | 5 | | | |
| 291a | 590 | 9 | | | |
| 291b | 591 | 9 | | | |
| 292a | 592 | 17 | | | |
| 292b | 594 | 4 | | | |
| 293a | 595 | 14 | | | |

*There is again a misnumbering here
Instead of folio 303 we find marked 313.

†The text beginning with the word
འདྲེལ་བ་ at page 625 line 3 and ending
with the word བླ་ at the beginning
of page 644 constitutes the second gap
in the MS B.

‡We find here this number repeated
after the last gap which must have
occupied very likely nine folios.

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 316b | 649 | 17 | 340a§ | 701 | 11 |
| 317a | 650 | 18 | 340b | 702 | 17 |
| 317b | 651 | 21 | 341a | 703 | 20 |
| 318a | 652 | 21 | 341b | 705 | 2 |
| 318b | 654 | 2 | 342a | 706 | 5 |
| 319a | 655 | 3 | 342b | 707 | 5 |
| 319b | 656 | 3 | 343a | 708 | 3 |
| 320a* | 657 | 3 | 343b | 709 | 7 |
| 320b | 658 | 5 | 344a | 710 | 12 |
| 321a | 659 | 9 | 344b | 711 | 15 |
| 321b | 660 | 12 | 345a | 712 | 18 |
| 321a | 661 | 16 | 345b | 713 | 22 |
| 322b | 662 | 21 | 346a | 715 | 2 |
| 323a | 664 | 3 | 346b | 716 | 6 |
| 323b | 665 | 6 | 347a | 717 | 9 |
| 324a | 666 | 8 | 347b | 718 | 18 |
| 324b | 667 | 10 | 348a | 719 | 19 |
| 325a | 668 | 14 | 348b | 721 | 1 |
| 325b | 669 | 17 | 349a | 722 | 5 |
| 326a | 670 | 19 | 349b | 723 | 10 |
| 326b | 671 | 21 | 350a | 724 | 15 |
| 327a | 672 | 22 | 350b | 725 | 20 |
| 327b | 674 | 5 | 351a | 727 | 3 |
| 328a | 675 | 8 | 351b | 728 | 8 |
| 328b | 676 | 11 | 352a | 729 | 13 |
| 350a† | 678 | 2 | 352b | 730 | 16 |
| 350b | 679 | 6 | 353a | 731 | 20 |
| 351a | 680 | 9 | 353b | 733 | 3 |
| 351b | 681 | 12 | 354a | 734 | 11 |
| 352a | 682 | 17‡ | 354b | 735 | 7 |

*This number is marked 329 for 320, though the next number is again correctly written 321.

†There is here another mistake in the numbering. Instead of the number 329 *et seq.* we find written 350 *et seq.*

‡From the word טרניס at page 682 line 17 till the word ם ל inclusive

on page 701 line 10 we have another gap in the MS. B which I have filled up from the other copies referred to by me above.

§Another mistake in the numbering occurs immediately after the end of the last gap. We find the number 340 where the text is continued in B after the gap.

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 355a | 736 | 21 | 380a | 796 | 7 |
| 355b | 738 | 3 | 380b | 797 | 14 |
| 356a | 739 | 9 | 381a | 798 | 20* |
| 356b | 740 | 13 | 389a† | 820 | 22 |
| 357a | 741 | 22* | 389b | 822 | 8 |
| 363a | 757 | 7 | 390a | 823 | 3 |
| 363b | 758 | 13 | 390b | 824 | 12 |
| 364a | 759 | 16 | 391a | 825 | 17 |
| 364b | 760 | 18 | 391b | 827 | 2 |
| 365a | 761 | 20 | 392a | 828 | 4 |
| 365b | 762 | 22 | 392b | 829 | 8 |
| 366a | 764 | 4 | 393a | 830 | 11 |
| 366b | 765 | 8 | 393b | 831 | 16 |
| 367a | 766 | 15 | 394a | 832 | 18 |
| 367b | 767 | 19 | 394b | 834 | 2 |
| 368a | 768 | 21 | 395a | 835 | 8 |
| 368b | 770 | 2 | 395b | 836 | 15 |
| 369a | 771 | 8 | 396a‡ | 837 | 18 |
| 369b | 772 | 15 | 397a | 840 | 3 |
| 370a | 773 | 17 | | | |
| 370b | 774 | 20 | | | |
| 371a | 776 | 1 | | | |
| 371b | 777 | 6 | | | |
| 372a | 778 | 10 | | | |
| 372b | 779 | 13 | | | |
| 373a | 780 | 18† | | | |

*From the word کلمه at page 741, line 22 till the word و inclusive on page 757, line 7, there is a further gap in B. I have filled it in the text from the other copies referred to by me above.

†From the word و at page 780, line 18 till the word و inclusive at page 796, line 7, there is another gap in B, which I have filled up from the other copies referred to by me above, and from the commencement of Book IX

from Dastur Hoshang's MS. to which I have also made a reference.

*From the word و at page 798 line 20 till the word و inclusive in the last line at page 820, is another gap in B. I have supplied the text principally from Dastur Hoshang's MS. after carefully comparing it with the other copies referred to by me above.

† Seven folios numbering from 389 to 395 were kindly lent to me by Dastur Kaikobad from the late Dastur Hoshang's library. They form one of the missing portions of the MS. B.

‡ Folio 396 is missing in B. Beginning with the word و at page 837 line 18, it ends with the words و at the end of line 2 of page 840. I have taken the text of the folio from Dastur Hoshang's MS. described by me above.

PREFACE

xix.

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 397b | 841 | 6 | 414b | 881 | 1 |
| 398a | 842 | 10 | 415a | 881 | 22 |
| 398b | 843 | 17 | 415b | 883 | 8 |
| 399a | 845 | 1 | 416a | 884 | 16 |
| 399b | 846 | 6 | 416b | 886 | 2 |
| 400a | 847 | 9 | 417a | 887 | 10 |
| 400b | 848 | 17 | 417b | 888 | 15 |
| 401a | 850 | 1 | 418a | 890 | 2 |
| 402a | 852 | 17 | 418b | 891 | 8 |
| 402b | 854 | 1 | 419a | 892 | 13 |
| 403a | 855 | 7 | 419b | 893 | 19 |
| 403b | 856 | 14 | 420a | 895 | 8 |
| 404a | 857 | 17 | 420b | 896 | 16 |
| 404b | 858 | 22 | 421a | 898 | 2 |
| 405a | 860 | 3 | 421b | 899 | 12 |
| 405b | 861 | 7 | 422a | 901 | 1 |
| 406a | 862 | 11 | 422b | 902 | 9 |
| 406b | 863 | 15 | 423a | 903 | 18 |
| 407a | 864 | 15 | 423b | 905 | 4 |
| 407b | 865 | 17 | 424a | 906 | 12 |
| 408a | 866 | 17 | 424b | 907 | 20 |
| 408b | 867 | 17 | 425a | 909 | 6 |
| 409a | 869 | 1 | 425b | 910 | 14 |
| 409b | 870 | 4 | 426a | 912 | 2 |
| 410a | 871 | 4 | 426b | 913 | 10 |
| 410b | 872 | 7 | 427a | 914 | 16 |
| 411a | 873 | 12 | 427b | 915 | 21 |
| 411b | 874 | 14 | 428a | 917 | 5 |
| 412a | 875 | 15 | 428b | 918 | 13 |
| 412b | 876 | 19 | 429a | 919 | 19 |
| 413a | 877 | 21 | 429b | 921 | 3 |
| 413b | 878 | 22 | 430a | 922 | 11 |
| 414a | 879 | 21 | 430b | 923 | 19 |
| | | | 431a | 925 | 5 |
| | | | 431b | 926 | 13 |
| | | | 432a | 927 | 20 |
| | | | 432b | 929 | 6 |
| | | | 433a | 930 | 14 |

*Folio 401 beginning with the word سے at page 850, line 1 and ending with the word وہ at the end of line 16 page 852 is missing in B. I have supplied the text from the MS. of Dastur Hoshang.

PREFACE

| Folio | Page | Line | Folio | Page | Line |
|-------|------|------|--|------|------|
| 433b | 931 | 22 | 438b | 945 | 8 |
| 434a | 933 | 10 | 439a | 946 | 13 |
| 434b | 934 | 16 | 439b | 947 | 19 |
| 435a | 936 | 4 | 440a | 949 | 5 |
| 435b | 937 | 12 | 440b | 950 | 11 |
| 436a | 938 | 21 | 441a* | 951 | 15 |
| 436b | 940 | 4 | <hr/> <p>*The last folio beginning with the word <i>reue</i> in line 15 at page 951 is missing in B. I have supplied it from the other copies referred to by me above.</p> | | |
| 437a | 941 | 11 | | | |
| 437b | 942 | 18 | | | |
| 438a | 944 | 2 | | | |

Dinkard Book III

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

૭૫૬ તાઠ ડ ૭૬૧ તાઠ ઠે ઠ

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૭૬૧ ઠ ૧૬૫૬ ડ ૭૭૧ ૧૬૫-૫ ૧૬૫૫૫૫૫૫૫૫ ૧ ૧૬૬૬
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ਸਦਾ ॥ ਭਾਗਵਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਰਜੁਨ ਉਪਾਖੰਡ ॥

ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥ ੧ ॥

ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ੧ ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋਚੈ ॥ ੧ ॥

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ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋਚੈ ॥ ੧ ॥

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
 कृष्णार्पणं कृतम् ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

[illegible][illegible]

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

કે ॥ ૧૫૧ ॥ ૧૫૨ ॥ ૧૫૩ ॥ ૧૫૪ ॥ ૧૫૫ ॥ ૧૫૬ ॥ ૧૫૭ ॥ ૧૫૮ ॥ ૧૫૯ ॥ ૧૬૦ ॥

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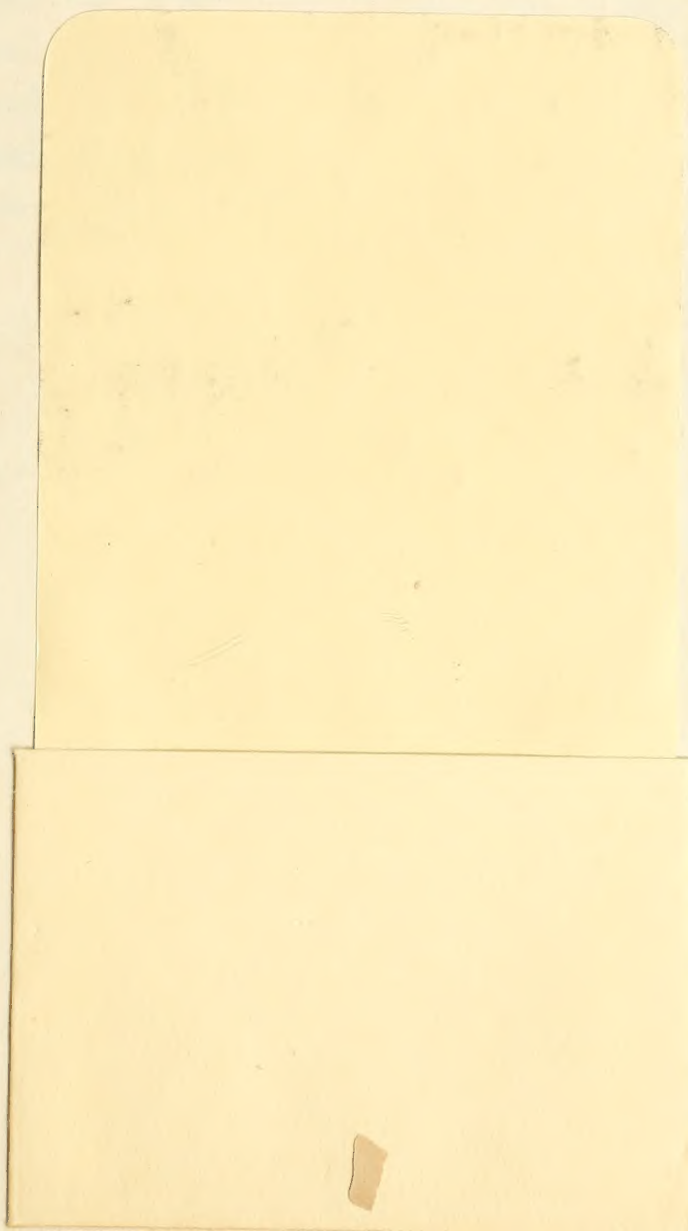
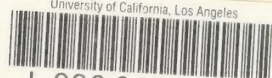
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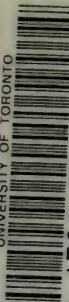
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THE
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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THE Pahlavi phrase *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' is a name applied to sixty-two enquiries, or series of enquiries, on subjects connected with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, made by an anonymous wise man and answered by the Spirit of Wisdom. But, as this name is only found prefixed to a manuscript, written in A. D. 1569, in which the first part of the work is missing¹, it is doubtful whether it be the original name of the book, or not, although it is very suitable to the general character of the work.

Regarding the reading of this name, here adopted, it must be observed that the correct pronunciation of the Pahlavi word *maînôg*, 'spirit,' is uncertain; the traditional reading is *madônad*, which is a possible pronunciation of its letters, but is otherwise inexplicable; Haug proposed to read *maînivad* or *mînavad*, but, in that case, the word ought to end with *d=t*, or with *nd*; some of the present *Dastûrs* read *mînôê*, but this would be written *mînôêk* in Pahlavi; the *Pâzand* writers have *mainyô*, but this is evidently an imitation of Av. *mainyavô*, and does not correspond with the Pahlavi letters. As the word is *manû* or *mînô* in the Sasanian inscriptions, and *mînû* in Persian, to which words a final *k* would be added in Pahlavi, it seems probable that the final letter of the Pahlavi word is not *d* or *ê*, but *g*, a corruption of *k*, and that we ought to read *mînôg* or *maînôg*. At the same time it should be noticed that a very old copy of the Pahlavi *Farhang*, in the library of *Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji* in Bombay, has the word written with an extra medial stroke, so that it might be

¹ See p. 3, note 1.

read *mînavand*, as required by Haug's hypothesis, although this copy of the *Farhang* gives *madonend* as the traditional reading.

The subjects discussed by the Spirit of Wisdom are of a very miscellaneous character, and their discussion is evidently intended to furnish an outline of the tenets, legends, and morality of the religion with which they deal; but it forms by no means a complete, or systematic, treatise on these subjects, and it is remarkably silent with regard to all details of religious rites and ceremonies, which are only occasionally mentioned. This silence may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the author was a layman, as seems clear from the account he gives of his doubts and enquiries in Chap. I, 14-56. Any incompleteness of the treatise may also be explained by the apparent loss of the latter end of the work, as the sixty-second reply (Chap. LXIII) terminates the extant text of the treatise abruptly, and without any trace of peroration.

By the Spirit of Wisdom the author means the innate wisdom of *Aûharmazd* (Chap. LVII, 4), the *âsna khratu* of Yas. XXII, 29, XXV, 18, through which the spiritual and worldly creations were produced (Chaps. I, 49, 51, LVII, 5). It was originally created by *Aûharmazd* (Chap. VIII, 3, 8), and is superior to the archangels (Chap. I, 53); it can appear in a personal form, and undertake to be an instructor (Chap. I, 57, 60, 61); and it can likewise be used as a defence (Chap. XLIII, 6).

With regard to the author of this treatise, and the age in which he lived, we have no further information than can be gathered from the contents of the book itself. The author was evidently a devoted Mazda-worshipper, and probably a layman, as has been already remarked, but he has given us no further hints about himself. Whether he wrote before or after the Arab conquest of Persia is doubtful. There are only two passages that might be strained into allusions to Muhammadanism: one in Chap. I, 18, which alludes to some heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith, but the author has just been talking of many sects, and the grievance here mentioned is much too

common to be considered as applicable only to the Arabs; the other passage is Chap. XVI, 37-48, which describes the advantages of 'the moderate drinking of wine,' and might be supposed to be written in indirect opposition to the Muhammadan prohibition of such indulgence. In either case the allusion is certainly far too obscure to form a fair basis for argument. On the other hand, Chap. XIII, 13, 14, speaks of the sovereignty of Vistâsp existing in connection with the most powerful sect or form of devotion, which statement might be strained to imply that the government was still orthodox; and the definitions of good and bad government in Chap. XV, 12-39 could hardly have been written after the Arab conquest. The allusion to the continued conflict of the Arûmans and Tûrânians with the Irânians, in Chap. XXI, 23-26, may possibly refer to some troublesome wars carried on by the Greeks and Turks against the Persians in the time of the author, and the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann has suggested A.D. 580-590 as a probable period for such remarks, but, here again, the allusion is too obscure to be relied on.

Very few of the author's quotations can be identified, but this is no argument for a greater age than eight or ten centuries, as we know, from passages quoted in the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast, Dâdistân-î Dînîk, and other works, that some of the lost Nasks must have been still extant as recently as that. The Avesta is quoted only twice by name, in Chaps. I, 27, XVI, 15; the former passage has not been identified, but the latter may perhaps be from the Pâzag Nask. Several quotations, however, are made from the dînô or 'revelation,' a term which, when it refers to writings, is often applied by Pahlavi writers to the Avesta only. Of these passages Chap. XLIV, 18-23 is from the Vendîdâd, Chap. XXI, 24-26 may be from the Kidrast Nask, and six other quotations have not been identified. In other cases the quotations are merely prefaced by the phrase '*it is declared.*' And of these the passage in Chap. LVII, 24-28 appears to be derived from the Vendîdâd, and that in Chap. II, 155, 156 from the so-called Hâdôkht Nask, while eight other passages are unidentified. In this last class the quota-

tions seem to be rather paraphrases than accurate translations of the original texts.

Of the original Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* only two manuscripts are yet known to exist; one of these (K43) is contained in No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and the other (TD2) belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria of Bombay.

The manuscript K43 is a small quarto volume of 178 folios, of which the *Dînâ* occupies fols. 2–37, written fifteen lines to the page. The first and second folios also contain the conclusion of the larger *Bundahis*, of which the first 129 folios are missing from this codex, as described in SBE, vol. v, introd. pp. xxxix–xli. And the latter part of the codex contains about one-fifth of the *Dînkard*, in several detached fragments, and four-fifths of the *Bahman Yast*. This manuscript was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843¹, and the Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ*, which it contains, was published in facsimile by Andreas in 1882².

In this codex the text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28; but, as the copyist has prefixed an introductory heading to this imperfect text, it is evident that he, or some predecessor of his, must have copied the work, in this imperfect state, from some manuscript whose first folio had been lost. Besides this deficiency, ten folios of the text have been lost from this particular codex; nine of these were occupied by Chaps. XIV, 1–XXVII, 49, and the tenth contained Chaps. XXXIX, 31–XL, 17. At the end of the work, Chap. LXIII is followed by a colophon to the following effect:—‘Completed in peace and pleasure and joy on the day *Shatvaîrô* of the month *Âvân* of the year 938 of *Yazdakard*, king of kings, [26th May 1569]. I, *Mitrô-âpân Anôshak-rûbân Rûstâm Shatrô-îyâr*, wrote *it* for my own possession. From the copy

¹ See *Zend-Avesta*, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited by N. L. Westergaard (Kopenhagen, 1852–54), vol. i, introd. p. 8, note 3.

² The Book of the *Mainyô-i-Khard*, also an old fragment of the *Bundeshesh*, edited by F. C. Andreas (Kiel, 1882).

of Dastûr Gadman-pîrûg Aspēndiyâr Gadman-pîrûg, and that from the copy of Dastûr Shatrô-aiyyâr Vêgan Khûsrôishah, and that, as regards these several sayings, was written from the copy of the heavenly-destined Mâh-vindâd Nare-mâhân *with* the righteous soul, and comes unto us from the realm of the Hindûs. May even our writing be in accordance with the will of the sacred beings.' In addition to the date, the chief matter of interest in this colophon is its acknowledgment of the fact that the work had come from India, where the original Pahlavi text appears to have since become extinct. We have, therefore, in this text, merely so much of the work as had reached India, on which the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang, described below, was undoubtedly based; and the possibility of hereafter finding the latter part of the work in Persia should not be overlooked. It is, however, upon the text contained in K43, so far as it is preserved, that the translation of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad in this volume is founded.

Of the other Pahlavi manuscript, TD2, nothing further is known to the translator than a copy of the passages corresponding to those contained in the ten folios lost from K43, upon which copy the translation of those passages has been based.

Besides these manuscripts of the original Pahlavi text, there exist other copies, in which the text has been merely reproduced from the Pâzand version described below; and, of these copies, K22 (No. 22 in the University Library at Copenhagen) may be cited as a typical example. This manuscript is a large octavo volume of 56 folios of glazed Indian paper, probably about a century old, but without a date. The first 48 folios contain a corrupt Pahlavi text of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad, alternating with the usual Sanskrit version described below, written nineteen lines to the page, and extending as far as Chap. XXVII, 41. The corruptions in the text consist of misuse of Huzvâris equivalents, and errors in orthography which no old writer of Pahlavi would be likely to commit, such as writing *kolâvist* for *harvist*, *nafsmanîdârîk* for *khvêsinîdârîh*, *barâgûmân* for *a vîgûmân*, *hamê* for *hamâi*, *avas* for *âubas*,

lâ and mâ for aZ, denman instead of hanâ for Pâz. e, the constant use of the adjective suffix -îk for the abstract suffix -îh, and the frequent omission of the final k in such words as dânâk, a vistâk. It can be seen at once, by any one really acquainted with Pahlavi, that a text of this description is merely a modern transliteration of the Pâzand version by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was rather limited and artificial.

Most of the Indian manuscripts of this work contain only the Pâzand version written in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. This Pâzand-Sanskrit version of the Mainyô-i Khard (as it is called in Pâzand) was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, a Parsi priest who is supposed to have lived some time in the fifteenth century, and evidently possessed a very good knowledge of Pahlavi, though not sufficient to avoid some few mistakes, especially in reading foreign names. His authorship is attested by a Sanskrit introduction, prefixed to most manuscripts of this version, to the following effect:—‘Through the name and almighty power and assistance of the lord Ahura-mazda, the greatly wise, may the achievement be auspicious, *and be* the progress and success of the good Mazda-worshipping religion, and energy in body and long life for all the good *and* right-minded. This Pahlavi heavenly wisdom, called the Mainyô-i Khard, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters¹ with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded. Salutation to the good, the pure-thinking, the true-speaking, the just-acting.’

Of this Pâzand-Sanskrit version the oldest manuscript that has been examined is L19, No. 19 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, one of the manuscripts brought from India by Dr. Samuel

¹ That is, from the ambiguous Pahlavi characters, used in all Persian writings before the Arab conquest.

Guisse who was head surgeon of the general hospital at Surat from 1788 to 1795, and obtained several manuscripts from the widow of Dastûr Dârâbjî, the instructor of Anquetil Duperron. It is a small octavo volume, containing 148 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 132 are occupied by the Pâzand-Sanskrit Mainyô-i Khard, written fifteen lines to the page. At the beginning of the text the folio containing Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction (described above) has been lost, but the text itself is complete. At the end of the work is a Pâzand-Sanskrit postscript which may be reasonably attributed to Nêryôsang himself, and can be translated as follows :—‘ Completed for the peace and pleasure, happiness and dominion of all the good who are virtuous. To him for whom *it is* written may it be well-resulting and well-omened, *and*, after a hundred and fifty years, may he be a transmitter *of it* to his own religious children's children, through the will of the sacred beings. Of whomsoever the best ability is not wisdom, that best ability of his is *even* then owing to it. Wisdom which is without learning is poor, and learning which is without wisdom is helpless.’ After this postscript a Pahlavi colophon has been copied from some older manuscript to the following effect :—‘ Completed in peace, pleasure, and joy, and ended ; written by me, a servant of the religion, the priest Shatrô-aiyyâr, contemporary (?) of Nêryôsang.’ And this is followed by a colophon in very corrupt Sanskrit, which states that this manuscript was completed, in the district of Nâga-mandala¹, at a date corresponding to Friday, the 19th October 1520, by the teacher Mihrvân, son of Mahyâr and grandson of Padama, for the priest Bahrâm, son of Pâlhan. This manuscript of the Pâzand text is, therefore, nearly 49 years older than that of the original Pahlavi text (K43) upon which the present translation is based. It corresponds very closely with that Pahlavi text, and where it differs the variation is nearly always due to some mistake, or attempt at improvement, on the part of Nêryôsang. It must, however, be acknowledged that very few translators adhere so

¹ Probably an old name of Nausârî.

closely to their original texts as this learned Parsi priest has done to his.

Other manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are PA10 and PB6. The former is No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, and was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761. It is an octavo volume, in which the Mainyô-i Khard occupies the first 211 folios, and commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, translated above, but does not contain the postscript. The date of its colophon appears to correspond to the 7th December 1649, new style. The latter manuscript, PB6, is No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library, and is probably about a century old.

The Pâzand version also occurs alternating with a Gugarâti translation in K23, No. 23 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Kopenhagen. It is an octavo volume of 168 folios of glazed Indian paper, of which the first 162 contain the Pâzand-Gugarâti text, written fifteen lines to the page, and the remaining six folios contain an index stating the contents of each chapter. A colophon, at the end of the text, has a date corresponding to the 25th August 1663, new style; and another, at the end of the index, states that the manuscript was written by the priest Yazad-yâr, son of Vikaji, of Sangân, and finished at a date corresponding to the 17th October of the same year.

In another class of Pâzand manuscripts of the Mainyô-i Khard the Pâzand text is written in the Perso-Arabic character, and accompanied by a Persian translation, forming what may be conveniently termed a Pârsî-Persian version. One example of this version is contained in MH7, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, of which it occupies the first 70 folios, written fifteen lines to the page. Most of the Persian translation is written in sentences alternating with those of the Pârsî text, in which case the translation is merely a paraphrase of the Pârsî; but some of the translation is interlined, and this is much more literal, each Pârsî word having its Persian equivalent written below it. This manuscript contains several other texts, and from two colophons, one near the middle, and the other near

the end of the volume, it appears that it was written by Dârâshâh, son of Mihrbânji, and the first half of the volume was completed at a date corresponding to Wednesday the 9th August 1809.

Another example of the Pârsî-Persian version is found in No. 2769 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, in which manuscript it occupies 75 folios, written eleven lines to the page, and is not dated, though probably written early this century. In this copy the Pârsî text is tolerably complete, but long passages of the Persian translation are omitted; when given, the Persian is usually identical with that in MH7, though some instances of independent translation occur.

In addition to the Pahlavi, Pâzand, Sanskrit, Gugarâti, Pârsî, and Persian texts of the prose Dînâ-î Maînôg-i Khirad, the popularity of the work is further evinced by the existence of two versions in Persian verse. One of these was described by Professor Sachau in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283, from a manuscript in the library of that Society in London, written probably near the end of last century. The author of this metrical Persian paraphrase appears to have been a native of Râvar in Sindh, named Marzubân, who composed it from a Pârsî version of the original text, bequeathed to him by his teacher while he was studying the old traditions at Yazd; and the date of his composition seems to have been A.D. 1612. His verses contain only fifty-four questions and answers, but these contain the substance of the greater part of the Mînôkhirad, as the work is called in Persian, with some few additions from other sources.

A copy of the other metrical Persian Mînôkhirad occupied fols. 527-550 in the second volume of B29, a two-volume quarto Rivâyat, No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. It is doubtful whether the original number of folios were twenty-four or twenty-six, but only twenty-two now remain. These contain 497 couplets of introductory matter, 1060 representing the text of the work, and 190 of epilogue; and from 160 to 330 further couplets of the text are missing. According to statements in the introduction and

epilogue the verses appear to have been composed, from Nêryôsang's Pâzand-Sanskrit text, by the priest Hormazyâr and his son Dârâb, the latter being the actual writer, and the former being a son of Farâmruz¹, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kaî-Qubâd, son of Hamkârapadam¹ of Sangân, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval. The work was commenced on the 7th November 1676, new style, and completed in thirty-five days; and the copy in B29 was finished on the 21st November 1679, new style. The order of the subjects discussed in this metrical version differs, in some respects, from that followed in the prose texts, and the 1060 couplets of extant text represent only forty chapters of the work, though several of the others were, no doubt, represented in the missing couplets. Another copy of this later metrical version appears to exist in pp. 231-248 of No. 12 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

Of the Pâzand text of the Mainyô-i Khard, Chaps. LVII, XXVII, LXII, I, 51-61, VII, 9-12 have been published, with German translations, by Professor Spiegel, in his 'Grammatik der pârsi Sprache,' pp. 128-155, 161-173, 185, 186, 188, 189. He has also published German translations of Chaps. II, 110-193, VIII, XXXVII, XLII in his 'Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen,' pp. 138-144, 147-150. And the complete Pâzand-Sanskrit texts, with an English translation, Pâzand glossary and grammar, were published by the present translator in 1871. Since that date the original Pahlavi text of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad has been discovered, from which the present translation has been made.

In connection with this account of the various versions of the 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' it should be noticed that an abridgement of the work also exists in Persian prose, and is called the 'Other Mînôkhirad.' A copy of this abridgement is contained in fols. 71-78 of MH7 (described above), and consists of a very free Persian translation of the Pâzand texts of Chaps. I, 14-II, 64, III-VII, XIV, XV,

¹ A variation of this pedigree is quoted in p. xlii.

XXI, XXV, followed by a variety of short statements about thankfulness towards the sacred beings, the supreme heaven, male and female angels and demons, wealth and poverty, &c., and concluding with the names of the first sovereigns of the world, the descent of mankind from Gayômar, and of the 292¹ species of animals from the primeval ox. Another copy of this abridgement appears to be contained in fols. 80-84 of No. 15 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

2. THE SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

The term *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, 'doubt-dispelling explanation,' is the Pahlavi name applied to a controversial work by its author. The chief object of the work is to prove the correctness of the fundamental doctrine of the Mazda-worshipping religion, that good and evil do not proceed from the same source, and to show that other religions, while professing to believe in the unity of creation, can only account for the origin of evil, either by degrading the character of the sacred being, or by attributing evil to a corrupting influence which is really a second being. In other words, the author's object is to show that all people, who believe in an all-good and omnipotent creator, must logically admit the existence of an independent origin of evil, whatever they may say to the contrary. In the course of his arguments, he naturally finds it easier to attack the inconsistencies of other beliefs than to defend his own, and much of his attention is, therefore, given to pointing out apparent inconsistencies and seemingly delusive statements in the scriptures of the Muhammadans, Jews, Christians, and Mânîchæans.

The author's name was *Mardân-farukh*, son of *Aûhar-mazd-dâd* (Chap. I, 35), and his account of his enquiries (§§ 36, 37) bears much resemblance to what is said of the wise man's proceedings in *Mkh. I*, 34-36. He determines to

¹ Bd. X, 3, XIV, 13 mention 282 (or 272 in some copies).

write a treatise for removing religious doubt, and calls it the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* (Chap. I, 38). He is also careful in stating that he has selected many of his facts and arguments from older writings, such as those of *Âtûr-pâdiyâvand*¹, which he had found in the *Dînkard*² compiled by *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukh-zâd*. In this statement he must be referring to the first two books of the *Dînkard*, which have not yet been discovered, as the other seven books, which are extant, do not contain the matters to which he alludes. He also mentions the *Rôshan* manuscript compiled by *Rôshan*³, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, a writer who is often quoted in the Pahlavi commentaries on the Avesta⁴. And he begins his religious discussion by replying to some difficulties that had been suggested to him, in a friendly manner, for solution by *Mitrô-âiyyâr*, son of *Mahmâd*, of *Ispahân*⁵.

His allusions to Muhammadanism are of a very guarded character, though sufficiently clear to leave no doubt as to the religion he means. Like all Pahlavi writers, he never mentions that religion by name, but when, in the position of a Zoroastrian in Persia, he states that he did not admire the religion that was then in supremacy⁶, there can be little doubt that he refers to Muhammadanism. And any such doubt would be dispelled, not only by such vague references to passages in the *Qur'ân* as occur in Chap. XI, 4, 5, 269-271, but also by the distinct quotation of a striking legend, from the same source, regarding the fallen angel in §§ 52-60, 248 of the same chapter, and by the use of the term *Mûtaزالik* (Ar. *mu'htazil*) with reference to a certain sect in § 280.

With regard, therefore, to the age of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, we may be quite certain that it was written long after the Arab conquest of Persia; and from the names mentioned by the author, as stated above, it is evident that he lived after the time of *Rôshan*, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of

¹ See Chaps. I, 38, IV, 106, IX, 2, X, 52.

² See Chaps. IV, 107, IX, 1, 4, X, 57.

³ See Chap. X, 53, 54.

⁴ See Chap. II, 1, 2.

⁵ See Sls. I, 4 n.

⁶ See Chap. X, 45.

Farukh-zâd. Now, according to a Pahlavi tale¹, the accursed Abâlis², the Zandîk, had a religious disputation with Âtûr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn who reigned A.D. 813-833; it is, therefore, hardly possible that Rôshan, son of Âtûr-frôbag, could have written his commentary before the middle of the ninth century. We also know, from the last chapter of the third book of the Dînkard, that Âtûr-frôbag was not the last editor of that work, but was succeeded by his son Zaratûst, and, later still, by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmîd, who appears to have given the book its final revision. Of Âtûrpâd's work the author of the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr does not speak, and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it had not been completed in his time. But, according to Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11, this Âtûrpâd was a contemporary of Zâd-spâram who was living in A.D. 881³, and his revision of the Dînkard was, therefore, probably in progress by the end of the ninth century. From these facts we may conclude that the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr was written after the middle, but before the end, of the ninth century; unless we were to suppose that, although its author consulted only the first two books of the Dînkard (as mentioned above), the remaining seven books may have existed as a separate work unknown to him. Considering, however, that Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmîd, was so important a personage as 'the leader of those of the good religion' of his time, this supposition would not be very probable.

There is probably nothing new to defenders of Christianity in Mardân-farukh's attacks upon the apparent inconsistencies of their scriptures, with regard to the origin of evil and the existence of unity in trinity, subjects that are more usually admitted without investigation than seriously discussed. This is not, however, the mode in which such subjects are likely to be treated by outsiders, and missionaries will no doubt find among Mardân-farukh's arguments many that they must become accustomed to hear from educated

¹ A copy of which is contained in the very old codex No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen, fols. 148-152.

² The reading of this name is uncertain, but this is the Pâzand form.

³ See Ep. III, 2, 17, 21.

men of other faiths. And, if they engage in controversy, as they ought to do, they must expect to hear them stated in less considerate language than this author uses.

An interesting question, for any one who possesses special information on the subject, would be to ascertain from what version of the Old and New Testaments *Mardân-farukh* drew his quotations. There seems every probability that his translation of the passages, though it may not be altogether literal, is yet sufficiently so to admit of the particular version being identified, if its peculiarities of wording were carefully considered. The peculiar Pahlavi spelling of the name Isaac in Chap. XIV, 42, as deduced from its corruption in *Pâzand*, points to a Syriac version of one of the legendary works consulted by the author.

In his discussion of the tenets of the *Mânîchæans* *Mardân-farukh* is dealing with a subject that is far less known than the other faiths he attacks, and the information he gives may be valuable. Unfortunately the latter part of this discussion is missing, although the loss of text is probably not very extensive.

The original Pahlavi text of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not yet been discovered, although there are several existing copies of a Pahlavi version of the earlier part of the work, which are evidently reproductions from the *Pâzand* text. These pseudo-Pahlavi manuscripts usually end with the fifth chapter, and are certainly superior to the similiar reproductions of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, represented by K22 (see p. xix). Yet they generally use the adjective suffix *-îk* for the abstract suffix *-îh*, because both these suffixes become *-î* in *Pâzand*; they often have *kabed*, 'much,' for *afas*, 'and by him,' when the *Pâzand* has *vas* by mistake for *vas*; they also substitute the *Pâzand* misreading *ainâ* for the true Pahlavi *adînas*; besides adopting other occasional miswritings for which the *Pâzand* version alone is responsible. Such manuscripts could be of no critical value, unless they had descended from some family of *Pâzand* manuscripts which had left no surviving representatives in *Pâzand*, and this does not appear to be the case.

A specimen of these Pahlavi reproductions is contained

in the last 36 folios of L15, No. 15 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London. It commences with the words 'all the angels' in Chap. I, 4, and ends with Chap. V, 71; the handwriting being the same as that in L26, a manuscript that contains a date corresponding to A.D. 1737.

In fols. 9-16 of BM. No. 22,378 of the Additional Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum Library, there is a modern fragment of this reproduced Pahlavi text, interlined with a transliteration in the Persian character, and alternating with a Persian paraphrase. This fragment contains only Chap. I, 1-31.

The reproduced Pahlavi text also occurs, in parallel columns with the usual Pâzand and Sanskrit versions and a Persian paraphrase, in R, an imperfect polyglot manuscript given to the late Mr. J. Romer by a Dastûr in Surat. Of this foolscap-folio manuscript Mr. Romer sent pp. 16-31 (with the first fifteen pages of a Pahlavi-Persian Bundahis) to the late Professor M. J. Müller, through Mr. Poley; he also sent pp. 32-63, 82-93 to the late Professor H. H. Wilson on 3rd December 1836, who afterwards transferred them to Professor Max Müller; and he gave pp. 64-81, 99-143 to the late Mr. Norris. The first of these fragments, together with that of the Bundahis now constitute No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich; the next two fragments were presented to the India Office Library, and the two last mentioned were acquired by it, in 1876. It is most probable that the first fifteen pages of this polyglot manuscript were not given to Mr. Romer, but the first fifteen pages of the Bundahis were substituted for them. The portion extant (pp. 16-143) contains all four versions of Chaps. I, 28-V, 57, with the Sanskrit and Persian versions of Chap. I, 25-27, and the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of Chap. V, 58-62; and the latter two versions are everywhere interlined with a transliteration in Persian characters. This manuscript is modern and of no particular critical value; but, as the combination of the four versions is rare, if not unique, it would be very desirable to discover the rest of the manuscript.

In another manuscript, No. 18 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, the reproduced Pahlavi text has the usual Pâzand version written above it. This manuscript, which is in the form of a roll, begins at the same point as L15 (see p. xxix) and ends with Chap. V, 95, which is said to be the usual extent of other manuscripts of this class in India. A copy of this manuscript is No. 23 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich.

An extension of the same reproduced Pahlavi text, with the Pâzand version written above it, and alternating with the Sanskrit version, is contained in K28, No. 28 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. It is an imperfect octavo manuscript, of which only 66 folios remain, written eleven lines to the page, and, in its present state, it is undated, but seems to be fully 150 years old. The portions of the text that it still contains are only Chaps. I, 1-II, 8; III, 1-25; III, 36-IV, 106; VIII, 103-IX, 16; IX, 30-X, 13; X, 71-XI, 28; XI, 55-61; so that more than half the text that ought to be included within its extreme limits is missing; but its original extent, within the same limits, was more than double the usual length of the reproduced Pahlavi text, as stated above. In this particular, of unusual length, only one other manuscript of that text seems to be known in India that resembles it, in addition to the imperfect copy next described. K28 contains Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction (see p. xxxiii), and differs from the oldest Pâzand manuscript AK in only two or three instances, and these variations can be explained as corrections made on the authority of the Sanskrit version.

An imperfect and modern copy of the Pahlavi-Pâzand-Sanskrit texts is also contained in twenty-two folios prefixed to AK (described below). This copy commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, and includes only Chaps. I, 1-IV, 100 and X, 71-XI, 47. Its writer has intended to give the three versions in successive sentences, but, after Chap. I, 23, the Pâzand and Sanskrit sentences are less and less frequently written, till they cease altogether after I, 43, with the exception of one or two isolated sections. In

several cases he has also substituted the correct abstract suffix -îh for the usual incorrect -îk, but this correction is generally confined to abstract nouns in common use.

As none of these Pahlavi manuscripts can be considered otherwise than as reproductions from the Pâzand, it is to the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang that we must still look for the nearest approach to the original text of the work. It is in this version, too, that we find the greatest extent of text still extant, although the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr seems to possess the peculiarity of wearying out all its copyists at some point or other, so that not only is there no complete copy of the work known, but also nearly every copyist has stopped his work at a different place.

The oldest known manuscript of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, and is called AK, because it is supposed to have been written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ. In its present state this manuscript consists of seventy-seven small quarto folios of very old, discoloured, Indian paper, written sixteen lines to the page, and containing the Pâzand version in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. From other manuscripts it is known that this Pâzand-Sanskrit version was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, but in this manuscript his usual Sanskrit introduction is lost with the first three folios of the text, and the existing seventy-seven folios contain only Chaps. I, 16–XI, 145. As this extends only one folio beyond the middle of the whole of the text that is extant, it is supposed that this old manuscript was divided into two nearly equal moieties on the occasion of some division of property, of which the earlier moiety has been preserved, and the later one either lost, or destroyed, or buried in some inaccessible library.

In consequence of the imperfect state of this manuscript it bears no date, but an old Sanskrit colophon has been copied by the writer of JE (one of the more modern manuscripts that are evidently derived from AK through one or

more intermediate copies), and this may be fairly assumed to be the colophon of AK. This colophon may be translated as follows:—‘In the *Samvat* year 1625, in the current *Sâka year* 1490, on the present day (?), the fourth day *Shahrîvar* of the eleventh month *Bahman*, in the district of *Nâga-mandala*¹, in the royal reign of king *Sultân Muthaffar-shâh*, the book named *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* is written, for the use of *Amalshâh Kangashâh*², by the priest *Âsadîn*³, son of the priest *Kâkâ*. May it become auspicious! may it be beneficial!’

The date indicated by this colophon seems to correspond to the 23rd September 1568⁴, but it may, of course, be doubted whether it originally belonged to AK, because the text to which it is appended in JE is incomplete. If it were attached to AK, the text in that manuscript must either have been originally incomplete, or some of the later folios must have been lost, while the last one, containing the colophon, was still preserved. If it did not belong to AK, it must have belonged to some later manuscript, because there is no doubt that JE has descended from AK, and could not, therefore, contain the colophon of an older manuscript than AK, unless it had been written in AK itself, or obtained in an irregular manner from some unrecorded source. For these reasons there seems little doubt that AK was written either in 1568, or earlier; and the general appearance of its folios favours this assumption. So far as it extends this is the best manuscript of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* that is known to exist, and the present translation has, therefore, been based upon its texts,

¹ Probably an old name of *Nausârî*.

² This *Kangashâh* was probably a grandson of the *Kangashâh* at whose instigation the Parsis in India carried on a correspondence with those in Persia in A.D. 1478–81, which is still preserved in the Persian *Rivâyats*. And his father may have been the *Mânekshâh Kangashâh* who was the head of the Parsi laymen in *Nausârî* in 1531, when he was 70 years old, as appears from the *Hâdesâ Nâmu* (Bombay, 1831).

³ In a *Gugarâti* memorandum, recently appended to JE, it is stated that the colophon of a *Yasna Sâdah*, written in A.D. 1572 or 1576, gives the pedigree of this copyist as follows:—*Âsadîn*, son of *Kâkâ*, son of *Dharpâl*, son of *Lakhmidar*, son of *Môbad Kâmdîn*, son of *Zaratûst*, son of *Môbad Hormazdyâr*, son of *Râmyâr*.

⁴ Or it may be 1569, as the *Sâka* date has been altered from 1491 into 1490.

which are, no doubt, very nearly in the same state as when edited by Nêryôsang; the Sanskrit version, especially, is far more correct than in the later copies. Many of the Pâzand sections in Chaps. V-VIII are written in Pahlavi only, or in Pahlavi with the Pâzand written above it; but, in all cases, this Pahlavi is as corrupt as that of the reproduced Pahlavi manuscripts.

The most complete manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are JJ and JE, of which JJ is the oldest and best, but it has not yet been thoroughly examined. It is a small quarto volume of 182 folios of Indian paper, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Khurshêdji Jamshêdji of Nausârî. From certain blunders and peculiarities, which its writer has copied, it is certain that this manuscript has descended from AK, and, also, that it has derived a few variations from some other source. Its Sanskrit text is not written inverted, as it is in AK, and it commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, as translated in p. xx, but with the clause containing the names altered to the following effect:—'This book, named Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded.' The texts in JJ are of the same extent as the translation in this volume, and are followed by a colophon in Persian, Sanskrit, and imperfect Pahlavi, which states that the manuscript was written by Dastûr Jamshêd, son of Jâmâsp, son of Âsâ, son of Frêdûn, inhabitants of Nausârî, and completed on the day Srôsh of the month Vohûman, A.Y. 1137 (corresponding to the 28th August 1768).

The other manuscript, JE, which is as complete as the translation in this volume, is a foolscap-folio volume of 132 folios, written eighteen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona. It corresponds very closely with JJ, but its Sanskrit (which is not written inverted) is rather more corrupt; and it contains the same indications of descent from AK as that manuscript does,

with the same variations derived from some other source. It commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, and at the end of the text it has the old Sanskrit colophon translated above, and supposed to belong to AK. And this is followed by a Persian colophon, written on the day Hôrmazd of the month Bahman, A. Y. 1211 (corresponding to the 26th July 1842), and stating that this manuscript was copied from that of Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ, in Bombay, by Jamshêd, son of Edalji, son of Bahmanji, son of the writer of JJ. From this it might be too hastily assumed that the old manuscript AK was still complete as recently as 1842; but, if such were the case, it would be difficult to understand why Dastûr Hôshangji could learn nothing about its missing moiety some twenty-five years afterwards, when he made searching enquiries on the subject; and it would be still more difficult to explain the variations in JE, already mentioned as derived from some other source than AK. It is more probable that the writer of JE found the old colophon of AK copied at the end of a more recent manuscript, which led him to believe that the latter was written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ.

That the first folio of AK had already been lost, considerably more than a century ago, appears from PB₃, No. 3 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris, which was evidently copied from a copy of AK, and is certainly more than a century old, judging from the general appearance of the paper on which it is written. This manuscript, which was given to Burnouf by Mr. Mânekji Khurshêdji of Bombay, is a small octavo volume of 125 folios of Indian paper, written twelve to sixteen lines to the page, and contains the Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Chaps. I, 5-53, and II, 5-X, 66: the Sanskrit being written upside down, as in AK. The loss of Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction and Chap. I, 1-4 of the text indicates that the first folio of AK was already missing when the original of PB₃ was copied, and several lacunae in the earlier folios, which have been filled up in red ink from some other source, indicate the torn condition of the earlier folios of AK. The loss of Chaps. I, 54-II, 4 is due to two folios

being absent between folios 11 and 12 of PB₃; and after Chap. X, 66 all further folios have been lost. In some sections in Chaps. VI and VIII, where the Pâzand text is written above its Pahlavi equivalent in AK, much confusion has been occasioned in PB₃ by reading the Pâzand and Pahlavi versions as two successive lines of text; and it is evident that this confusion originated in some manuscript intermediate between AK and PB₃, though it has been increased by further blundering on the part of the writer of PB₃ itself.

The Pâzand version of Nêryôsang also occurs in short sentences alternating with a Gugarâti translation in MH₁₉, No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. This manuscript, which was given to Haug by Dastûr Kaî-Khusrô at Surat in 1864, is a small quarto of 124 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 110 folios contain the Pâzand-Gugarâti version of Chaps. I, 1–XI, 201, written thirteen to nineteen lines to the page. Towards the latter end of the manuscript blank spaces are left for the Gugarâti version of many of the sections; and several of the passages that are written only in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in MH₁₉. From this and other peculiarities it is evident that MH₁₉ has descended from AK, but probably through some intermediate manuscript that must have been written when AK was more complete than it is now. Judging from the appearance of the paper of MH₁₉ it can hardly be less than 150 years old, but it contains no date or colophon of any description.

Another manuscript, which contains a large portion of the Pâzand version of Nêryôsang, without his Sanskrit translation, is L₂₃, No. 23 in the India Office Library in London. It is an octavo volume of eighty folios of Indian paper, written ten to twelve lines to the page, in the same handwriting as L₁₅ and L₂₆ (see p. xxix), which last manuscript contains a date corresponding to A. D. 1737. L₂₃ contains the Pâzand text of Chaps. I, 34–VIII, 23, and many of the passages written in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in L₂₃, which indicates the descent of the latter manuscript

from the former; an indication which is confirmed by the repetition of other peculiarities.

From this account of all the manuscripts of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, that have been examined by the translator, it appears probable that no manuscript independent of AK has yet been discovered. The few variations which indicate another source can easily be explained as emendations by some later copyist, who had noticed, or imagined, some deficiencies in the text of that manuscript.

The *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not been hitherto translated into any European language, but an edition of its Pâzand and Pahlavi texts was prepared by Dastûr Hôshangji about fifteen years ago, and arrangements have been made for the publication of these texts, with the Sanskrit version, at an early date.

3. THE SAD DAR.

As its name implies the *Sad Dar* is a treatise on 'a hundred subjects' connected with the Zoroastrian religion. The word *dar*, literally 'door, or gate,' being also applied to the 'chapters' of a book, and to the 'matters, or subjects,' of which it treats. This work is not a Pahlavi text, being written in Persian with an admixture of about four per cent. of Arabic words; it is, however, more quoted than any other work by the Parsi compilers of the Persian *Rivâyats*, or religious 'traditions,' in the seventeenth century. In one of its recensions it is also found written in Avesta characters, and the Avesta-Persian sentences alternate with an old Gugarâti translation, in imitation of the Pâzand-Sanskrit versions of Pahlavi texts compiled by Nêryôsang. In consideration of the existence of this pseudo-Pâzand recension, together with the general acceptance of the work as an important authority, and its being a convenient summary of many of the religious customs handed down by Pahlavi writers, this work may be offered as a suitable appendix to the true Pahlavi texts, connecting them with

the Persian writings that are too modern to be accepted as authorities in religious matters.

The Sad Dar NaThr, or prose Sad Dar, which is here translated, appears to be first mentioned in the introduction to the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl¹, or long-metre Sad Dar, in which the versifier states that the prose Sad Dar was compiled by three celebrated high-priests, named Mêdyômâh, Vardast, and Siyâvakhsh, near the time of the Arab conquest of Persia. This, however, really means little more than that the prose Sad Dar was considered a very old work at the time when the long-metre Sad Dar was composed from it. It appears, from Dastûr Jâmâspji's preface to his Gugarâti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar, that this metrical version was composed in A.D. 1531 by Mullâ Rustam Isfendiyâr of Khurâsân and Mullâ Behzâd Rustam². It may, therefore, be concluded that the prose Sad Dar had the reputation of being a very old work in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Another version of the work, called the Sad Dar NaThm, or metrical Sad Dar, had already been composed in Kirmân by Îrân-shâh³, son of Malik-shâh, as early as the 14th October, A. D. 1495. In his introduction he does not mention the source whence he drew his information, though he speaks of 'renovating the old mysteries,' but whether this phrase refers to the old prose Sad Dar, which he must undoubtedly have used, or to the original Pahlavi sources of that work, is uncertain. A Latin translation of this metrical Sad Dar was published by Hyde, in his History of the Religion of the Ancient Persians⁴.

The contents of the Sad Dar are of a very miscellaneous character, and are not very systematically arranged. They treat of a great variety of duties and customs, but all from a strictly religious point of view, though the work is evidently

¹ See Sad-dare Behere Tavîl, translated into Gugarâti by Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ; 2nd edition; Bombay, 1881.

² Possibly a son of the preceding Mullâ. In the preface to his second edition Dastûr Jâmâspji calls him Rustam Behzâd.

³ So stated in his introduction, but in his postscript (as printed by Hyde) he calls himself Mard-shah.

⁴ Historia religionis veterum Persarum (Oxon. 1700), p. 433.

intended rather for the guidance of the laity than for the information of the priesthood. The almost total absence of any reference to government or national life, other than complete submission to priestly control, seems to indicate a period of subjection to men of another faith, too dangerous, or too odious, to be mentioned, unless it were to forbid all voluntary social intercourse with them, as in Chap. XXXVIII. The allusions to the existing scarcity of priests in Chap. LVIII, 12, and to a rigorous levying of poll-tax in Chap. LX, 7, might also give some clue to the period when the work was compiled, if we were better acquainted with the minute details of Parsi history. Where temporal penalties for crimes are prescribed (as in Chaps. IX, LXIV) they were, no doubt, such as were recognised by the government of the time; and, in such matters, change of government has altered the law. Some other customs have also probably changed to some extent, but by far the greater part of the rules and duties prescribed in this work are still in force, though they may not be always very strictly attended to.

Of the numerous quotations from the sacred books, which the *Sad Dar* contains, only a few can be identified, and nearly all of these are in the form of translations which are merely paraphrases of the original texts. Avesta passages are quoted from the *Vendîdâd* and *Yasna* in Chap. XIV, 3, and from an unknown section of the *Hâdôkht Nask* in XL, 4. The commentary of the *Vendîdâd* is six times quoted by name, but only four of the passages¹ have been identified; and an unknown passage is quoted from the commentary of the *Hâdôkht* in Chap. XXII, 3, 4, and three others² from the commentary of the Avesta. Four statements are said to be 'declared in the good religion,' but have not been identified; and out of thirty quotations from 'revelation' only five have been identified, of which those in Chaps. LXXII, 2, 3, LXXXII, 2 belong to the *Vendîdâd*, and those in IV, 3-11, XVI, 3, XVIII, 3 belong to the *Spend Nask*, which is no longer extant. The large

¹ Chaps. XII, 3-5, LXVII, 3-6, LXXI, 2, 3, LXXXVI, 2.

² Chaps. XXVIII, 4, XCIV, 3, 4, XCVII, 3.

proportion of quotations that cannot be now identified, or are no longer extant, is a strong argument in favour of the work being several centuries older than the oldest manuscripts in which it is now found.

The translation of the prose *Sad Dar*, published in this volume, is based upon the text of *La*, the oldest manuscript of the work with which the translator is acquainted. This is No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the East India Company's Library, on the 31st August 1837, by Mr. J. Romer, who had brought it from India, most probably from Surat. This manuscript is an octavo volume, containing 144 folios of light-brown Indian paper which may be as much as three centuries old. The volume was last bound and repaired some time subsequent to 1818, as several English foolscap fly-leaves bear that date as a water-mark. Its Persian text has the peculiarity of being written in Avesta characters, in short sentences alternating with an old Gugarâti translation in Devanâgarî characters which, for the sake of running in a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta-Persian, is written upside down; each page containing generally thirteen lines. This Avesta-Persian is not Pâzand; either in verbal forms or syntactical arrangement, but its orthography is as irregular and uncertain as in most Pâzand texts written in Avesta characters. The text commences with a Sanskrit introduction, copied verbatim from that used by Nêryôsang as a preface to all his Pâzand-Sanskrit texts (see p. xx), with the clause containing the names altered as follows:—‘This book, named *Sad Dar*, is brought together by me, the priest *Râma*, son of *Kanhaksha*, and translated from the Parsi language into the Gugar language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters by his son, the priest *Padama*.’ And this preface is followed by the Pâzand invocation that commences the Persian introduction, as translated on p. 255; which introduction contains a passage (§ 6) probably interpolated in the prose *Sad Dar* after the composition of the metrical version.

The last chapter of the text in *La* is followed by two

Persian couplets in Avesta characters, with their translation in Gugarâti; and, after a few more verses in Sanskrit, the colophon concludes with Sanskrit to the following effect :— ‘ In the *Samvat* year 1631, the ninth *day* in the light half of *the month Gyaishtha*, on Wednesday, the Uttarâ [Ashâdhâ?] lunar mansion; in the *Parsi Samvat* year 944, the 27th day Âsmân, the sixth month Shahrîvar [18th May 1575]¹, the Uzayêirina period (the afternoon), the book *Sad Dar* is completely written *by* an inhabitant of Bhrîgu-kakkha². Brought together by the priest Râma, son of Kanhaksha, *and* written in the handwriting of the priest Padama, his son, the book *Sad Dar* is completed. Written, by another, for the purpose of reading *and* for the purpose of reciting by Hîrâka of the good religion, son of . . .³ of the good religion, and also by Âdaraka of the good religion, son of Gâyâ of the good religion; may it become auspicious and beneficial!’ Followed by ‘may it be healthful! may it be excellent! so may it be! *and* more so may it be!’ in Pâzand.

It is possible that this colophon may have been copied from an older manuscript, but there are certainly some reasons for supposing that La is the original manuscript completed in 1575. In the first place, the appearance of the paper, on which it is written, favours such a supposition, and enquiries, made in Bombay, have not succeeded in discovering the existence of any other copy of this recension. Again, there are a few defects and inconsistencies in the Gugarâti translation which are best explained by supposing that the translation was made at the time this manuscript was written. Thus, the greater part of Chap. LXXIII, after having been written on one side of a folio, is repeated by mistake on the other side of the same folio with several variations, most of which are alterations in the Gugarâti translation, as if the writer were making the trans-

¹ As the manuscript was written in India, the calendar used would be the Rasmî one.

² The old name of Bhrôk.

³ This name, with one or two epithets, has to be extracted from the corrupt Sanskrit compound gnâtîvyavyagihiûâ.

lation at the time when he wrote it. Also, in Chap. LXXVII, a blank having been left for some illegible word in the Avesta-Persian text, a similar blank has been left in the Gugarâti translation, although it is hardly possible that any mere copyist would have found the same word illegible in both versions.

With regard to the source whence the Avesta-Persian text of La was derived, there can be little doubt that it was originally transliterated from a manuscript written in the Perso-Arabic character, as there are several blunders in La which can be best explained as owing to the mutual resemblance of certain letters in that character. Thus, the fact that the modern Persian letters b, n, t, y differ only in the number and position of certain dots, which are sometimes omitted or misplaced, accounts for such blunders as bâ and yâ for tâ, khâna for 'hâyah. While, owing to similar resemblances, the transliterator has written kustî for gêtî, muluk for balkih, guza for gôsh, and having been doubtful, in one place, whether to read rôz or zôr, he has written both words, one above the other.

Somewhat more recent than this Avesta-Persian manuscript is Lp, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the Library by Mr. J. Romer at the same time as La. This manuscript is a small octavo volume, in which the prose Sad Dar occupies the first forty-six folios of Indian paper, written generally fifteen lines to the page in the Perso-Arabic character. In its present state it contains no date, the last folio of the colophon being lost, but the paper is not much newer than that of La. The colophon is written in the Avesta character, and is to the following effect:—'This book is the book Sad Dar, a Nask of the religion of Zarathustra, the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. *These* hundred questions of the proper and improper are extracted from this good *religion* of the Mazda-worshippers, and Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, . . . ;' the rest being lost.

Another important copy of the Persian text of the prose Sad Dar is contained in B29, a two-volume, quarto Rivâyat,

No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. In this Rivâyat, or miscellany of traditional lore, the prose Sad Dar occupies fourteen folios (17-30) in the first volume, each page containing twenty-one closely-written lines. The Persian colophon at the end of the last chapter is to the following effect:—‘This book of the prose Sad Dar is completed on the day Âstâd of the auspicious month Daî of the year 1048 of Yazdagard, the king of kings of happy Îrân, of the race of Sâsân. And the writer of the lines *am* I, the servant of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the priestly-born priest Dârâb, son of the priest Hormazyâr, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kaî-Qubâd, son of Hormazyâr¹ of the surname Sangânâ, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval.’ The date mentioned in this colophon corresponds to the 28th September 1679, new style.

A third copy of the Persian text is contained in J15, a small quarto volume, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay. In this volume the prose Sad Dar occupies the last thirty-six folios, and is written thirteen lines to the page, but is not dated. This manuscript has been consulted in only a few passages, and usually where the other copies differ considerably.

Regarding the variations in the text of these manuscripts it will be noticed, on reference to the foot-notes to the translation, that there is usually considerable agreement among the three Persian manuscripts (Lp, B29, J15²) when they differ from the Avesta-Persian text of La. In a few cases the text of La is undoubtedly defective, and then Lp or B29 may perhaps supply the original reading which has come down to them through some collateral line of descent. But, in the great majority of instances, their variations (especially those of B29) seem to be intended either to make the text more intelligible, or to correct some statement that the copyist thought doubtful. That none of these three manuscripts is derived from La is proved by the fact that they all contain a passage (Chap. XIX, 4-6) which

¹ A variation of this pedigree has already been quoted in p. xxiv.

² Allowing for the fact that this last has been only occasionally used.

the writer of La has omitted by mistake. There is, however, more agreement with La to be found in Lp than in the other two manuscripts.

The arrangement of the chapters in La is confused by the accidental combination of a portion of Chap. XLVIII with a portion of Chap. L, while Chap. XLIX, omitted in its proper place, has been subsequently added at the end of the work. In Lp Chap. XLIX follows Chap. LIII, and, Chaps. L and LV being omitted, the full number of a hundred chapters is obtained by repeating Chaps. XLIX and C at the end of the work. As this confusion in Lp occurs in the same portion of the work as that in La, though it differs somewhat in its details, and as it has been shown above that Lp cannot have been derived from La, it is reasonable to suppose that La and Lp were both derived from some older manuscript, in which some portion of the middle of the work had been omitted or lost, and that the writers of La and Lp adopted different modes of supplying the deficiency from other manuscripts. This confusion does not occur in B29 and J15, which two manuscripts agree in arranging the chapters as they are placed in this volume; they must, therefore, be derived from the original prose Sad Dar through some collateral line of descent, independent of the manuscript in which the confusion originated.

In the metrical Sad Dar nine of the later chapters are scattered about among the earlier ones, thus the 82nd chapter occurs next after the 16th, the 83rd after the 23rd, the 84th after the 24th, the 85th after the 27th, the 86th after the 57th, the 87th after the 58th, the 88th after the 70th, the 89th after the 72nd, and the 90th after the 73rd. And, besides this variation, a chapter about the advantage of daily ceremonies in honour of the guardian spirits follows the 65th chapter, a very long chapter about the season festivals is substituted for the 93rd chapter, and the 100th chapter is omitted.

So far as five of the scattered chapters (85-89) are concerned, the reason for their change of position was probably to bring them into closer connection with other chapters treating of similar subjects; but this explanation will not

apply to the remaining four chapters (82–84, 90). It might be argued that the more methodical arrangement of the five chapters (85–89) favours the supposition that the metrical Sad Dar may be older than the prose one, but, independent of the fact that this argument does not apply to the four other chapters, it is quite as reasonable to suppose that the later editor would endeavour to improve the arrangement of his text, and to remedy whatever he thought defective. The pre-existence of the prose Sad Dar may be fairly assumed on the positive evidence afforded by the statement of the long-metre Sad Dar, mentioned in p. xxxvii, in default of any clear statement by the author of the metrical Sad Dar as to the originality of his work.

Since the above was written, the translator has had an opportunity of examining a Persian text of the prose Sad Dar, written in Persia by Rustam Gustâsp Ardashîr, and completed on the 19th July 1706. In this manuscript, the introductory chapter is practically the same as in La, with a few variations. Thus, the invocation in § 1 is as follows:—‘In the name of the sacred being, administering justice. The beginning of the book Sad Dar; may it be a good gift!’ And § 6 runs as follows:—‘On this occasion I, Bahman, a servant of the religion, *am* confirmed by the book of the môbad of môbads Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, so that every one who reads *it* and orders duty *to be done* brings a reward to the souls of those *persons*.’ The arrangement of the chapters is the same as in the metrical Sad Dar¹, and the text differs from La in many more small details than in B29; it often inserts additional sentences, and is generally more diffuse, without giving more information to the reader. The Avesta of the passage quoted in Chapter XL, 4 is omitted, and only the first three words of that quoted in Chapter XIV, 3 are given. Notwithstanding their numerous variations, the resemblance of Bahman’s text to that of La is too great

¹ As far as the long chapter about the season festivals (see p. xliii), but this is subdivided into six chapters (one for each festival) which conclude the work. The same arrangement also occurs in the Gugarâti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar.

to permit the assumption that they are two different prose versions of Îrân-shâh's metrical Sad Dar. It seems more probable that Bahman merely collated the prose Sad Dar with the metrical version, and made many alterations in the former to bring it into closer correspondence with the latter. This manuscript, therefore, throws no fresh light upon the origin of the prose version in La, but, as it confirms the fact that the Îrân-shâh whose name occurs in the introductory chapter was a son of Yazad-yâr, it raises a doubt whether this was the same person as the Îrân-shâh, son of Malik-shâh (or Mard-shah), who composed the metrical version.

In conclusion, it is desirable to notice that another Persian work exists, similar in form and character to the Sad Dar, but entirely distinct in its details, which is usually called the Sad Dar Bundahis. A complete copy of it is contained in Anquetil's Old Rivâyat in the National Library in Paris, and it is frequently quoted in the Bombay Rivâyat (B29) mentioned in p. xli. In this latter manuscript its name is written صد دربند هوش twenty-five times, صد دربند هوش eighteen times, and صد دربند هُش thrice. And the only plausible reading applicable to all these three forms is Sad Darband-i Hush (or Hûsh), 'the hundred door-bolts of the understanding,' a very possible name for a book. The Sad Dar Bundahis is, therefore, most probably a misnomer.

E. W. WEST.

April, 1885.



ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; AK for Âsadîn Kâkâ's MS. of Sg.; Aog. for Aogema-daêkâ, ed. Geiger; app. for appendix; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hôshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno Yazdagardi; B29 for Persian Rivâyat MS. No. 29 of the Bombay University Library; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BM. for No. 22,378 additional Oriental MS. in the British Museum; Chap. for chapter; Dan. for Daniel; Dd. for Dâđîstân-î Dînîk, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Deut. for Deuteronomy; ed. for edition or edited by; Ep. for Epistles of Mânuskhîhar, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Ex. for Exodus; Eze. for Ezekiel; fol. for folio; Gen. for Genesis; Gesch. Pers. Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden; Gôt. gel. Anz. for Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Heb. for Hebrew; Hn. for Hâđôkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; introd. for introduction; Is. for Isaiah; J15 for Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji's MS. No. 15 of Sd.; JE for Jamshêdji Edalji's MS. of Sg.; JJ for Jamshêdji Jâmâspji's MS. of Sg.; Jos. for Joshua; J.R.A.S. for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; K22, K23, K28, K43 for Iranian MSS. Nos. 22, 23, 28, 43 in the University Library at Copenhagen; L15, L19, L23, L26 for Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. Nos. 15, 19, 23, 26 in the India Office Library in London; La, Lp for Persian MSS. Nos. 3043 and 2506 in the same library; Mat. for Matthew; MH7, MH10, MH19 for MSS. Nos. 7, 10, 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Maînôg-î Khirad, as translated in this volume; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; Na. for Nahum; Nêr. for Nêryôsang; Num. for Numbers; Ost. Kul. for Ostîrânische Kultur im Altertum, von W. Geiger; p. for page; PA10 for MS. No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library in Paris; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; PB3, PB6 for MSS. Nos. 3, 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris; Pers. for Persian; Ps. for Psalms; R. for Mr. Romer's polyglot MS. of Sg. (see p. 116); Rev. for Revela-

tion; Rom. for Romans; Sam. for Samuel; Sans. for Sanskrit; Sd. for Sad Dar, as translated in this volume; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, as translated in this volume; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Syr. for Syriac; TD₂ for Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji's MS. of Pahl. Mkh.; Vend. for Vendîdâd; vol. for volume; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Yast; Zarat. for Zaratûst; Zor. Stud. for Zoroastrische Studien, von Windischmann.

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD,

OR

OPINIONS

OF THE

SPIRIT OF WISDOM.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into chapters corresponds with the beginnings of the questions, and the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêrôsang.

2. Italics are used for any English words that are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ö*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meanings of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

K43 (written A.D. 1569) Pahlavi, No. 43 in the University Library at Copenhagen; upon the text of which, so far as it extends, this translation is based.

L19 (written A.D. 1520) Pâz.-Sans., No. 19 in the India Office Library at London.

MH7 (written A.D. 1809) Pârsî-Pers., No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

MH10, a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the same Collection.

PA10 (written A.D. 1649) Pâz.-Sans., No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris.

PB6, Pâz.-Sans., No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library.

TD2, Pahlavi, belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay; upon a copy of which this translation chiefly relies in the passages (XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 and XXXIX, 31-XL, 17) missing from K43.

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THROUGH the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels *who are* good rulers and good performers, and all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, by a happy dispensation (*dahisn*) and well-omened we write the Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom through the will of the sacred beings¹.

CHAPTER I².

[1. In the name and *for* the propitiation of the all-benefiting creator Aûharmazd, (2) of all the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, (3) *and* of the learning of learnings, the Mazda-worshipping

¹ This heading is prefixed to the original Pahlavi text in K43, a facsimile of which was published by Andreas in 1882; as, however, the text which follows it, in that codex, begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28, this heading must have been composed by some copyist, after the first folio of the text had been lost from some previous copy. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the name he gives to the work, 'Opinions (or decisions) of the Spirit of Wisdom,' be the original title, or not; but it is, at any rate, preferable to the modern appellation, 'the Spirit of Wisdom.' In Pâzand this title is Mainyô-i Khard; but regarding the Pahlavi word maînôg, see the Introduction.

² The beginning of this chapter, enclosed in brackets, as far as § 28 (being lost from the Pahlavi text of K43, and no copy of it from TD2 being available) is here taken from the Pâzand version contained in L19. The division into sections, adopted throughout, is that of the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text of Nêryôsang.

religion, (4) forth from which this, *which* is such a source of wisdom, is a selector¹. 5. Through the glory and will of the creator Aûharmazd—who is promoting the prosperity of the two existences²—(6) and of all the greatly powerful angels, (7) and *through* the completely calm repose of the sacred beings, the princely³, purpose-fulfilling sages, (8) presentations of various novelties for the appropriation of wisdom, (9) through largely acquiring reasoning thought⁴, are most wholesome for the body and soul *in* the two existences.

10. As in the pure marvel of marvels, the unquestionable and well-betokened good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, by the words of the creator, Aûharmazd, and Zaratûst the Spîtamân⁵, it is in

¹ That is, this work is a selection of wisdom from the religion. The Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*, 'from it,' which is identical in form with Pahl. *afas*, the correct equivalent of Pâz. *vas*.

² This world and the next.

³ The angels are here compared to the *vâspûharakân*, the highest class of Sasanian nobles, called *barbêtân*, 'sons of the house,' in Huzvârîs (see Nöldeke's *Gesch. Pers. Sas.* pp. 71, 501). As these nobles ranked next to the royal house, so do the archangels and angels rank next to Aûharmazd. The title *vâspûhar* is evidently connected with the ancient Pers. equivalent of Av. *vîsô puthra*, 'son of the village or town,' which, as Darmesteter points out (*Études Iraniennes*, II, p. 140), is used in Vend. VII, 114 as the title of a person who has to pay the same medical fees as the *zantu-paiti*, 'tribe-ruler,' mentioned in the earlier § 108, and who must, therefore, have been a man of equal rank.

⁴ Reading *vîrmat*, both here and in § 13, instead of the Pâz. *nîrmað*, which is a misreading of the same letters.

⁵ Av. Zarathustra Spitama, the great apostle of the Mazda-worshippers, whose conversations with Ahura Mazda (Pahl. Aûharmazd) constitute a considerable portion of the Avesta, or scripture of the Mazda-worshippers.

many places decided, (11) that he, who is the all-good creator, created these creatures through wisdom, (12) and his maintenance of the invisible revolutions¹ is through wisdom; (13) and the imperishable and undisturbed *state*, in that which is immortality *for* ever and everlasting, he reserves for himself by means of the most deliberative² means of wisdom. 14. For the same reason *it* is declared, (15) that *there* was a sage who said, (16) that 'if this be known, that the religion of the sacred beings (*yazdân*) is truth, and *its* law is virtue, and *it* is desirous of welfare and compassionate as regards the creatures, (17) wherefore are *there* mostly many sects, many beliefs, and many original evolutions³ of mankind? 18. And, especially, that which is a sect, law, and belief, causing harm to the property (*khêl*) of the sacred beings⁴, and is not good? 19, 20⁵. And this, too, *one has* to consider, that, in order to become a chooser in this matter, trouble is to be undergone; (21) and it is necessary to become acquainted with this matter, (22) because, in the end, the body is mingled with the dust, and reliance is on the soul. 23. And every one is to undergo trouble for the soul, (24) and is to become acquainted with duty and good works; (25) because that good work which a man does unwittingly is little of a good work, (26) and that sin which a man

¹ Of the spheres, or firmaments, which are supposed to carry along the heavenly bodies.

² Reading *vîrmat-hômandtûm*.

³ Reading *bûn gast* (see Sg. IV, 73 n).

⁴ It may be questioned whether this allusion to a heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith is sufficient to identify the former with Muhammadanism.

⁵ These two sections are improperly separated by *Nêryôsang*.

commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in *its* origin¹.
 27. And *it* is declared by the Avesta² (28) thus:]
³“Nothing *was* taken by him by whom the soul
was not taken (29) hitherto, and he takes nothing
 who does not take the soul (30) henceforward
 likewise⁴; (31) because the spiritual and worldly
existences are such-like as⁵ two strongholds, (32) one
it is declared certain that they shall capture, and
 one it is not possible to capture.”’

33. After *being* replete *with* those good actions
 of⁶ which *it* is declared certain that it is not possible
 to capture, (34) and when he⁷ surveyed the
 incitement for this, (35) he started forth (fra vaftō),
 in search of wisdom, into the various countries and
 various districts of this world; (36) and of the
 many⁸ religions and beliefs of those people who
 are superior in their wisdom he thought and en-
 quired, and he investigated and came upon *their*
 origin⁹. 37. And when he saw that they are so
 mutually afflicting (hanbêshin) and inimical among

¹ The original text was, no doubt, vinâs pavan bûn val yehe-
 vûnêd, which would be gunâh pa bun ô bahôd in Pâzand; but
 L19 has omitted the p in pa, and Nêr. has mistaken the preposi-
 tion val for the pronoun valman, which blunders have misled the
 writers of later MSS. into a variety of inconsistent readings.

² The sacred literature of the Parsis in its original language.

³ The extant Pahlavi text of K43 commences at this point.

⁴ By this division of §§ 28–30 Nêr. found himself compelled to
 add another Sanskrit clause in explanation, which would have been
 unnecessary if he had separated them as here pointed.

⁵ K43 omits ‘as.’

⁶ L19 has ‘after those good actions of a store.’

⁷ The sage mentioned in § 15.

⁸ L19 has ‘every.’

⁹ L19 omits ‘origin,’ having merely vagôst, ‘investigated,’
 instead of bun gûstō, ‘investigated the origin.’

one another, (38) he then knew that these religions and beliefs and diverse customs, which are so mutually afflicting among one another in this world, are not worthy to be from the appointment of the sacred beings; (39) because the religion of the sacred beings is truth, and *its* law is virtue. 40. And through this he became without doubt that, *as to* whatever¹ is not in this pure religion, *there* is then doubtfulness for them in everything, (41) and in every cause they see distraction.

42. After that he became more diligent in the enquiry and practice of religion; (43) and he enquired of the high-priests who have become wiser in² this religion and more acquainted *with* the religion, (44) thus: 'For the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul what thing³ is good and more perfect?'

45. And they [spoke⁴], through the statement [from revelation, (46) thus: 'Of the⁵ benefit which happens to men] wisdom is good; (47) because it is possible to manage the worldly *existence* through wisdom⁶, (48) and it is possible to provide also the spiritual *existence* for oneself through the power of wisdom. 49. And this, too, is declared, that Aûhar-mazd has produced these creatures and creation, which are in the worldly *existence*, through innate

¹ L19 has 'every one who,' having read kolâ mûn instead of kolâ maman. The meaning, however, is that all details of foreign faiths that are not found in the Mazda-worshipping religion are doubtful.

² K43 has 'of,' by omitting pavan, 'in.'

³ L19 has 'what one thing.'

⁴ K43 omits the words in brackets, by mistake.

⁵ Sans. has 'this.'

⁶ L19 has 'through the power of wisdom.'

wisdom¹; (50) and the management of the worldly and spiritual *existences* is also through wisdom.'

51. And when, in that manner, he saw the great advantage and preciousness of wisdom, he became more thankful unto Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels of² the spirit of wisdom; (52) and he took³ the spirit of wisdom as a protection. 53. For the spirit of wisdom *one* is to perform more homage and service than *for* the remaining archangels. 54. And this, too, he knew, that it is possible to do for oneself every duty and good work and proper action through the power of wisdom; (55) and it is necessary to be diligent for the satisfaction of the spirit of wisdom. 56. And, thenceforward, he became more diligent in performing⁴ the ceremonial of the spirit of wisdom.

57. After that the spirit of wisdom, on account of the thoughts and wishes of that sage, displayed *his* person unto him. 58. And he spoke to him (59) thus: 'O friend *and* glorifier! good from perfect righteousness! (60) seek advancement from me, the spirit of wisdom, (61) that I may become thy guide to the satisfaction of the sacred beings and

¹ The âsnô khiradō (Av. âsnô khratus) is 'the durable or innate wisdom' supposed to be implanted in one's nature, as distinguished from the Av. gaoshô-srûtô khratus, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' obtained by experience.

² That is, 'produced by' this spirit, as mentioned in § 49 regarding the world, and here extended to the archangels. L19 omits the particle î, so as to convert this spirit into the wisdom of Aûharmazd and the archangels. It is very probable, however, that we ought to read 'and the spirit of wisdom.'

³ L19 has 'made;,' these two verbs being written alike in Huzvâris.

⁴ L19 has 'to perform,' by omitting 'in.'

the good¹, and *to* the maintenance of the body in the worldly *existence* and the preservation of the soul in the spiritual *one*.’

CHAPTER II.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘How is it possible to seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body [without injury of the soul, and the preservation of the soul without injury of the body²]?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘Him who is less than thee consider as an equal, and an equal as a superior, (5) and a greater than him as a chieftain³, and a chieftain as a ruler. 6. And among rulers *one* is to be acquiescent, obedient, and true-speaking; (7) *and* among accusers⁴ be submissive, mild, and kindly regardful.

8. ‘Commit no slander; (9) so that infamy and wickedness *may* not happen unto thee. 10. For it is said (11) that slander is more grievous than witchcraft; (12) and in hell the rush of every fiend⁵ is to the front, *but* the rush of the fiend of slander, on account of the grievous sinfulness, is to the rear.

13. ‘Form no covetous desire; (14) so that the

¹ Meaning, specially, the priests.

² The passage in brackets is omitted by K43, and is here supplied from L19.

³ In L19 the text is corrupt, but has nearly the same meaning.

⁴ L19 has ‘associates,’ which seems equally appropriate; the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁵ The word *drûg*, ‘fiend,’ is usually supposed to mean a female demon, and is often understood so in the Avesta, perhaps because it is a feminine noun. It is usually an impersonation of some evil passion (see Chap. XLI, 11).

demon of greediness *may* not deceive thee, (15) and the treasure of the world *may* not be tasteless to thee, and that of the spirit unperceived.

16. 'Indulge in no wrathfulness; (17) for a man, when he indulges in wrath, becomes then forgetful of his duty and good works, of prayer and the service of the sacred beings, (18) and sin and crime of every kind occur unto his mind, and¹ until the subsiding of the wrath (19) he² is said *to be* just like Aharman³.

20. 'Suffer no anxiety; (21) for he who is a sufferer of anxiety becomes regardless of enjoyment of the world and the spirit, (22) and contraction happens to his body and soul.

23. 'Commit no lustfulness; (24) so that harm and regret *may* not reach thee from thine own actions.

25. 'Bear no improper envy; (26) so that thy life *may* not become tasteless.

27. 'Commit no sin on account of [disgrace]⁴; (28) because happiness and adornment⁵, celebrity (khanîdîh) and dominion, skill and suitability are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment, destiny, and will of the sacred beings.

29. 'Practise no sloth; (30) so that the duty and good work, which it is necessary for thee to do, *may* not remain undone.

31. 'Choose a wife who is of character; (32)

¹ L19 omits 'and.'

² L19 has 'wrath;' making § 19 a separate sentence.

³ The evil spirit, Av. angra mainyu.

⁴ K43 omits 'disgrace,' by mistake.

⁵ L19 omits 'adornment.'

because that *one* is good who in the end is more respected.

33. 'Commit no unseasonable chatter¹; (34) so that grievous distress *may* not happen unto Horvadađ and Amerodađ, the archangels², through thee.

35. 'Commit no running about uncovered³; (36) so that harm *may* not come upon thy bipeds and quadrupeds, and ruin upon *thy* children.

37. 'Walk not with one boot⁴; (38) so that grievous distress *may* not happen to thy soul.

¹ A free translation of the name of the sin which is usually called drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'eagerness for chattering;' here, however, K43 omits the latter y, so that the name may be read drâyân-gaîsnîh, 'chatteringly devouring,' and a similar phrase is used in AV. XXIII, 6. The sin consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a murmured prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; the protective spell of the prayer being broken by such talking. If the prayer be not taken inwardly when it ought to be, the same sin is incurred (see Sls. V, 2, Dd. LXXIX, 8).

² Instead of amahrâspend, 'the archangel,' L19 has Mâr-spend, the angel of the 'righteous liturgy;' but this is probably a misreading, due to the fact that, when the chattering interrupts prayer, the angel of the liturgy would be as much distressed as the archangels Horvadađ and Amerodađ, who protect water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25-29), would be when it interrupts eating and drinking. These archangels are personifications of Av. haurvatâđ, 'completeness or health,' and ameretâđ, 'immortality.'

³ That is, moving about without being girded with the Kustî or sacred thread-girdle, which must not be separated from the skin by more than one thin garment, the sacred shirt (see Sls. IV, 7, 8).

⁴ We should probably read 'without a boot,' as aê-mûkô and amûkô are much alike in Pahlavi; otherwise we must suppose that walking with only a single covering for the feet, and without outer boots, is meant. At any rate, walking or standing on unconsecrated ground with bare feet is a serious sin for a Parsi, on account of the risk of pollution (see Sls. IV, 12, X, 12).

39. 'Perform no discharge of urine (*pêšâr-vâr*) *standing* on foot¹; (40) so that thou mayst not become a captive by a habit of the demons, (41) and the demons may not drag thee to hell on account of that sin.

42. 'Thou shouldst be (*yehevûnes*) diligent and moderate, (43) and eat of thine own regular industry, (44) and provide the share of the sacred beings and the good; (45) and, thus, the practice of this, in thy occupation, is the greatest good work.

46. 'Do not extort from the wealth of others; (47) so that thine own regular industry *may* not become unheeded. 48. For it is said (49) that: "He who eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, is such-like as *one* who holds a human head in *his* hand, and eats human brains."

50. 'Thou shouldst be an abstainer from the wives of others; (51) because all these three would become disregarded by thee, alike wealth, alike² body, and alike² soul.

52. 'With enemies fight with equity. 53. With a friend proceed with the approval of friends. 54. With a malicious³ man carry on no conflict, (55) and do not molest him in any way whatever. 56. With a greedy man thou shouldst not be a partner, (57) and do not trust him with the leadership. 58. With

¹ Whereby an unnecessary space of ground is polluted; hence the sin.

² K43 has *hômanam*, 'I am,' the Huzvâris of *am*, used by mistake for *ham*, 'alike,' which is written exactly like *am* in Pahlavi.

³ K43 has *kîkvar*, instead of *kênvar*, but this is doubtless a miswriting.

a slanderous man do not go to the door of kings. 59. With an ill-famed man form no connection. 60. With an ignorant man thou shouldst not become a confederate and associate. 61. With a foolish man make no dispute. 62. With a drunken man do not walk on the road. 63. From an ill-natured man take no loan.

64. 'In thanksgiving unto the sacred beings, and worship, praise, ceremonies, invocation, and performing the learning of knowledge thou shouldst be energetic and life-expending. 65. For it is said (66) that: "In aid of the contingencies (*gahisn*)¹ among men wisdom is good; (67) in seeking renown and preserving the soul liberality is good; (68) in the advancement of business and justice complete mindfulness is good; (69) and in the statements of those who confess (*khûstivân*)², with a bearing on the custom of the law³, truth is good. 70. In the progress of business energy is good, (71) for⁴ every one to become confident therein steadfastness is good, (72) and for the coming of benefit thereto thankfulness is good. 73. In keeping oneself untroubled (*anaîrang*)⁵ the discreet speaking which is in the path of⁶ truth is good; (74) and in keeping away the disturbance of the destroyer⁷ from oneself employment is good. 75.

¹ L19 has *zahisn*, 'issue, proceedings.'

² L19 has read *aûstîkân*, 'the steadfast,' by mistake.

³ Reading *dâđô-khûk-barisnôîhâ*. L19 has 'conveying intercession (*gâđangô=dâđô-gôk*);' this small difference in reading may be a clerical error in K43. The Sans. version omits the phrase altogether.

⁴ L19 omits *pavan*, 'for.'

⁵ Nêr. has 'unblemished.'

⁶ L19 omits 'path of;' and it may possibly be superfluous.

⁷ Or it may be 'the destroyer and adversary,' as in L19; the last word being defective in K43.

Before rulers and kings discreet speaking is good, and in¹ an assembly good recital; (76) among friends repose and rational friends² are good; (77) and with an associate to one's own deeds the giving of advantage (sûkõ) is good. 78. Among those greater than one (agas masân) mildness and humility are good, (79) and among those less than one flattery³ and civility are good. 80. Among doers of deeds speaking of thanks and performance of generosity are good; (81) and among those of the same race the formation of friendship (hûmânõih)⁴ is good. 82. For bodily health moderate eating and keeping the body in action are good; (83) and among the skilled in thanksgiving performance is good. 84. Among chieftains unanimity and seeking advantage are good; (85) among those in unison and servants good behaviour and an exhibition of awe are good; (86) and for having little trouble in oneself contentment is good. 87. In chieftainship to understand thoroughly the good in *their* goodness and the vile in *their* vileness is good; *and* to make the vile unseen, through retribution⁵, is good. 88. In every place and time to restrain oneself from sin and to be diligent in meritorious work are good; (89) and every day to consider *and* keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness, is good. 90. *And* for dishonour not to come unto one a knowledge of oneself is good." 91. All these are proper

¹ L19 omits pavan, 'in.'

² L19 has 'friendship.'

³ Or 'adaptation.'

⁴ L19 has humatî, 'good intention.'

⁵ L19 has 'to cause the reward of the good and the punishment of the vile.'

and true and of the same description, (92) but occupation and guarding the tongue (pâd-hûzvânîh)¹ above everything.

93. 'Abstain far from the service of idols² and demon-worship. 94. Because *it* is declared (95) that: "If Kaî-Khûsrôî³ should not have extirpated the idol-temples (aûgdês-kâr) which *were* on the lake of Kêkast⁴, then in these three millenniums of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns⁵—of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again all⁶ the affairs of the world, and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm—the adversary⁷ would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence."

96. 'In forming a store⁸ of good works thou

¹ L19 has 'preserving pure language.'

² More correctly 'temple-worship,' as aûzdês means 'an erection.'

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third of the Kayân kings, who reigned sixty years, and was the grandson of his predecessor, Kâî-Ûs, and son of Sîyâvakhsh (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁴ The present Lake Urumiyah according to Bd. XXII, 2. This feat of Kaî-Khûsrôî is also mentioned in Bd. XVII, 7, and his exploits in the same neighbourhood are stated in Âbân Yt. 49, 50, Gôš Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, 42; but it is possible that the Avesta name, Kêkast, may have been transferred to Lake Urumiyah in later times.

⁵ The three future apostles who are supposed to be sons of Zaratûst, whose births have been deferred till later times (see Bd. XXXII, 8). Their Avesta names are Ukhshyad-ereta, Ukhshyad-nemangh, and Saoshyâs.

⁶ L19 omits 'all.'

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ L19 has 'in always doing;' having read hâmvâr, 'always,' instead of ambâr, 'a store.'

shouldst be diligent, (97) so that it *may* come to *thy*¹ assistance among the spirits.

98. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through any happiness of the world; (99) for the happiness of the world is such-like as a cloud that comes on a rainy day, which one does not ward off by any hill.

100. 'Thou shouldst not be *too* much arranging the world; (101) for the world-arranging man becomes spirit-destroying.

102. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through much treasure and wealth; (103) for in the end it is necessary for thee to leave all.

104. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through predominance; (105) for in the end it is necessary for thee to become non-predominant.

106. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through respect and reverence; (107) for respectfulness does not assist in the spiritual *existence*.

108. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through great connections and race; (109) for in the end *thy*² trust is on thine own deeds.

110. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through life; (111) for death comes upon thee³ *at* last, (112) the dog and the bird lacerate the corpse⁴, (113) and the perishable *part* (*segînakö*)⁵ falls to the ground. 114. During three days⁶ and nights

¹ K43 omits 'thy.'

² L19 omits 'thy.'

³ L19 omits 'thee.'

⁴ Referring to the mode of disposing of the dead adopted by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 6n, Dd. XV, 5, XVII, 17, XVIII, 2-4).

⁵ L19 has *ast*, 'bone.'

⁶ Including the day of death. The fate of the soul after death, as detailed in §§ 114-194, is also described in Vend. XIX, 90-112, Hn. II, III, Aog. 8-19, AV. IV-XI, XVII.

the soul sits at the crown of the head of the body¹. 115. And the fourth day, in the light of dawn—with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous, Vâê the good, and Vâhrâm the strong², the opposition of Astô-vîdâd³, Vâê the bad⁴, Frazîstô the demon, and Nizîstô the demon⁵, and the evil-designing action of Aeshm⁶, the evil-doer, the impetuous assailant—

¹ Reciting a passage from the Gâthas or sacred hymns (see Hn. II, 4, 5, III, 3, 4, AV. IV, 9-11, XVII, 6, 7).

² These three angels are personifications of Av. sraosha, 'listening, obedience,' vaya or vayu, 'the upper air (uncontaminated by the evil spirit),' and verethraghna, 'victorious, triumphant'; the last is more literally 'demon-smiting,' that is, 'smiting Verethra (the demon),' Sans. *vritrahan*.

³ Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, 'the bone-dislocator,' or demon of death who binds the parting soul (see Vend. V, 25, 31); in later writings, such as the Book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, he is said to throw a noose over the neck of the soul to drag it to hell, but if its good works have exceeded its sins, it throws off the noose and goes to heaven; and this noose is also mentioned in Bd. III, 22, Dd. XXIII, 3. In Bd. XXVIII, 35 this demon is said to be the same as the bad Vâê, but all other authorities consider them as distinct beings. It may be noted that a different demon of death is usually mentioned when the soul is wicked (see § 161).

⁴ Av. vaya or vayu, 'the lower air (vitiated by the evil spirit).' Just as the wind (*vâd*) may be either an angel or a demon, according as its strength makes it a refreshing breeze or a violent hurricane, so may the air be a good or evil being, according as it retains its original purity or has been vitiated by the evil spirit. That the angel Vâê is the upper air appears from its epithet *uparô-kairya*, 'working aloft,' in the Râm Yt.; and that it is only the lower air that is vitiated by the evil spirit is in accordance with the division of the sky into three thirds, of which the uppermost is inaccessible to the evil spirit (see Dd. XXXVII, 24-31). But this distinction between a good and bad Vâê is not made in Vend. V, 25, 31, where we are told that Vayô conveys the soul when bound by Astô-vîdhôtu.

⁵ These two demons have not been recognised elsewhere.

⁶ The demon of wrath, Av. Aêshmô daêva, appears to be the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit.

[it goes]¹ up to the awful, lofty *Kîndvar*² bridge, to which every one, righteous and wicked, is coming³. 116. And many opponents have watched there, (117) with the desire of evil of Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, and of Astô-vidâd who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety, (118) and the mediation of Mitrô⁴ and Srôsh and Rashnû, (119) and the weighing of Rashnû, the just, (120) with the balance⁵ of the spirits, which renders no favour (*hû-girâi*) on any side⁶, neither for the righteous nor yet the wicked, neither for the lords nor yet the monarchs. 121. As much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality; (122) and he who is a lord and monarch⁷ it considers equally, in its decision, with him who is the least of mankind.

123. 'And when a soul of the righteous passes upon that bridge, the width of the bridge becomes as it were a league (*parasang*)⁸, (124) and the

¹ K₄₃ omits this verb.

² Or, perhaps, *Kîngvar*, a partial translation of Av. *Kînvad* (gv being a mispronunciation of v or w, as in *gvâd* for *vâd*, 'wind;' and Pers. var translating Av. *vad*). The Pâzand writers have *Kandôr*. It is the bridge of ever-varying breadth which leads to heaven (see Vend. XIX, 100, 101, AV. III, 1, IV, 7, V, 1, 2, XVII, 1, Bd. XII, 7, Dd. XX, XXI), but it is not mentioned in Hn.

³ Literally, 'is a comer.'

⁴ The angel of the sun's light; being a personification of friendship and good faith he is specially concerned in calling the soul to account (see Dd. XIV, 3).

⁵ In which the actions of men are weighed by Rashnû, the angel of justice, to ascertain whether the good or the evil preponderate.

⁶ L₁₉ has 'who makes no unjust balance of the spirits on either side.'

⁷ K₄₃ adds *rad*, 'master,' but this is evidently an abortive beginning of the next word, *levatman*, which has been left unerased.

⁸ Nine spears (about 126 English feet) in AV. V, 1, Dd. XXI, 5.

righteous soul passes over with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous. 125. And his own deeds of a virtuous kind¹ come to meet him in the form of a maiden, (126) who is handsomer and better than every maiden in the world.

127. 'And the righteous soul speaks (128) thus: "Who mayst thou be², that a maiden who is handsomer and better than thee *was* never seen by me in the worldly *existence*?"

129. 'In reply that maiden form responds (130) thus: "I am no maiden, but I am thy virtuous deeds, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion! 131. For when thou sawest in the world *him* who performed demon-worship, then thou hast sat down, and thy performance *was* the worship of the sacred beings. 132. And when *it was* seen by thee that *there was* any one who caused oppression and plunder, and distressed *or* scorned a good person, and acquired wealth by crime, then thou keptest back from the creatures their own *risk of* oppression and plunder; (133) the good person *was* also thought of by thee, and lodging and entertainment provided; and alms *were* given by thee *to him* (134) who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar; and wealth which *was* due to honesty *was* acquired by thee. 135. And when thou sawest *him* who practised

The parasang is probably used here as an equivalent for Av. hâthra, 'a mile.'

¹ L19 has 'his own virtuous deeds.' The conscience of the soul meets it in the form of a damsel, beautiful in proportion to the goodness of its deeds. In AV. IV, 18-36, Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5 the conscience meets the soul before it attempts the bridge.

² More literally, 'what may be thou?' as the verb is in the third person here, though not so in the similar phrase in § 169.

false justice and taking of bribes, and false evidence *was* given by him, then thou hast sat down, and the recitation of truth and virtue¹ *was* uttered by thee. 136. I am this of thine, the good thoughts, the good words, and the good deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 137. For when I have become commendable, I am then made altogether more commendable by thee; (138) when I have become precious, I am then made altogether still more precious by thee; (139) and when I have become glorious, I am then made altogether² still more glorious by thee."

140. 'And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. 141. The soul of the righteous enquires of Srôsh (142) thus: "What breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?"

143. 'Then Srôsh, the righteous, replies to that righteous soul (144) thus: "This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant."

145. 'Afterwards, on *his* march, the first step is set³ on *the place of* good thoughts, the second on *that of* good words, the third on *that of* good deeds⁴, (146) and the fourth step reaches up unto the endless light⁵ which is all-radiant. 147. And angels

¹ Meaning probably the recitation of the Avesta texts.

² K43 omits *barâ*, 'quite, altogether,' in this third clause.

³ L19 has 'afterwards, he rests the first step;' but *awar ârâ-med*, 'he rests,' is a misreading of *madam khârâm dâd*, 'on the march is set.'

⁴ These are the three lowermost grades of heaven, *hûmat*, *hûkht*, and *hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 12).

⁵ The highest grade of heaven, where *Aûharmazd* and the angels are supposed to dwell (see Chap. VII, 11).

and archangels of every description come to meet him, (148) and ask tidings from him (149) thus: "How hast thou come, from that which is a perishable, fearful; *and* very miserable existence, to this which is an imperishable existence that is undisturbed, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion?"

150. 'Then Aûharmazd, the lord, speaks (151) thus: "Ask ye from him no tidings; for *he has* parted from that which *was* a precious body, and has come by that which is a fearful road. 152. And bring ye unto him the most agreeable of eatables, that which is the midspring butter¹, (153) so that he *may* rest his soul from that bridge of the three nights, unto which he came from Astô-vîdâd and the remaining demons²; (154) and seat him upon an all-embellished throne."

155. 'As *it is* declared (156) that: "Unto³ the righteous man⁴ and woman, after passing away⁵, they bring food⁶ of the most agreeable of eatables—

¹ The Maidhyô-zarm rôghan, which is explained in Dd. XXXI, 14 as the spiritual representative of butter made during the Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' festival, which was considered the best of the year. This festival is held on the forty-fifth day of the Parsi year, which was about 4th May when the year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox as described in Bd. XXV, 3-7, 20. The heavenly food which goes by this name is not to be confounded with the Hûsh which is expected to be prepared at the resurrection, from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôš, for the purpose of making mankind immortal (see Bd. XXX, 25); although some such confusion appears to exist in AV. X, 5. K43 has rûbân, 'soul,' instead of rôghan, 'butter.'

² See §§ 114-123.

³ K43 omits 'unto.'

⁴ Literally, 'male.'

⁵ L19 adds 'from the body and consciousness.'

⁶ Reading kazag, instead of kazad, both here and in the next clause of the sentence. L19 has 'the angels of the spiritual exist-

the food of the angels of the spiritual *existences*— that which is the midspring butter¹; and they seat them down on an all-embellished throne. 157. For ever and everlasting they remain in all glory with the angels of the spiritual *existences* everlastingly.”

158. ‘And when he who is wicked dies, his soul then rushes *about for* three days and nights in the vicinity of the head of that wicked *one*, and sobs² (159) thus: “Whither do I go, and now what do I make³ as a refuge?” 160. And the sin and crime of every kind, that *were* committed by him in the worldly *existence*, he sees with *his* eyes in those three days and nights. 161. The fourth day Vîzaresh⁴, the demon, comes and binds the soul of the wicked with the very evil noose⁵; (162) and with the opposition of Srôsh, the righteous, he leads *it* up to the Kîndvar bridge⁶. 163. Then Rashnû⁷, the just, detects that soul of the wicked through *its* wickedness.

164. ‘Afterwards, Vîzaresh, the demon, takes that

ences bring the most agreeable of eatables,’ by omitting the first kazag, and misreading the second one.

¹ K43 has rûbân again, as in § 152, for rôghan. Although this sentence resembles Hn. II, 38, 39, it is evidently quoted from some other source, as its difference is more striking than its resemblance.

² This verb is Huz. bekhûnêd=Pâz. giryêd, but Nêr. has read bângînêd, ‘laments,’ and has written vâgined.

³ Or it may be ‘take,’ as these two verbs are written alike in Huzvâris. This exclamation is a quotation from the Gâthas or sacred hymns, being the first line of Yas. XLV, 1.

⁴ The Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who carries off the souls of the wicked; he is also mentioned in Bd. XXVIII, 18, Dd. XXXII, 4, 7, XXXVII, 44.

⁵ Reading saryâtar sûlan. L19 has vad band, ‘an evil tie.’

⁶ See § 115.

⁷ See §§ 119, 120.

soul of the wicked, and mercilessly and maliciously beats *and* maltreats *it*. 165. And that soul of the wicked weeps with a loud voice, is fundamentally horrified¹, implores with many supplicating² entreaties, and makes many struggles for life disconnectedly³. 166. Whom⁴—when his struggling and supplication are of no avail whatever, and no one comes to his assistance from the divinities (bagân)⁵, nor yet from the demons—moreover, Vîzaresh, the demon, drags miserably⁶ to the inevitable⁷ hell.

167. 'And then a maiden who is not like unto maidens comes to meet him. 168. And that soul of the wicked speaks to that evil maiden (169) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that never in the worldly *existence was* an evil maiden seen by me, who *was* viler and more hideous than thee?"

170. 'And she⁸ speaks in reply to him (171) thus: "I *am* not a maiden, but I am thy deeds⁹, *thou* monster who *art* evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, *and* of evil religion! 172. For even when thou sawest¹⁰ *him* who performed the worship of the sacred beings, still then thou hast sat down, and demon-worship *was* performed by thee, (173) and the demons and fiends *were* served. 174. And also when thou sawest *him* who provided lodging and

¹ Instead of burz-vângîhâ bekhûnêd, bun râmêd, L19 has burzâvandîhâ vâgîned u vârâmed, 'loudly shrieks and weeps.'

² Reading lâpakô-karîhâ.

³ Instead of apadvandîhâ, L19 has apatûihâ, 'fruitlessly.'

⁴ L19 has 'and.'

⁵ L19 has vehâ, 'the good.'

⁶ Instead of âk-hômandîhâ, L19 has anaomediâ, 'hopelessly.'

⁷ Reading nagirz, but this is uncertain; L19 has azer, 'lower.'

⁸ L19 has 'that evil maiden.'

⁹ L19 has 'evil deeds.'

¹⁰ L19 adds 'in the world.'

entertainment, and gave alms, *for* a good person who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar¹, (175) then thou actedst scornfully and disrespectfully *to* the good person, and gave no alms, and even shut up the door. 176. And when thou sawest *him* who practised true justice, took no bribe, gave true evidence, and uttered virtuous recitation, (177) even then thou hast sat down, and false justice *was* practised by thee, evidence *was* given by thee with falsehood, and vicious recitation *was* uttered by thee. 178. I am this of thine, the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 179. For when I have become uncommendable, I am then made altogether still more uncommendable by thee; (180) when I have become unrespected, I am then made altogether still more unrespected by thee; (181) and when I have sat in an eye-offending² position, I am then made altogether still more really eye-offending (*kashm-kah-îktar-ik*) by thee."

182. 'Afterwards he enters³, the first step on *the place of* evil thoughts, the second on *that of* evil words, the third step on *that of* evil deeds⁴, (183) and the fourth step rushes into the presence of the

¹ In L19 the words 'near' and 'afar' change places.

² Literally, 'eye-consuming,' the reading adopted by Nêr., but, though it gives a satisfactory meaning, it is not quite certain that it represents the Pahlavi text correctly.

³ For *dên vazlûnêd*, 'he goes in,' L19 has *andar zrôved*, indicating that the first letter, *va*, of *vazlûnêd* had been omitted in the Pahl. MS. used by Nêr., which misled him into reading the remaining letters as a new Pâz. verb *zrôved*, as already remarked by Nöldeke in Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 975.

⁴ These are the three uppermost grades of hell, *dûs-hûmat*, *dûs-hûkht*, and *dûs-hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 20).

wicked evil spirit and the other demons ¹. 184. And the demons make ridicule and mockery of him (185) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of Aharman and the demons and gloomy hell, (186) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?"

187. 'And the evil spirit shouts to the demons (188) thus: "Ask ye no tidings from him (189) who is parted *from* ² that which *was* a precious body, and has come on by that which is a very bad road. 190. But bring ye unto him the foulest and vilest of eatables, the food which is nurtured in hell."

191. 'They bring the poison and venom of ³ the snake and scorpion and other noxious creatures that are in hell, (192) and give him to eat. 193. And until the resurrection and future existence he must be in hell, in much misery and punishment of various kinds ⁴. 194. Especially that it is possible to eat food there only as though by similitude ⁵.'

195. The spirit of innate wisdom spoke to the sage (196) thus: 'This which *was* asked by thee, as to the maintenance of the body *and* concerning the preservation of the soul, is also spoken about by me, and thou art admonished. 197. Be virtuously

¹ In the lowermost grade of hell (see Chap. VII, 21).

² L19 has 'for *he has* parted from,' as in § 151.

³ L19 has 'and.'

⁴ L19 has 'he is in much misery and punishment of kinds worthy of hell.'

⁵ So that starvation is one of the punishments of hell. L19 has 'and especially that the food there can be only like putrid blood.'

assiduous about it, and keep *it* in practice ; (198) for this is thy chief way for the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul.'

CHAPTER III.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is liberality good, or truth¹, (3) or gratitude², or wisdom, (4) or complete mindfulness³, or contentment ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'As to the soul *it is* liberality, as to all the world *it is* truth, (7) unto the sacred beings *it is* gratitude, as to a man's self⁴ *it is* wisdom, (8) as to all business *it is* complete mindfulness, and as to the comfort of the body and the vanquishing of Aharman and the demons contentment is good.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is a good work *that is* great and good ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The greatest good work is liberality, and the second is truth and next-of-kin marriage⁵. 5. The third is

¹ K43 has 'or thy truth.' ² L19 has 'or is gratitude good.'

³ L19 has 'or is complete mindfulness good.'

⁴ Literally, 'the body of a man.'

⁵ This was the meaning of the term *khvêtûk-das* when this work was written, but some centuries ago such marriages were discontinued, and the term was then confined to marriages between first cousins, as at present (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, app. III).

keeping the season festivals¹, *and* the fourth is *celebrating* all the religious rites². 6. The fifth is the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and the providing of lodging for traders³. 7. The sixth is the wishing of happiness for every one. 8. *And* the seventh is a kind regard for the good⁴.’

CHAPTER V.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : ‘Which land is the happier⁵?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : ‘That land is the happier, in which a righteous man, who is true-speaking, makes his abode. 5. The second,

¹ Of which there are six, each held for five days. These Gâsân-bârs or Gâhambârs end, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year; and when that year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox, they celebrated the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sl. XVIII, 3). In modern times they have been supposed to commemorate the several creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man; but this idea must have been borrowed from a foreign source.

² The periodical ceremonies which are obligatory for all Parsis (see Dd. XLIV, 2 n).

³ Literally, ‘for the producers of business.’

⁴ That is, for the priests. The Parsi-Persian version divides these good works into nine items, by counting ‘next-of-kin marriage’ as the third, and ‘providing of lodging’ as the seventh. For a fuller detail of good works, see Chap. XXXVII.

⁵ This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 1-20, where it is stated that the five most pleasing spots on the earth are, first, where a righteous man performs ceremonies; second, where he has built his house and keeps his fire, cattle, family, and retainers; third, where the land is best cultivated; fourth, where most oxen and sheep are produced; and fifth, that which is most manured by oxen and sheep.

in which they make the abode of fires. 6. The third, when oxen and sheep repose upon it. 7. The fourth is uncultivated and uninhabited land when they bring *it* back to cultivation and habitableness. 8. The fifth, from which they extirpate the burrows of noxious creatures. 9. The sixth, on which exist the ceremonies and coming of the sacred beings, and the sitting of the good¹. 10. The seventh, when they make populous that which *was* desolate. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the bad it comes into the possession of the good. 12. The ninth, when of the produce and yield (*bêdǎ*) which arise from it they provide the share of the sacred beings, the good, and the worthy. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they provide holy-water and ceremonies.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the unhappier² ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed³. 5. The second, when they slay in it a righteous man who is innocent. 6. The third, for whose sake⁴

¹ That is, the ceremonial precinct where the priests sit to conduct the ceremonies.

² This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 21-37, where it is stated that the five most displeasing spots on the earth are, first, the ridge of Arezûra, on which the demons congregate from the pit of the fiend; second, where most dead dogs and men lie buried; third, where most depositories for the dead are constructed; fourth, where there are most burrows of the creatures of the evil spirit; and fifth, where the family of a righteous man is driven into captivity.

³ Bd. III, 27 states that 'hell is in the middle of the earth.'

⁴ Reading *mûn . . . rûnǎ-î padas*. Instead of *drûgân rûnǎ*,

the demons and fiends work. 7. The fourth, in which they construct an idol-temple. 8. The fifth, when a wicked man, who is an evil-doer, makes an abode in it. 9. The sixth, when the interment of a corpse is performed below¹. 10. The seventh, in which a noxious creature has a burrow. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the good it comes into the possession of the bad. 12. The ninth, when they make desolate that which *was* populous. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they make lamentation and weeping².'

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is heaven, and how many? 3. How are the ever-stationary (hamîstân), and how many? 4. And how is hell, and how many? 5. What is the decision *about* the righteous in heaven, and from what is *their* happiness? 6. What are the misery and affliction of the wicked in hell? 7. And what and how is the decision *about* those who are among the ever-stationary?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'Heaven is, first, from the star station unto the

Nêr. has read drûg hanrûnô, and assumed the last word to be equivalent to Av. handvarena, 'concourse;' so as to obtain the meaning, 'in which the demons and the fiend form a congress.' But Av. handvarena is Pahl. ham-dûbârisnîh (see Pahl. Vend. VII, 137).

¹ Or 'when much interment of corpses is performed,' as it is doubtful whether we ought to read a^vîr, 'much,' or a^zîr, 'below.'

² That is, for the dead. Such outward manifestations of mourning being considered sinful by the Parsis, as they ought to be by all unselfish people who believe in a future existence of happiness.

moon station ; (10) second, from the moon station unto the sun ; (11) *and*, third, from the sun station unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânô), whereon the creator Aûharmazd is seated. 12. Of heaven the first *part* is *that of* good thoughts (hûmatô), the second is *that of* good words (hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* good deeds (hûvarstô).

13. 'The righteous in heaven are undecaying and immortal, unalarmed, undistressed, and undisturbed. 14. And, everywhere¹, they are full of glory, fragrant, and joyful, full of delight and full of happiness. 15. And, *at* all times, a fragrant breeze and a scent which is like sweet basil come to meet *them*, which are more pleasant than every pleasure, and more fragrant than every fragrance. 16. For them, also, there is no satiety owing to the existence in heaven. 17. And their sitting and walking, perception and enjoyment are with the angels and archangels and the righteous for ever and everlasting.

18. 'Regarding the ever-stationary *it* is declared, that *they are* from the earth unto the star station ; (19) and its affliction for them is then² nothing whatever except cold and heat.

20. 'Of hell the first *part* is *that of* evil thoughts (dûs-hûmatô), the second is *that of* evil words (dûs-hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* evil deeds

¹ Nêr. has 'at all times,' which may be correct, as gâs means both 'time' and 'place.' It should be noticed, however, that the word used in § 15 is damân, which means 'time' only.

² Nêr. has 'their affliction is otherwise,' by mistaking Huz. adînas-sân, 'then its . . . for them,' for a supposed Pâz. ainâsâ, 'otherwise their,' which seems to have no real existence, as wherever he reads ainâ, 'otherwise,' the Pahl. text has adînas, 'then its.'

(dûs-hûvarstô)¹. 21. *With* the fourth step the wicked person arrives at that which is the darkest hell; (22) and they lead him forwards to the vicinity of Aharman, the wicked. 23. And Aharman and the demons, thereupon, make ridicule and mockery of him (24) thus²: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of us and gloomy hell, (25) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?" 26. And, afterwards, they execute punishment and torment of various kinds upon him.

27. 'There is a place³ where, as to cold, *it* is such as that of the coldest frozen⁴ snow. 28. There is a place where, as to heat, *it* is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire. 29. There is a place where noxious creatures are gnawing them, just as a dog *does* the bones. 30. There is a place where, as to stench, *it* is such that they stagger about (barâ larzênd)⁵ *and* fall down. 31. And the dark-

¹ These names, as here written, mean literally 'evil good thoughts, evil good words, and evil good deeds,' as if they implied that these places are for those whose best thoughts, words, and deeds are evil; but it is not quite certain that the Pahlavi names are spelt correctly.

² As already stated in Chap. II, 183-186.

³ L19 has 'he is experienced' in §§ 27-30, owing to Nêr. having read dânâk, 'knowing, experienced,' instead of dîvâk, 'a place.'

⁴ Literally, 'stone-possessing, stony' if we read sang-dâr, as seems most plausible; but we might read sôkhâr and consider Pers. khasâr or khasar, 'ice,' as a corruption of it, by transposition. L19 has 'ice (yah) and snow.'

⁵ L19 has *be rezend*, 'they vomit up,' which is evidently a misreading.

ness is always such-like as though it is possible for them to seize upon *it* with the hand¹.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How and in what manner *has* Aûharmazd created these creatures and creation? 3. And how and in what manner *were* the archangels and the spirit of wisdom formed and created by him? 4. And how are the demons and fiends [and also the remaining corrupted *ones*]² of Aharman, the wicked, miscreated? [5. How do every good and evil happen which *occur* to mankind and also the remaining creatures?] 6. And is it possible to alter anything which is destined, or not?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'The creator, Aûharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time (zôrvân). 9. For this reason, because unlimited time is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed; and for ever and everlasting no one is able to seize upon *it*, or to make *it* non-predominant as regards his own affairs.

10. 'And Aharman, the wicked, miscreated the demons and fiends, and also the remaining corrupted

¹ 'Even darkness *which* may be felt' (Ex. x. 21).

² K43 omits the phrase in brackets, as well as § 5; but these passages are supplied from L19, merely substituting yahidakân, 'corrupted ones,' as in § 10, for the vashûdagâ, 'miscreations,' of L19.

*ones*¹, by his own unnatural intercourse. 11. A treaty of nine thousand winters² in unlimited time (*damân*) *was* also made by him with *Aûharmazd*; (12) and, until it *has* become fully completed, no one is able to alter *it* and to act otherwise. 13. And when the nine thousand years *have* become completed, Aharman is quite impotent; (14) and *Srôsh*³, the righteous, will smite *Aeshm*³, (15) *and* *Mitrô*⁴ and unlimited time and the spirit of justice⁵, who deceives no one in anything, and destiny and divine providence⁶ will smite the creatures and creation of Aharman of every kind, and, in the end, even *Âzō*⁷, the demon. 16. And every creature and creation of *Aûharmazd* becomes again as undisturbed as those which *were* produced and created by him in the beginning.

¹ Reading *yahidakân*, but it may be *yâtukân*, 'wizards,' though the word requires an additional long vowel to represent either term correctly. L19 has *vashûdagã*, 'miscreations.'

² According to the *Bundahis*, time consists of twelve thousand years (see Bd. XXXIV, 1). In the beginning *Aûharmazd* created the spiritual prototypes (Bd. I, 8) who remained undisturbed for the first three thousand years, when Aharman appeared and agreed to a conflict for the remaining nine thousand years (Bd. I, 18), during the first three of which *Aûharmazd's* will was undisputed, while during the next three Aharman is active in interference, and during the last three his influence will diminish till, in the end, it will disappear (Bd. I, 20). The nine thousand years of the conflict were supposed to extend from about B.C. 5400 to A.D. 3600 (see Byt. III, 11 n, 44 n).

³ See Chap. II, 115.

⁴ See Chap. II, 118.

⁵ Probably the angel *Rashnû* (see Chap. II, 118, 119).

⁶ Assuming that the *vâgô-bakhtô* of K43 is equivalent to the *baghō-bakht*, 'divine appointment,' of L19.

⁷ Av. *âzi* of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, *Âstâd* Yt. 1, *âzu* of Yas. LII, 7, and the demon of 'greediness' in Chap. II, 13, 14, XVIII, 5, &c., Bd. XXVIII, 27, and modern Persian, who seems to be a being distinct from Av. *azi*, 'serpent.'

17. 'Every good and the reverse¹ which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven *planets* and the twelve *constellations*². 18. And those twelve constellations are such as in revelation are³ the twelve chieftains who are on the side of Aûharmazd, (19) and those seven planets are called the seven chieftains who are on the side of Aharman. 20. Those seven planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver *them* up to death and every evil. 21. And, as *it were*, those twelve constellations and seven planets⁴ are organizing and managing the world.

22. 'Aûharmazd' is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil. 23. Aharman is wishing evil, and does not meditate nor approve anything good whatever. 24. Aûharmazd, when he wishes it, is able to alter as regards the creatures of Aharman; and Aharman, too, it is, who, when [he wishes]⁵ it, *can do so* as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd, (25) but *he is only* able to alter so that in the final effect *there may* be no injury of Aûharmazd, (26) because the final victory is Aûharmazd's own. 27. For it is declared, that "the Yim⁶ and

¹ L19 has 'evil.'

² The zodiacal signs.

³ L19 has 'are called in revelation.' The authority, here quoted, was not the Bundahis, because that book speaks of seven chieftains of the constellations opposed to the seven planets (see Bd. V, 1).

⁴ L19 omits 'and seven planets,' but has a blank space at this place in both texts, Pâzand and Sanskrit.

⁵ K43 omits the words in brackets, which may, perhaps, be superfluous in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah, some of whose deeds are mentioned in Chap. XXVII, 24-33, Yas. IX, 13-20. He was the third of the Pêsdâd dynasty, and is said to have been perverted by Aharman in his old

Frêdûn¹ and Kâi-Ûs² of Aûharmazd are created immortal, (28) and Aharman so altered *them* as is known. 29. *And* Aharman so contemplated that Bêvarâsp³ and Frâsîyâk⁴ and Alexander⁵ *should* be immortal, (30) *but* Aûharmazd, for great advantage, so altered *them* as that which is declared.”’

CHAPTER IX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : ‘Is it possible to go from region to region⁶, or not ?

age, when he lost the royal glory (see Dd. XXXIX, 16, 17), and was overthrown by the foreign dynasty of Az-î Dahâk.

¹ Av. Thraêtaona, who conquered Az-î Dahâk (see Chap. XXVII, 38-40, Yas. IX, 24-27). He was misled by Aharman into dividing his empire between his three sons, two of whom revolted and slew the third (see Chaps. XXI, 25, XXVII, 42).

² Av. Kava Usan or Kavi Usadhan, the Kaî-Kâvûs of the Shâhnâmah, misread Kahôs in Pâzand. He was the second monarch of the Kayân dynasty, and made an unsuccessful attempt to reach heaven, mentioned in Bd. XXXIV, 7, to which he may be supposed to have been instigated by Aharman, but he was also unfortunate in many other enterprises.

³ A title of Az-î Dahâk in the Shâhnâmah, literally, ‘with a myriad horses.’ This king, or dynasty, is said to have conquered Yim and reigned for a thousand years, but was overthrown by Frêdûn. In the Avesta (Yas. IX, 25, Âbân Yt. 34, Âf. Zarat. 3) Az-î Dahâk, ‘the destructive serpent,’ is described as hazangra-yaokhsti, ‘with a thousand perceptions,’ a term analogous to baêvare-spasana, ‘with a myriad glances,’ which is usually applied to Mithra, the angel of the sun. From this latter, if used for the former, bêvarâsp might easily be corrupted.

⁴ Av. Frangrasyan, the Afrâsîyâb of the Shâhnâmah, a Tûrânian king who conquered the Irânians for twelve years during the reign of Mânûsêihar (see Bd. XXXIV, 6).

⁵ Alexander the Great, misread Arasangar by Nêr.

⁶ The earth is supposed to be divided into seven regions, of which the central one is as large as the other six united; two of

3. From what substance is the sky made? 4. And how and in what manner is the mingling of the water in the earth?’

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: ‘Without the permission of the sacred beings, or the permission of the demons, it is then¹ not possible for one to go from region to region².

7. ‘The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone³, such as they also call diamond (al-mâst).

8. ‘And the mingling of the water in the earth is just like the blood in the body of man.’

CHAPTER X.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Can *there* be any peace and affection whatever of Aharman, the wicked, and his demons and miscreations, with Aûharmazd and the archangels, one with the other, or not?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* cannot be, on any account whatever; (5) because Aharman meditates evil falsehood and its deeds, wrath and malice and discord, (6) and Aûharmazd meditates righteousness and its deeds, good works

the six lie to the north, two to the south, one to the east, and one to the west; and they are said to be separated by seas or mountains, difficult to cross (see Bd. XI). For their names, see Chaps. XVI, 10, XXVII, 40.

¹ Instead of adînas, ‘then for one,’ Nêr. has manufactured a word ainâ, ‘otherwise’ (see also Chap. VII, 19 n).

² This information is derived from Pahl. Vend. I, 4 a.

³ Or ‘ruby,’ referring to the rosy tints of dawn and sunset. The same statement is made in Bd. XII, 6. Nêr. has ‘steel,’ and the word can be translated ‘blood-metal.’

and goodness and truth. 7. And everything can change, except good and bad nature. 8. A good nature cannot change to evil by any means whatever, and a bad nature to goodness in any manner. 9. Aûharmazd, on account of a good nature, approves no evil and falsehood; (10) and Aharman, on account of a bad nature, accepts no goodness and truth; (11) and, on this account, *there* cannot be for them any peace and affection whatever, one with the other.'

CHAPTER XI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is wisdom good, or skill, or goodness¹?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Wisdom with which *there* is no goodness, is not to be considered as wisdom; (5) and skill with which *there* is no wisdom, is not to be considered as skill.'

CHAPTER XII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is allotted so truly, *and* that of the worldly *existence* so falsely?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The treasure of the worldly *existence* was² allotted as truly, in the original creation, as that of the spiritual *existence*. 5. And the creator, Aûharmazd, provided the

¹ L19 omits the last two words, but they are evidently referred to in the reply.

² Literally, 'is.'

happiness of every kind, that is in these creatures and creation, for the use (bûn) of the sun¹ and moon and those twelve constellations which are called the twelve chieftains² by revelation; (6) and they, too, accepted *it* in order to allot *it* truly and deservedly.

7. 'And, afterwards, Aharman produced those seven planets, such as are called the seven chieftains of Aharman, for dissipating³ *and* carrying off that happiness from the creatures of Aûharmazd, in opposition to the sun and moon and those twelve constellations. 8. And *as to* every happiness which those constellations bestow on the creatures of Aûharmazd, (9) those planets take away as much of it as *it* is possible for them (the constellations) to give⁴, (10) and give *it* up to the power of the demons⁵ and fiends and the bad.

11. 'And the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is so true on this account, because Aûharmazd, the lord, with all the angels *and* archangels, is⁶ undisturbed, (12) and they make the struggle with Aharman and the demons, and also the account of the souls of men, with justice. 13. And the place of *him* whose good work is more is in heaven, (14) the place of *him* whose good work and sin are equal is among the ever-stationary⁷, (15) and when the crime is more, his path is then to hell.'

¹ Literally, 'Mitrô,' the angel of the sun.

² See Chap. VIII, 17-21.

³ By omitting one letter K₄₃ has 'miscreating.'

⁴ By omitting this verb L₁₉ has 'possible for them (the planets).'

⁵ So understood by Nêr., but all the best MSS. omit the relative particle, as if 'the powerful demons' were meant.

⁶ Literally, 'are.'

⁷ See Chap. VII, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when oxen and sheep, birds, flying creatures, and fish are, each one, properly learned in that which is their own knowledge, (3) and men, so long as they bring no instruction unto them, and they do not perform much toil and trouble (*angî nō*)¹ about it, are not able to obtain and know the learning of the human race?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Men have been so wise, in the original creation, that, *as to* the good works and crime which *were* performed by them, the recompense of the good works and the punishment of the crime *were* then seen by them with their own eyes, (6) and no crime whatever proceeded from men. 7. *But*, afterwards, Aharman, the wicked, concealed the recompense of good works and the punishment of sin. 8. And on this account, moreover, it is said in revelation (9) that: "[These]² four [things are worse and more grievous] than every evil which the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, committed upon the creatures of Aûharmazd, (10) [that is, when the reward of good works and] punishment [of sin], the thoughts of men, and the consequence of actions *were* quite concealed [by him]³."

¹ Nêr. has read *khvazînak*, and taken it as equivalent to Pers. *khazînah*, 'treasury,' in the sense of 'expenditure;' but this is very doubtful.

² The words in brackets, in §§ 9, 10, are taken from the Pâzand version, as the passage containing them has been omitted by mistake in K43.

³ The Pandnâmah of Buzurg-Mihir states 'this, too, is declared, that the evil spirit committed even this very grievous thing upon

11. 'And, for the same reason, he made many devotions and improper creeds current in the world. 12. And, on account of men's not knowing of duty and good works, every one believes that most, and considers *it* as good, which his teaching in devotion has included. 13. And that devotion, in particular, is more powerful¹, with which sovereignty exists. 14. But that one is the lordship and sovereignty of Vistâsp², the king of kings, (15) by whom, on account of knowing *it* unquestionably and certainly (aêvarîhâ), the perfect and true religion, which is in the word of the creator Aûharmazd, was received from the unique Zaratûst, the Spîtamân³, (16) who has manifested clearly, explicitly, and unquestionably the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences*, of every kind, from the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 17. There is then⁴ no *other* creed, through which it is possible for one to obtain and know the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences* so explicitly and clearly, (18) but, on account of much controversy⁵, they are so cut up (âgîstakö)

the creatures of Aûharmazd, when the reward of good works and punishment of sin *were* quite concealed by him, in the thoughts of men, as the consequence of actions.'

¹ Nêr. has 'purer,' by connecting pâdîyâ vandtar with pâdîyâv, 'ablution;' but this is hardly possible, whereas the former word can be readily traced to Av. paiti+yâ+vant, with the meaning 'resistant, stubborn, strong;' compare Pers. pâyâb, 'power.'

² Av. Vîstâspa, Pers. Gustâsp, the fifth king of the Kayân dynasty, who adopted the religion of Zarâtust in the thirtieth year of his reign, and is said to have reigned 120 years (see Bd. XXXIV, 7).

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ Instead of 'then for one,' Nêr. has 'otherwise,' as in Chap. IX, 6.

⁵ Reading vigûftakîh. Nêr. has 'by much contemplation,'

and entangled, that the statements of their beginning are much unlike to the middle, and the middle to the end.'

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of¹ [wisdom (2) thus : 'Which protection is the more defensive ? 3. Which friend² (4) and which supporter of fame are good ? 5. Which helper of enjoyment is good ? 6. Which wealth is the pleasanter ? 7. And which is the supremest pleasure of all pleasures³ ?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'The sacred being is the more defensive protection. 10. A virtuous brother is a good friend. 11. A child, who is virtuous and an upholder of religion, is a good supporter of fame. 12. A virtuous wife, who is well-disposed, is a good helper of enjoyment. 13. That wealth is better and pleasanter which is collected by honesty, *and one* consumes *and* maintains with duties and good works. 14. *And* the pleasures which are superior to all pleasures are health of body, freedom from fear, good repute, *and* righteousness⁴.'

having read vênâftakîh. Both words are very uncommon, and it is doubtful which of them is the more appropriate to the context.

¹ From this point to Chap. XXVII, 49 the Pahlavi text of K₄₃ is missing, owing to the loss of nine folios in that MS.; but a copy of the missing passage, made by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji from TD₂, has been consulted for the purpose of controlling the Pâz. version of L₁₉.

² L₁₉ inserts 'is good?'

³ TD₂ has 'which is the friend who is the supremest of friends;' but this does not correspond well with the reply in § 14.

⁴ TD₂ adds '*and* are good.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
'Is poverty good, or opulence¹ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus :
'Poverty which is through honesty is better than opulence which is from the treasure of others. 5. For it is stated (6) thus : "*As to* him who is the poorest and most secluded (armêsttûm)² person, whenever he keeps his thoughts, words, *and* deeds honest, and in duty to the sacred beings, for him even *there* is lawfully a share of all the duties and good works which mankind shall do in the world³.

7. *As to* him, too, who is opulent, who is a man of much wealth, when the wealth is not produced by honesty, though he takes trouble (angînakö) in⁴ duties and good works and righteous gifts, his good work is then not his own, (8) because the good work is his from whom *the wealth* is abstracted⁵."

¹ L19 adds 'or sovereignty,' to account for §§ 12-39.

² Av. armaêsta, applied to water, means 'most stationary, stagnant;' Pahl. armêst (Av. airima) is applied to the place of 'seclusion' for impure men and women, and in Sls. VI, 1 it seems to refer to 'helpless' idiots or lunatics; Nêr. explains it in Sanskrit as 'lame, crippled, immobility,' but 'secluded, immured, helpless' are terms better adapted to the context, whether the word be applied to persons, as it is here and in Chaps. XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, or to learning and character, as in Chap. LI, 7.

³ Persons who are wholly unable to perform good works are supposed to be entitled to a share of any supererogatory good works performed by others (see Sls. VI, 1, 2), but the allotment of such imputed good works seems to be at the discretion of the angels who keep them in store (see Sls. VIII, 4).

⁴ Nêr. has 'makes expenditure on,' by reading khvazînak, as in Chap. XIII, 3.

⁵ § 8 does not occur in L19, but is found in TD2, PA10, and MH7.

9. 'And *as to* that much wealth which is collected by proper exertion, and *one* consumes and maintains with duties and good works and pleasure, even that is no better thereby, (10) because it is necessary to consider that as perfect. 11. But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, whose wealth is collected by proper exertion, and he consumes and maintains *it* with duties and good works and pleasure, he is great and good and more perfect¹.

12. 'And regarding even that which is sovereignty they state (13) thus: "What is² good government in a village is better than what is² bad government in a realm. 14. Because the creator Aûhar³mazd produced good government for effecting the protection of the creatures, (15) and Aharman, the wicked, has produced bad government as the adversary of good government."

16. 'Good government is that which maintains *and* directs a province flourishing, the poor untroubled, *and* the law *and* custom true, (17) *and* sets aside improper laws and customs. 18. It well *maintains* water and fire by law³, (19) *and* keeps in progress the ceremonial of the sacred beings, duties, and good works. 20. It causes friendliness

¹ That is, the proper use of wealth does not make the wealth itself any better, but only the rightful possessor of it. This is, however, probably only an emendation of Nêr., as the copy of TD2 gives merely the following, for §§ 9-11: 'But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, by whose proper exertion it is collected, *and* he consumes *and* maintains *it* with duties, good works, and pleasure, he is no better thereby, because it is necessary to consider him as perfect.'

² L19 omits 'what is' in both places.

³ TD2 omits 'maintains,' as it is sufficiently expressed by the same Pahl. verb 'keeps' in § 19; and L19 omits 'by law.'

and pleading¹ for the poor, (21) and delivers up itself, *and* even that which is its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 22. And if there be any one who desists from the way of the sacred beings, then it orders *some one* to effect his restoration thereto; (23) it also makes him a prisoner, *and* brings *him* back to the way of the sacred beings; (24) it allots, out of the wealth that is his, the share of the sacred beings *and* the worthy, of good works *and* the poor; (25) and delivers up the body for the sake of the soul². 26. A good king, who³ is of that kind, is called equal to the angels and archangels.

27. 'Bad government is that (28) which destroys the true and proper law and custom, (29) and brings⁴ oppression, plunder, and injudiciousness into practice. 30. It dissipates the treasure of the spiritual *existence*, (31) *and* considers duty and good works a vexation, through greediness⁵. 32. It keeps back a person performing good works from doing good works, (33) and he thereby becomes a doer of harm. (34) Its disbursement⁶, too, of every kind is for its own self, (35) the administration of⁷ the treasure

¹ Reading dâdō-gôbîh, 'pronouncing the law,' or 'speaking of gifts,' instead of Pâz. gâdangôî, a misreading of Nêr. for Pahl. yêdatô-gôbîh, 'speaking of the sacred being.'

² The usual way of treating nonconformists in all ages and all sects, when party spirit is strong. TD2 has 'delivers *him* up for the sake of body and soul.'

³ TD2 has 'good government which.'

⁴ TD2 has 'keeps;,' but the two verbs are much alike in Huzvâris.

⁵ Because nearly all such works entail expenditure.

⁶ Nêr. has 'accumulation,' but this is the meaning of andôzish, rather than of the andâzish in the text.

⁷ So in TD2.

of the worldly existence, (36) the celebrity¹ *and* exaltation of the vile, (37) the destruction *and* neglect of the good, (38) *and* the annihilation of the poor. 39. A bad king, who² is of that kind, is called equal to Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, and the clothing which men put on, which are the more valuable and good?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, the milk of goats is produced good. 5. Because, *as to* men and quadrupeds, who are born from a mother, until the *time* when food is eaten by them, their growth *and* nourishment are then from milk, (6) *and* on milk they can well live. 7. And if men, when they withdraw from the milk of the mother, make thorough experience of the milk of goats, (8) then bread is not necessary for use among them. 9. Since it is declared, (10) that "the food of mankind, who are in Arzah and Savah, Fradaḏafsh and Vîdaḏafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst³, is the milk of goats and cows; (11) other food they do not eat." 12. *And* he who is a milk-consuming man is healthier and stronger, and even the procreation of children becomes more harmless.

¹ Reading khanîḏîh as in TD2 and Chap. II, 28.

² TD2 has 'bad government which.'

³ The six outermost regions of the earth, of which Arzah lies to the west, Savah to the east, Fradaḏafsh and Vîdaḏafsh to the south, and Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst to the north of the central region (see Bd. V, 8, XI, 3).

13. 'Of grains wheat is called great and good, (14) because it is the chief of grains¹, (15) *and* even by the Avesta its name is then specified in the chieftainship of grains².

16. 'And of fruit the date *and* grape are called great and good. 17. When bread has not come, it is necessary to consecrate the sacred cake by means of fruit³; (18) when the fruit to consecrate is the date or grape, it is allowable to eat every fruit; (19) *and* when those have not come, it is necessary to eat that fruit which is consecrated⁴.

20. 'Regarding wine *it* is evident, that it is possible *for* good *and* bad temper to come to manifestation through wine⁵. 21. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desire⁶. 22. For *he* whom anger hurries on (aûs-

¹ It is called 'the chief of large-seeded grains' in Bd. XXIV, 19.

² Possibly in the Pâzag Nask, part of which was 'about the thirty-three first chieftainships of the existences around, that is, how many of which are spiritual *and* how many worldly *existences*, and which is the second, and which the third of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*;' as stated in the eighth book of the Dînkard.

³ That is, when a cake cannot be made, fruit can be substituted for it in the ceremony of consecrating the sacred cakes. The sacred cake, or drôn, is a small, round, flexible pancake of unleavened wheaten bread, about the size of the palm of the hand, which, after consecration, is tasted by all those present at the ceremony (see Sls. III, 32 n).

⁴ Fruit and wine are usually consecrated and eaten, in the Âfrîngân ceremony, after the completion of the Drôn ceremony, but sometimes the Âfrîngân is celebrated alone. Both ceremonies are performed in honour of some angel, or the guardian spirit of some deceased person (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407-409).

⁵ TD₂ has 'through the nature of wine;' but âs, 'wine,' is written mas.

⁶ TD₂ has 'the good of a man is in anger, and the wisdom of a man in lust exciting viciousness.'

tâvêd) is able to recover himself from it¹ through goodness, (23) *he* whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, (24) *and he* whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper.

25. 'It is not requisite for investigation, (26) because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold *or* silver cup which, however much more they burn *it*, becomes purer and brighter. 27. It also keeps *his* thoughts, words, *and* deeds more virtuous; (28) and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends², (29) and is more diligent in every duty and good work.

30. 'And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks *and* considers himself more than ordinary. 31. He carries on a quarrel with companions, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, (32) *and* acts arrogantly *to* a good person. 33. He distresses his own wife and child³, slave and servant; (34) and dissipates the joy of the good, (35) carries off peace, *and* brings in discord.

36. 'But every one must be cautious as to⁴ the moderate drinking of wine. 37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him: (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the *vital* fire⁵, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) *and* inflames the complexion.

¹ Reading *agas*, instead of *afas* (Pâz. *vas*); these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² TD2 has 'he becomes more friendly, gentler, and pleasanter unto wife and child and companions.' It also omits § 29.

³ TD2 inserts 'hireling.'

⁴ Or 'must become intelligent through.'

⁵ The animal heat, called the Vohu-fryān fire in Bd. XVII, 1.

43. It causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) *and* goodness takes a place in the mind. (45) It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue; (46) *and* work, which it is necessary to do *and* expedite, becomes more progressive. 47. He *also* sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place¹, *and* rises light. 48. And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good² come upon him.

49. 'And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, (50) since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; (51) it injures the liver³ and accumulates disease, (52) it alters the complexion, (53) and diminishes the strength and vigour. 54. The homage *and* glorification of the sacred beings become forgotten. 55. The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. 56. He distresses Horvada⁴ and Amerodad⁴ (57) *and* entertains a desire of lethargy⁵. 58. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; (59) *and* he sleeps in uneasiness, *and* rises uncomfortably. 60. *And*, on account of these contingencies, himself⁶,

¹ Nêr. has 'at sleeping time,' and the word gâs means either 'time' or 'place,' but usually the latter. TD2 has bâsn gâs, probably for bâlîsn gâs, 'bed place.'

² Nêr. inserts the words 'greatly increase' in the Sanskrit version, but they do not occur in TD2.

³ These four words occur only in TD2.

⁴ The two archangels who are supposed to be injured by improper eating and drinking (see Chap. II, 34 n).

⁵ Bûshâsp (Av. Bûshyâsta), the fiend of slothful sleep.

⁶ Or it can be translated 'his own body.'

wife, and child, friend *and* kindred are distressed *and* unhappy, (61) and the superintendent of troubles¹ and the enemy are glad. 62. The sacred beings, also, are not pleased with him; (63) and infamy comes to his body, and even wickedness to *his* soul.

64. 'Of the dress which people possess *and* put on², silk is good for the body, and cotton for the soul. 65. For this reason, because silk arises from a noxious creature³, (66) and the nourishment of cotton is from water, and *its* growth from earth⁴; and as a treasure of the soul it is called great and good and more valuable.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that pleasure which is worse than unhappiness?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Whoever has acquired wealth by crime, and he becomes glad of it thereby⁵, then that pleasure is worse for him than unhappiness.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore do people consider these very little,

¹ Meaning probably the evil spirit.

² The Sanskrit version omits the former verb, and TD2 the latter.

³ Caterpillars are creatures of Aharman, because they eat and injure vegetation which is under the special protection of the archangel Amerodad.

⁴ Water and earth, being both personified as angels, would impart somewhat of their sacred character to the cotton arising from them.

⁵ 'Glad of the crime on account of the wealth' is probably meant.

these four things which it is necessary for them to consider more, as warnings (*dakhshak*), (3) the changeableness of the things of the worldly *existence*, the death of the body, the account of the soul¹, and the fear of hell?’

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: ‘On account of the delusiveness (*nîyâzânîh*) of the demon of greediness², and of discontent.’

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Is living in fear *and* falsehood worse, or death?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death. 5. Because every one’s life is necessary for the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence*, (6) and when the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence* are not his, and fear and even falsehood³ are with him, it is called worse than death.’

CHAPTER XX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘*For* kings which is the one thing more advantageous, and which the more injurious?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For kings conversation with the wise *and* good is the

¹ That is, the account to be rendered by the soul after death.

² See Chap. VIII, 15 n.

³ These being considered as fiends; the latter, *mîtôkht*, being the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16).

one thing more advantageous, (5) and speaking *and* conversation with slanderers *and* double-dealers are the more injurious for them.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the end of the world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man? 3. What is the end of him who is a scoffing man? 4-6. What is the end of the idle, the malicious, and the lazy man? 7. What is the end of a false-hearted *one*, (8) and the end of an arrogant *one*¹?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'He who is a world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three *nights*², as a raging fire when water comes upon it.

11³. 'Of him who is a scoffing man *there* is no glory in body and soul; (12) *and* every time when he opens *his* mouth his wickedness then increases. 13. All the fiends, too, become so lodged in his body, that they leave no goodness whatever for his body; (14) and he makes mockery of the good, and glorification of the vile. 15. Also in the worldly *existence* his body is infamous, and *in* the spiritual *existence* *his* soul is wicked. 16. And, for effecting *his* punishment in hell, they deliver him over to

¹ L19 has 'What is the end of him who is an idle man?' in § 4, and repeats the same formula in each of the §§ 5-8.

² Referring to the three days and nights of final punishment, reserved for those specially wicked, at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 12-16).

³ In TD2 the remaining sections are arranged in the following order:—§§ 18, 27-33, 19-26, 34-44, 11-17.

the scoffing fiend; (17) *and* that fiend inflicts a ridicule and a mockery upon him with every single punishment.

18. 'As to him who is an idle man, yet devoid of wickedness, mostly when¹ death comes on in the worldly *existence*, he thereupon (agas) begets pleasantly for the sake of another.

19. 'The bridge² which is for the soul of him who is a malicious man is more difficult than *for* the other wicked who are in hell. 20. For this reason, because malice proceeds by lineage; (21) *and* it is possible to manage every sin better than malice, (22) because malice will abide in a lineage. 23. There are *instances* when it adheres³ until the renovation of the universe; (24) for *it* is clearly declared by the pure revelation, (25) that the origin of the estrangement (anîrânîh) of the Arûmans, *and* even the Tûrânians, *from* the Irânians, was owing to that malice which *was* generated by them through the slaughter of Aîrîk⁴; (26) *and it* always adheres until the renovation.

¹ L19 inserts 'misery and.'

² The Kindvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162), which is supposed to resemble a beam with many unequal sides, the side turned uppermost being narrower in proportion as the soul, intending to pass along it, is more wicked; so that the difficulty of the transit increases with the sin of the soul (see Dd. XXI, 3-5).

³ Or 'continues.'

⁴ Pâz. Eraz, one of the three sons of Frêdûn, the Pêsdâd sovereign, who divided his empire among them, giving the Arûman provinces to Salm, the Tûrânian to Tûg, and the Irânian to Aîrîk. The last was slain by his two brothers, and his death was subsequently avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Chap. XXVII, 41-43, Bd. XXXI, 9-12). Though these sons are not mentioned in the Avesta now extant, their history appears to have been related in the Kîdrast Nask (see Sls. X, 28 n).

27. 'He who is a lazy man is said *to be* the most unworthy of men. 28. Because *it* is declared by revelation, (29) that the creator Aûharmazd produced no corn for him who is a lazy man ; (30) for him who is a lazy man *there* is then no giving of anything in gifts and charity¹; (31) and lodging and entertainment are not to be provided for him. 32. For this reason, because that food which a lazy man eats, he eats through impropriety and injustice ; (33) and, on account of his laziness and unjust eating, his body then becomes infamous and the soul wicked.

34. 'He who is a false-hearted man is as dubious in good *things* as in bad ; (35) *he* is dubious as to the treasure of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, and also as to the ceremonial, invocation, *and* service of the sacred beings. 36. And, on account of these circumstances, the angels *and* archangels shall accept little of the ceremonial *and* invocations which he performs, (37) and give unto him little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 38. And in the mouth of the good *man* *he* is always infamous, (39) and his soul becomes wicked.

40. 'The friends of him who is an arrogant man are few, and his enemies many. 41. And even of the gifts which he gives to any one, *and* the ceremonial, too, which he performs for the sacred beings, they shall accept little, on account of *his* arrogance, (42) and give little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 43. And in hell they deliver him to the fiend of arrogance, in order to inflict punishment upon *his* soul ; (44) and the fiend of arrogance inflicts punishment of various kinds upon it, *and* is not pacified.'

¹ L19 has 'he then gives nothing *as* his living, which is through gifts and charity.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to provide, for one's own hand, the treasure *and* wealth of the worldly *existence* through exertion, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'It is not possible to provide for one's self, through exertion, that benefit which is not ordained ; (5) but a morsel (kazd) of that which is ordained comes on by means of exertion. 6. Yet the exertion, when it is fruitless in the worldly *existence*, through the sacred beings not *being* with it¹, still comes, afterwards, to *one's* assistance in the spiritual *existence*, *and* outweighs in the balance².'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to contend with destiny through wisdom *and* knowledge, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Even with the might and powerfulness of wisdom *and* knowledge, even then it is not possible to contend with destiny. 5. Because, when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse³, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting (nîyâzân) in duty, and the astute in evil *becomes* intelligent ; (6) the faint-hearted *becomes* braver, and the braver *becomes* faint-hearted ;

¹ TD₂ has 'time not *being* with it.'

² The balance in which men's actions are weighed by the angel Rashnû (see Chap. II, 119-122).

³ L₁₉ has 'vileness.'

(7) the diligent *becomes* lazy, and the lazy acts diligently¹. (8) Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, (9) *and* thrusts out everything else.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'On account of the begging of favours, and the practice and worthiness of good works, do the sacred beings also grant anything to men otherwise², or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'They grant; (5) for *there are* such as they call thus: "Destiny *and* divine providence." 6. Destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, (7) *and* divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise. 8. But the sacred beings provide and manifest in the spiritual *existence* little of that grant, on this account, because Aharman, the wicked³, through the power of the seven planets extorts wealth, *and* also every other benefit of the worldly *existence*, from the good *and* worthy, *and* grants *them* more fully to the bad *and* unworthy.'

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the rich who is the poorer, and of the poor who is the richer?'

¹ L19 has 'becomes diligent.'

² That is, otherwise than by destiny, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and in consequence of prayer and merit.

³ TD2 inserts 'through that cause.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : ' Of the rich he is the poorer who is not content with that which is his, (5) and suffers anxiety for the increase of anything.

6. '*And* of the poor he is the richer who is content with that which has come, (7) and cares not for the increase of anything.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : ' Is a blind eye worse, or a blind mind (dîl)? 3. Is the ill-informed worse, or the bad-tempered?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : ' He who is blind-eyed, when he has understanding in anything, *and* accomplishes learning, is to be considered as sound-eyed. 6. *And* he who is sound-eyed, when he has no knowledge *and* understanding¹, and even that which they teach him he does not accept, then that is worse than even a blind eye.

7. ' The ill-tempered is less evil² than the ill-informed ; (8) because the ill-tempered, except by a decree, is not able to seize anything away from any one ; (9) and *as to* the ill-informed man, his desire of every kind is then³ for oppression and plunder. 10. Concerning him who is ill-informed *it* is declared that, apart from predestination, he is born *free* from fresh understanding⁴.'

¹ L19 has 'when he has no knowledge of anything.'

² L19 has 'is better.'

³ That is, when he has a decree in his favour.

⁴ § 10 is found only in TD2. It probably means that an ill-informed man is not likely to acquire any knowledge beyond that which is unavoidable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore have the people who *were* from Gâyô-mard¹, and those, too, who *were* lords and monarchs, from Hôshâng², the Pêsdâd, even unto Vistâsp³, the king of kings, been such doers of *their own* wills? 3. Much benefit *was* also obtained by them from the sacred beings, (4) and they have been mostly those who *were* ungrateful unto the sacred beings, (5) and there are *some* even who have been very ungrateful, promise-breaking, and sinful. 6. For what benefit then have they *been* severally created, (7) and what result and advantage proceeded from them?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'That which thou askest concerning them, *as to* benefit, or as to the reverse⁴, thou shouldst become aware of and fully understand. 10. Because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (zôrvân), the king and long-continuing lord. 11. Since, at various periods, it happens unto every one, for whom it is allotted, just as that which is necessary to happen. 12. As even from the mutual connection of those ancients, who are passed

¹ Av. Gaya-maretan, the primeval man from whom the whole human race is supposed to have sprung, and who lived for thirty years after the advent of the evil spirit (see Bd. III, 22, XXXIV, 2).

² Av. Haoshyangha, the first monarch of the Irânian world, and founder of the Pêsdâd (Av. parâdhâta, 'early law') dynasty. He was the great-grandson of Mâshya, the first earthly man that sprang from Gâyômarđ, and is said to have reigned for forty years (see Bd. XV, 21-28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 4).

³ See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

⁴ L19 has 'evil.'

away, it is manifest (13) that, ultimately, that benefit arose which was necessary to come from them to the creatures of Aûharmazd.

14. 'Because the advantage from Gâyômarđ was this, (15) first, the slaying of Ârzûr¹, and making delivery of his own body, with great judiciousness, to Aharman². 16. *And* the second advantage was this, (17) that mankind and all the guardian spirits of the producers of the renovation of the universe, males³ and females⁴, were produced from his body. 18. *And*, thirdly, this⁵, that even the metals were produced and formed⁶ from his body⁷.

19. 'And the advantage from Hôshâng, the Pêsdâđ, was this, (20) that, of three parts, he slew two parts of the demons of Mâzendar⁸, who were destroyers of the world.

21. 'The advantage from Tâkhmorup⁹, the well-

¹ Written Aîrzûr in TD2. It has been suggested by Windischmann (Zor. Stud. p. 5) that this was the name of a demon, afterwards applied to the Arezûr ridge at the gate of hell (see Bd. XII, 8), but this requires confirmation. Regarding this ridge the following explanation occurs in the Pahlavi Rivâyat which precedes Dd. in many MSS.:—'They say that hell is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell *exists* is a ridge (grîvakô) such as the ridge named Arekzûr, and owing to that they assert that *it* is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr.' The explainer appears to mean that the ridge at the gate of hell was named after the other Mount Arezûr, in Arûm (see Bd. XII, 16).

² Compare Bd. III, 21-23.

³ L19 has 'righteous males.'

⁴ Fifteen of each, as stated in Bd. XXX, 17.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.' ⁶ L19 omits the former verb.

⁷ See Zs. X, 2, Dd. LXIV, 7.

⁸ See Dd. LXV, 5, referring probably to the demon-worshippers of Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian.

⁹ Av. Takhmô-urupa, the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah; he

grown, was this, (22) that the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, *was* kept by him thirty years as a charger¹.

23. *And* the writing of penmanship of seven kinds, which that wicked *one* kept in concealment, he brought out to publicity.

24. 'The advantage from the well-flocked Yimshêd², son of Vîvangha, was this, (25) that an immortality of six hundred years, six months, and sixteen days³ is provided by him for the creatures and creation, of every kind, of the creator Aûhar-mazd; (26) *and* they are made unsuffering, undecaying, *and* undisturbed⁴. (27) Secondly, this⁵, that the enclosure formed by Yim⁶ *was* made by him; (28) *and* when that rain of Malkôs⁷ occurs—since *it* is declared in revelation that mankind and

is said to have been a great-grandson of Hôshâng, whom he succeeded on the throne, and to have reigned thirty years (see Bd. XXXI, 2, XXXIV, 4). Written Takhmôrið in TD2.

¹ See Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29.

² Av. Yima khshaêta, 'Yim the spendid;' he was a brother of his predecessor, Tâkhumorup, and the Bundahis states that he reigned six hundred and sixteen years and six months in glory, and one hundred years in concealment (see Chap. VIII, 27, Bd. XXXI, 3, XXXIV, 4).

³ TD2 has only 'three hundred years,' by the accidental omission of a cipher; it also omits the months and days.

⁴ See Vend. II, 16, Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.'

⁶ See Chap. LXII, 15-19. The formation of this enclosure is ordered by Aûhar-mazd in Vend. II, 61-92, for the preservation of mankind, animals, and plants from the effects of a glacial epoch which he foretells, and which is here represented as the rain of Malkôs.

⁷ This term for 'deluging rain' may be traced either to Chald. מִלְקִי 'autumnal rain,' or to Av. mahrkûsô, the title of a demon regarding whom nothing is yet known (see Dd. XXXVII, 94 n and SBE, vol. xviii, p. 479).

the other creatures and creations of Aûharmazd, the lord, are mostly those which shall perish¹—(29) *one* shall afterwards open the gate of that enclosure formed by Yim, (30) *and* the people *and* cattle, and other creatures and creations of the creator Aûharmazd, shall come out from that enclosure, (31) and arrange the world again. 32. Thirdly, (33) when² he brought back the proportion of the worldly *existences*, which that evil-producing wicked *one*³ had swallowed, from his belly⁴. Fourthly, when a goat (gôspend) *was* not given by him to the demons in the character of an old man⁵.

34. 'And the advantage from Az-î Dahâk, the

¹ L19 has merely 'shall mostly perish,' in place of these last six words.

² L19 has 'thirdly, this advantage, that.'

³ L19 adds 'who is Aharman.'

⁴ According to a legend preserved in the Persian Rivâyats (see MH10, fol. 52) Aharman, while kept as a charger by Tâkhmorup, induced the wife of the latter to ascertain from her husband whether he ever felt fear while riding the fiend, and, acting upon the information thus obtained, he threw the king from his back while descending from the Alburz mountains, and swallowed him. Information of this event was conveyed to Yim by the angel Srôsh, who advised him to seek the fiend and propitiate him. Yim, accordingly, went into the wilderness singing, to attract Aharman, and, when the fiend appeared, Yim ingratiated himself into his favour and, taking advantage of an unguarded moment, he dragged Tâkhmorup out of the fiend's entrails, and placed the corpse in a depository for the dead. In consequence of this feat his hand was attacked with leprosy, from which he suffered greatly until it was accidentally washed in bull's urine, which healed it. This legend is related for the purpose of recommending the use of bull's urine for purification of the body.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'as a substitute for an old man.' This fourth advantage is found only in TD2, where the text is as follows:—*'Kahârûm, amatas gôspend pavan gôharîk-î pîr va/ sêdân lâ yehabûntô.'*

Bêvarâsp¹, and the accursed Frâsiyâk of Tûr¹ was this, (35) that, if the dominion should not have come to Bêvarâsp *and* Frâsiyâk, the accursed evil spirit would then have given that dominion unto Aeshm²; (36) and when it would have come unto Aeshm, it would not have been possible to take *it* away from him till the resurrection *and* future existence, (37) for this reason, because he has no bodily existence³.

38. 'And the advantage from Frêdûn⁴ was this, (39) such as the vanquishing *and* binding of Azî Dahâk, the Bêvarâsp⁵, who *was* so grievously sinful. 40. And, again too, many demons of Mâzendar⁶ were smitten by him, and expelled from the region of Khvanîras⁷.

41. 'And the advantage from Mânûskêihar⁸ was this, (42, 43) that, in revenge for Aîrîkê, who was his grandfather, Salm and Tûg *were* kept back by him from disturbing the world⁹. 44. From the land of

¹ See Chap. VIII, 29.

² The demon of wrath (see Chap. II, 115).

³ And would, therefore, have continued to live and reign till the resurrection.

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 27. He is said to have reigned for five hundred years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6), but this period includes the lives of ten generations of his descendants who did not reign (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

⁵ He is said to have been confined in Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XXIX, 9).

⁶ See § 20.

⁷ The central region of the earth, containing all the countries best known to the Irânians, and supposed to be as large as the six outer regions united (see Bd. XI, 2-6).

⁸ The successor of Frêdûn, who reigned one hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6). He was a descendant, in the tenth generation, from Aîrîkê, one of the sons of Frêdûn, who had been slain by his brothers Salm and Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 9-14).

⁹ L19 has 'that he slew Salm and Tûg, who were his great-

*Padashkhvârgar*¹ unto the beginning of *Dûgakö*², such as *Frâsîyâk*³ had taken, by treaty (*padmânö*)⁴ he seized back from *Frâsîyâk*, and brought it into the possession of the countries of *Irân*. And as to the enlargement of the sea of *Kânsâi*⁵, such as *Frâsîyâk* supplied, he also expelled the water from it.

45. 'And the advantage from *Kaî-Kavâd*⁶ was

uncles, in revenge for *Aîrîk*, and kept them back from disturbing the world.'

¹ The mountainous region in *Taparistân* and *Gîlân*, south of the *Caspian* (see Bd. XII, 17).

² L19 has 'hell.' This *Dûgakö* may possibly be meant for the *Duzakö* of Vend. I, 34, of which *Vaêkereta* was the chief settlement, and this latter is identified with *Kâvûl* (*Kâbul*) by the Pahlavi translators. The name can also be read *Gangakö*, which might be identified with *Canzaca*, but this would not correspond so well with the legend, alluded to in the text, which relates how *Mânûskîhar*, having shut himself up in the impregnable fortress of *Âmul* in *Taparistân*, could not be conquered by *Frâsîyâk*, who was compelled to come to terms, whereby all the country within an arrow-shot east of Mount *Dimâvand* should remain subject to *Mânûskîhar*. The arrow was shot and kept on its flight from dawn till noon, when it fell on the bank of the *Oxus*, which river was thenceforward considered the frontier of the *Irânians*. This frontier would fully include all the territory between *Taparistân* and *Kâbul* mentioned in the text. In Bd. XXXI, 21 the success of *Mânûskîhar* is attributed to some dispute between *Frâsîyâk* and his brother, *Aghrêrad*.

³ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁴ L19 has 'such as was made the portion (*padmânö*) of *Frâsîyâk*.'

⁵ Called *Kyânsîh* in Bd. XIII, 16, XX, 34, where it is stated that it was formerly fresh, but latterly salt, and that *Frâsîyâk* diverted many rivers and streams into it. It is the brackish lake and swamp now called *Hâmûn*, 'the desert,' or *Zarah*, 'the sea,' in *Sîstân*. In the *Avesta* it is called *Kâsu*, and the future apostles of the *Mazda*-worshipping faith are expected to be born on its shores.

⁶ Av. Kavi *Kavâta*, the *Kaî-Qubâd* of the *Shâhnâmah*. He

this, (46) that he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 47. Dominion, also, *was* well exercised by him, (48) *and* the family and race of the Kayâns proceeded again from him.

49. 'And the advantage from Sâhm]¹ was [this], (50) that the serpent Srôvar² and the wolf Kapûd³, which they also call Pêhînô⁴, the watery demon Gandarep⁵, the bird Kamak⁶, and the deluding demon *were* slain by him. 51. And he also performed many other great and valuable actions, (52) and kept back much disturbance from the world, (53) *as to* which, when one of those disturbances, in particular, should have remained behind, it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence.

54. 'And the advantage from Kâî-Ûs⁷ was this,

was the founder of the Kayân dynasty, and reigned fifteen years (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

¹ The brackets indicate the end of the passage taken from TD2 and the Pâzand version, in consequence of the nine folios containing Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 being lost from K43. From this point the translation follows the text of K43. Sâhm (Av. Sâma) was the family name of the hero Keresâsp (see Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136), who was a son of Thrîta the Sâman (see Yas. IX, 30, 31). For the legends relating to him, see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-382. His name is written Sâm in Pâzand.

² Av. azi srvara (see Yas. IX, 34-39, Zamyâd Yt. 40).

³ Or 'the blue wolf;' not yet identified in the Avesta.

⁴ Darmesteter (SBE, vol. xxiii, p. 295, note 4) identifies this name with Pathana of Zamyâd Yt. 41, which seems to mean 'highwayman;' but this identification appears to depend merely on similarity of sound.

⁵ Av. Gandarewa of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁶ A gigantic bird mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats as overshadowing the earth and keeping off the rain, while it ate up men and animals like grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it with arrows shot continuously for seven days and nights.

⁷ See Chap. VIII, 27 n. He was a grandson of Kâî-Kavâd,

(55) as Sîyâvakhsh¹ *was* produced from his body.
56. Many other actions also proceeded from him.

57. 'And the advantage from Sîyâvakhsh was this,
(58) such as the begetting of Kaî-Khûsrôî², and the formation of Kangdez³.

59. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Khûsrôî was this, (60) such as the slaying of Frâsîyâk⁴, (61) the extirpation of the idol-temples which *were* on the lake of Kêkast⁵, (62) and the management of Kangdez. 63. And *he* is able to do good through his assistance of the raising of the dead⁶ *by* the restorer of the dead, the triumphant Sôshâns⁷, which is in the future existence.

64. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Lôharâsp⁸ was

whom he succeeded, and is said to have reigned a hundred and fifty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), but perhaps this period may have included the reign of his father, whom tradition has nearly forgotten.

¹ Av. Syâvarshân, the Sîyâvush of the Shâhnâmah. Though both his father and son were kings, he did not reign himself. L19 has Kaî-Syâvash.

² See Chap. II, 95.

³ Av. Kangha. A fortified settlement said to have been 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the wide-formed ocean towards that side,' and on the frontier of Aîrân-vêg (see Chap. LXII, 13, Bd. XXIX, 10).

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29. This name must have been applied rather to a dynasty than to a single individual, as he reigned in Irân in the time of Mânûskîhar, nearly two hundred years earlier.

⁵ See Chap. II, 95.

⁶ He is expected to assist in the renovation of the universe at the resurrection, together with Keresâsp and other heroes (see Chap. LVII, 7, Dd. XXXVI, 3).

⁷ See Chap. II, 95.

⁸ Av. Kavi and Aurvađaspa. He was a descendant of Kaî-Kavâd in the fifth generation, being a second cousin once removed of his predecessor, Kaî-Khûsrôî, and reigned a hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, XXXIV, 7).

this, (65) that dominion was well exercised by him, (66) and he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 67. He demolished the Jerusalem of the Jews¹, and made the Jews dispersed *and* scattered; *and* the acceptor of the religion, Kaî-Vistâsp², *was* produced from his body.

68. 'And the advantage from Vistâsp was this, (69) such as the acceptance and solemnization of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, (70) through the divine voice (bakân aêvâz) *of* the Ahunavar³, the word of the creator Aûharmazd; (71) the annihilation and destruction of the bodies of the demons and fiends; (72) and the pleasure and comfort of water and fire and all the angels and spirits of the worldly *existences*⁴. 73. And *he was* full of the hope of the good and worthy, (74) through a virtuous desire for his own determination, (75) the compensation (nôš dasnô)⁵ and gratification of Aûharmazd, with the archangels, (76) and the affliction and destruction of Aharman and the⁶ miscreations.'

¹ Aûrîsalêm-i Yahûdânô. The first fourteen words of § 67 do not occur in the Pâz.-Sans. version, but a corresponding statement is found in a Persian metrical version, described by Sachau in his Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature (J. R. A. S., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283), also in the works of several Arab writers of the tenth century (see Nöldeke, Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 964).

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ The most sacred formula of the Mazda-worshippers, consisting of twenty-one words, forming three metrical lines of sixteen syllables each, beginning with yathâ ahû vairyô, 'as a patron spirit is desirable.' It is supposed to have been uttered by Aûharmazd, for the discomfiture of Aharman, on the first appearance of that evil spirit in the universe (see Bd. I, 21).

⁴ L19 has 'all the angels of the spiritual and worldly *existences*.'

⁵ L19 has u shnâisn, 'and the propitiation.'

⁶ L19 has 'his.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Who is the more forgiving (vakhshayânîktar)? 3. What is the more in strength? 4. What is the swifter¹? 5. What is the happier? 6. What is the more miserable²?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'Aû-harmazd, the lord, is the more forgiving. 9. He saw³ the nine thousand years' mischief⁴ among his own creatures, owing to Aharman, yet afterwards, through justice and forgiveness, he does not then smite him *for* it⁵.

10. 'And the *celestial* sphere is the more in strength. 11. The intellect⁶ of mankind is the swifter. 12. The souls of the righteous are the happier. 13. *And* those of the wicked are the more penitent⁷.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is it necessary to keep with more regard and more protection?'

¹ Or 'sharper.'

² L19 adds 'what is the more hopeless?'

³ L19 has 'who sees.'

⁴ The period appointed for the conflict between the good and evil spirits (see Chap. VIII, 11).

⁵ Reading êdînasas, which Nêr. has misread ainâs, 'otherwise him.' L19 has 'yet then, except with justice and patience, he does not smite him otherwise.' It is also possible to read 'he does not smite him without listening (agûshas).'

⁶ L19 has 'the thought.'

⁷ L19 has 'the more miserable and more hopeless.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is necessary to keep a young serving-boy (*rasîk*)¹, a wife, a beast of *burden*, and a fire with more protection and more regard.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which of any living *existence* (*zîvêndag-i*) is the worse? 3. And in wisdom who is the more unforeseeing²?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'A life of him is the worse, who lives in fear and falsehood³. 6. And in wisdom he is the more unforeseeing, who does not provide for⁴ the spiritual *existence*, and attends to the worldly *one*.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the priests, warriors, and husbandmen⁵, each separately?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the priests is to maintain the religion properly; (5) and to perform the ceremonial and invocation of the sacred beings well *and* with atten-

¹ L19 has 'a young boy (*redak*).'

² Literally, 'more unforeknowing (*apasdânîktar*). L19 has 'more unapprovable (*apasandasnîtar*).'

³ See Chap. XIX, 6.

⁴ L19 has 'does not believe in.'

⁵ The three classes which are often mentioned in the Avesta as constituting the *Mazda*-worshipping community. For their vices, see Chap. LIX.

tion, (6) and¹ the decrees, decisions², custom, and control³, as revealed by the pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 7. To make people aware of the goodness of good works⁴; (8) and to show the way to heaven, and the danger and avoidance of hell.

9. 'The business of the warriors is to defeat the enemy; (10) and to keep their own country and land (*bûm*)⁵ unalarmed and tranquil.

11. 'And the business of the husbandmen is to perform tillage and cultivation; (12) and, to the extent of *their* ability, to keep the world invigorated and populous.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the well-endeavouring⁶, the artizans?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the artizans is this, (5) that *as to* that work which they do not understand, they do not bring a hand to it; (6) and that which they well'

¹ L19 inserts 'to keep true.'

² K43 has *dâd dâdistân*, 'decisions of the law;' but the repetition of the syllable *dâd* is probably a clerical blunder.

³ L19 omits *va band*, 'and control.'

⁴ L19 has 'aware of good works and sin.'

⁵ L19 has *vîmand*, 'frontier.'

⁶ The *hûtûkhshân* (Av. *hûiti*) are the fourth class of the community, and are very rarely mentioned in the Avesta, possibly because they were originally enslaved outcasts or aborigines, as in other ancient communities. The passage where they are specially mentioned (Yas. XIX, 46) is probably taken from the Bagh Nask (see Sls. X, 26 n; XIII, 1 n, 9 n).

⁷ L19 omits 'well.'

understand (hû-dânend), they perform well *and* with attention; (7) and they demand wages lawfully. (8). For *as to him* who persists in doing that work which¹ he does not understand, it is *he* by whom that work is spoiled and becomes useless; and when, moreover, he is a man whose work makes himself satisfied, it then becomes even an origin of sin for him.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'As to a ruler², (3) a chieftain, (4) a friend, (5) a kinsman, (6) a wife, (7) a child, (8) and a country, which is the worse?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'That ruler is the worse, that is not able to keep the country unalarmed, and the people untroubled.

11. That chieftain is the worse, who is defective in ability, unthankful unto agents (kardârân), and no helper and interceder for a servant (asâk)³.

12. That friend is the worse, who is not fit to be relied upon. 13. That kinsman is the worse, who is no helper in illness (khastânak)⁴. 14. That wife is the worse, with whom it is not possible to live with pleasure. 15. That child is the worse, who is no bringer of renown. 16. And that country is the worse, in which it is not possible to live in happiness, fearlessness, and permanence.'

¹ L19 omits 'work,' and K43 omits 'which.'

² L19 makes §§ 2–7 each a separate question, by adding 'which is the worse' to each, as in § 8.

³ L19 has asâgardân, 'disciples.'

⁴ Or, 'in accident (hastânak).'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Has the creator Aûharmazd produced the creation of anything whatever for the worldly *existence*¹, unto which Aharman is not able to bring disturbance ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To him who is a wise and contented man it is *but* little possible to bring disturbance.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How many are those people whom it is necessary to consider as rich, and how many are those who are poor ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'These are the people it is necessary to consider as rich :— (5) one is he who is perfect in wisdom ; (6) the second, whose body is healthy, and he lives fearlessly ; (7) the third, who is content with that which has come ; (8) the fourth, he whose destiny is a helper in virtue ; (9) the fifth, who is well-famed in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *by* the tongues of the good ; (10) the sixth, whose trust is on this one, pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers ; (11) *and* the seventh, whose wealth is from honesty.

12. 'And these are the people to be considered as poor :—(13) one is he *with* whom there is no wisdom ; (14) the second, whose body is not healthy ; (15) the third, who lives in his fear, terror², and falsehood ; (16) the fourth, who is not ruling in his

¹ L19 omits these four words.

² L19 omits 'terror.'

own body ; (17) the fifth, whose destiny is no helper ; (18) the sixth, who is infamous in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *on* the tongues of the good ; (19) *and* the seventh, who is old, *and* no child and kindred exist.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which sin is the more heinous?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the sin which people commit, unnatural intercourse is the more heinous. 5. The second is *he* who *has* suffered *or* performed intercourse with men. 6. The third, who slays a righteous man. 7. The fourth, who breaks off a next-of-kin marriage¹. 8. The fifth, who destroys the arrangement of an adopted son (satôr)². 9. The sixth, who smites the fire of Varahrâm³. 10. The seventh, who kills a water-beaver⁴. 11. The eighth, who worships an idol.

¹ See Chap. IV, 4 n.

² If a man has not appointed an adopted son during his lifetime, and leaves property producing an income of eighty-four rûpîs or more, but no privileged wife, or child, or domesticated brother, fit for the duty of guardianship, then an adopted son must be appointed by his nearest relations after his death (see Dd. LVI-LX).

³ The sacred fire, named after the angel Varahrâm or Vâhrâm (see Chap. II, 115).

⁴ The baprakô-î âvîk is the Av. bawris upâpô, with whose skins Ardvîsûra, the angel of water, is said to be clothed (Âbân Yt. 129). It is said to have been 'created in opposition to the demon which is in the water' (see Bd. XIX, 29). Whether it is the same as the Av. udra upâpa, 'water-otter,' is not quite certain ; but killing the latter was considered (for some reason not clearly ascertained) a very heinous sin, for which the proper atonement is fully detailed in Vend. XIV.

12. The ninth, who believes and wishes to worship in every religion. 13. The tenth, who consumes anything which is received into his custody, and becomes an embezzler. 14. The eleventh is he who, through sinfulness, provides support for wickedness¹. 15. The twelfth, who does no work, but eats unthankfully and unlawfully. 16. The thirteenth, who commits heresy (zandîkîh)². 17. The fourteenth, who commits witchcraft. 18. The fifteenth, who commits apostasy (aharmôkîh)³. 19. The sixteenth, who *commits*⁴ demon-worship. 20. The seventeenth, who *commits* theft, or abetting (avâgîdîh) of thieves. 21. The eighteenth, who *commits* promise-breaking⁵. 22. The nineteenth, who *commits* maliciousness. 23. The twentieth, who commits oppression to make the things of others his own. 24. The twenty-first, who dis-

¹ L19 has 'falsehood.'

² The term zandîk, according to Mas'âûdî (chap. xxiv), was first applied to the Manicheans, and afterwards to all others who followed the commentary (zand) in preference to the Avesta; finally, however, the Arabs applied the term to the Persians, probably with its acquired meaning of 'heretic' or 'infidel.' A different explanation of the term is given in Pahl. Yas. LX, 11, where it is stated that 'Zand is the apostle of the wizards, and through Zand it is possible to perform witchcraft.' The Sanskrit version here adds, 'that is, he thinks well of Aharman and the demons;' and in PA10 it continues thus: 'the atheist's religion, the wicked way *that* there is no creator, there is no heaven, there is no hell, there is no resurrection, and so on; such is the meaning.'

³ From Av. ashemaogha, 'disturbing righteousness.' Nêr. adds in Sanskrit, 'that is, having thoroughly known the meaning of the Avesta, he becomes deceived.'

⁴ As the verb in § 23 can apply, in Pahlavi, to any number of preceding sections, it is omitted by K43 in §§ 19-22. The verb is also omitted by K43 in § 25 for a similar reason.

⁵ Or 'breach of contract.'

tresses a righteous man. 25. The twenty-second, who *commits* slander. 26. The twenty-third, who commits arrogance. 27. The twenty-fourth, who goes to a professional courtesan¹. 28. The twenty-fifth, who commits ingratitude. 29. The twenty-sixth, who speaks false and untrue². 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes discontent as to the affairs of those who are departed³. 31. The twenty-eighth, whose pleasure is from viciousness *and* harassing the good. 32. The twenty-ninth, who considers sin as to be urged on, and a good work as a day's delay⁴. 33. *And* the thirtieth, who becomes grieved by that happiness which is provided by him for any one.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Through how many ways and motives of good works do people arrive most at heaven?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The first good work is liberality⁵. 5. The second, truth. 6. The third, thankfulness. 7. The fourth, contentment. 8. The fifth, wanting to produce welfare for the good, and becoming a friend to every one. 9. The sixth, being without doubt as to this, that the

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of *zan-î kârân*. L19 has *zan-î kasân*, 'the wives of others.'

² Or 'irreverent,' according as we read *arâstô* or *anâstô*.

³ L19 has 'secluded and departed,' similar to Chap. XXXVII, 23.

⁴ It is doubtful whether *sîpang*, 'a halting-place,' or *sîpôg*, 'setting aside,' should be read; but the meaning is practically the same.

⁵ Compare Chap. IV, which divides good works into seven classes.

sky and earth and every benefit of the worldly and spiritual *existences* are owing to the creator Aûhar-mazd. 10. The seventh, *being so* as to the unquestionableness of this¹, that all misery and affliction are owing to Aharman the wicked, who is accursed. 11. The eighth, freedom from doubt as to the resurrection and future existence. 12. The ninth, who for love of the soul effects² a next-of-kin marriage. 13. The tenth, who arranges adoption³. 14. The eleventh, who practises regular industry. 15. The twelfth, who is without doubt in this pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 16. The thirteenth, who is kindly regardful as to the ability and means of every one. 17. The fourteenth, who perceives⁴ the kind regard of the good, and becomes himself, also, kindly regardful as to the goodness which *one* wants among the good. 18. The fifteenth, who seeks the affection of the good. 19. The sixteenth, who keeps malice and uncharitableness far from *his* mind. 20. The seventeenth, who bears no improper envy. 21. The eighteenth, who forms no desire of lust. 22. The nineteenth, who produces no discord with any one. 23. The twentieth, who brings no distress into the affairs of a departed and unassisted *one* (*avigîd*)⁵. 24. The twenty-first, who

¹ By the transposition of two words L19 has 'freedom from doubt as to this.'

² Whether for himself, or for another, is uncertain (see Chap. IV, 4n).

³ Nêr. explains in Sanskrit, thus: 'that is, whoever becomes a spirit childless, maintains any man, with his wealth, for his fame and his lineage, then thus the soul, too, is for an increase of good works.'

⁴ L19 transposes the two verbs, 'perceives' and 'wants.'

⁵ Nêr. reads *hvazîd*, which he identifies with Pers. 'hazîd, 'con-

lets¹ no wrath into *his* body. 25. The twenty-second, who commits no sin on account of disgrace². 26. The twenty-third, who forms no desire of lethargy on account of laziness. 27. The twenty-fourth, who is without doubt as to the sacred beings. 28. The twenty-fifth, who is without doubt as to the existence of heaven and hell, and the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul, the glory which is in heaven, and the misery which is in hell. 29. The twenty-sixth, who abstains³ from slander and envious looks. 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes the happiness of himself, and gives happy advancement also to others. 31. The twenty-eighth, who becomes the help⁴ of the good, and accuser of the bad. 32. The twenty-ninth, who restrains himself from deceit and evil (dûsîh)⁵. 33. The thirtieth, who does not speak false and untrue⁶. 34. The thirty-first, who restrains himself firmly from promise-breaking. 35. The thirty-second, who, for the sake of seeking his own benefit and happiness, causes the abstinence of others from evil. 36. *And* the thirty-third, who provides lodging accommodation for the sick and secluded⁷ and traders.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when they do not allot the happiness

sealed, secluded;' and which might also be taken in the sense of one who has 'crawled,' meaning a young child; but the identification is doubtful.

¹ L19 has 'keeps.'

² That is, 'for fear of disgrace.'

³ L19 has 'restrains himself.'

⁴ L19 has 'helper.'

⁵ L19 has *hvad-dôshî*, 'self-conceit.'

⁶ See Chap. XXXVI, 29 n.

⁷ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

of the worldly *existence* according to worthiness, and they make the soul a seizer upon the spiritual *existences* by worthiness of action?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘On account of the compassion of Aûharmazd, the lord, as regards the creatures, he allots all happiness alike among the good and alike among the bad. 5. But when it does not always come upon them, *it is* on account of the oppression of Aharman and the demons, and the extortion of those seven planets¹.

6. ‘And they make *one*² a seizer upon the spiritual *existences*, by worthiness of action, on this account, because the wickedness of any³ one arises through the performance of his own actions.’

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Which power is the more seemly? 3. In wisdom who is the more complete? 4. And in disposition who is the more faithful? 5. Whose speech is the more proper? 6. In whose mind is the goodness little⁴? 7. And as a friend who is the worse? 8. In whose mind is the pleasure little? 9. In heart who is the more seemly? 10. In endurance who is the more approvable? 11. Who is not to be considered as faithful? 12. What is that which is worth keeping with every one? 13. And what

¹ Which are supposed to be agents of Aharman for causing misfortune to the creatures (see Chaps. VIII, 19, 20; XII, 7-10).

² L19 has ‘the soul.’

³ L19 has ‘every.’

⁴ L19 has ‘much the more,’ to correspond with a different reply in § 26.

is that which is not to be kept with any one? 14. What is to be preserved in conversation? 15. Who is he that is not to be accepted as a witness? 16. And unto whom is it necessary to be obedient? 17. What is it more necessary to mind and to keep praising? 18. What is that which is not to be made unrespected in any way? 19. What is he who, in his own degree, is said *to be* such as Aûharmazd and the archangels? 20. And what is he who, in his own degree, is¹ such as Aharman and the demons?'

21. The spirit of wisdom answered (22) thus: 'In power he is the more seemly who, when he indulges his wrath, is able to allay the wrath, and not commit sin and gratify himself. 23. And in wisdom he is the more complete who is able to preserve his own soul. 24. In disposition he is the more faithful, in whom there is nothing whatever *of* deceit and pretence. 25. The speech of him is the more proper who speaks more true. 26. Goodness is little in the mind of a man of wrath². 27. As a friend, a malicious man who is a fighter is worse. 28. And pleasure is little in the mind of him who is an envious man. 29. In heart he is the more seemly who abandons the worldly *existence* and seizes the spiritual *one*; (30) and by his own will accepts righteousness as a yoke (*val kavarmān*)³. 31. And in endurance he is the more approvable who⁴,

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² L19 has 'goodness is more in an humble-minded man,' so as to correspond with the difference in its question in § 6.

³ Literally, 'for the neck.' Nêr. has misread *val-i-k valman* (Pâz. ô-ka ôi), and has 'by his own will for it, also accepts righteousness.'

⁴ From this point to Chap. XL, 17, the Pahlavi text of K43 is missing, owing to the loss of one folio in that MS. The copy of

[contentedly and with a will, accepts, as a yoke¹,] the misery and affliction which [come upon] him [from Aharman and the demons and the vile; (32) *and* it, in no way, harasses his own soul. 33. He is not to be considered as faithful who has no fear of the sacred beings, *nor* shame as to mankind. 34. Those which are worth keeping with every one are peace and affection. 35. And those which are not to be kept with any one whatever are malice *and* discord. 36. All² these three are to be preserved in conversation: good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds in one's own thinking, speaking, *and* doing. 37. These three are not to be accepted as a witness: a woman³, a young serving-boy⁴, and a man-slave. 38. These are such as must be personally obedient *and* do service: (39) the wife unto the husband, (40) and the child unto the father and mother, the chieftain⁵ and high-priest, the teacher⁶, the adopted son⁷, and secluded⁸ kindred. 41. *And* unto rulers, chieftains, *and* teachers *one* is also to be obedient. 42. The sacred beings it is more necessary to mind and to keep praising. 43. And one's own soul is not to be made⁹ unrespected in any mode, (44) *and* is always to be kept

TD2 is, therefore, followed, and its translation is enclosed in brackets.

¹ See § 30 n.

² LI9 omits 'all.'

³ Or 'a wife,' as both meanings are expressed by the same word, and, in fact, every woman is expected to become a wife.

⁴ LI9 has 'a young boy,' as in Chap. XXIX, 4.

⁵ The word *sardâr* (Pâz. *sâlâr*) also means 'guardian.'

⁶ LI9 inserts 'and fire.'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVI, 8 n. As the adopted son takes the place of the deceased father, he must be obeyed accordingly by the whole family.

⁸ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

⁹ LI9 has 'considered.'

in remembrance. 45. The judge who exercises true justice, *and* takes no bribe, is¹, in his own degree, such as Aûharmazd and the archangels. 46. And he who exercises false justice is said *to be*, in his own degree, such as Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XL.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the colder and what is the warmer? 3. What is the brighter and what is the darker? 4. What is the fuller and what is the emptier²? 5. What end is the more fruitless³? 6. What is that thing of which no superfluity arises *for* any one? 7. What is that which no one is able to deprive *one of*? 8. What is that thing which it is not possible to buy at a price? 9. What is that thing with which every one is always⁴ satisfied? 10. What is that with which no one⁵ whatever is satisfied? 11. What is that one wish that Aûharmazd, the lord, *contemplates*⁶ as regards men? 12. What is that one wish that Aharman, the wicked, contemplates as regards men? 13. What is the end of the worldly *existence* and what is the end of⁷ the spiritual *one*?'

14. The spirit of wisdom answered (15) thus : 'The heart of the righteous is the warmer, and that

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² Reading tôhîktar, both here and in § 17; L19 has tangîtar, as if for tangtar, 'narrower,' in both places.

³ TD2 has 'fearless,' but this does not correspond with § 18.

⁴ L19 omits 'always.'

⁵ L19 has 'nothing.'

⁶ The verb in § 12 is sufficient in Pahlavi for this section also.

⁷ L19 omits these five words.

of the wicked the colder. 16. Righteousness is the brighter, and wickedness the darker. 17. The hope *and* protection which *pertain* to the sacred beings]¹ are the fuller, and those which *pertain* to the demons are the emptier². 18. The end of the world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man is the more fruitless. 19. It is knowledge of which no one knows a superfluity. 20. It is learning and skill which no one is able to deprive *one of*. 21. It is understanding and intellect which it is not possible to buy at a price. 22. It is wisdom with which every one and one's own self are untroubled and satisfied. 23. It is stupidity and ignorance with which every one and even one's own self are troubled and not satisfied.

24. 'That one wish which Aûharmazd, the lord, contemplates as regards men is this, (25) that "ye shall fully understand me; for every *one* who fully understands me, comes after me and strives for my satisfaction." 26. And that one wish which Aharman contemplates as regards men is this, (27) that "ye shall not understand me;" for he knows that whoever fully understands that wicked *one*, does not go after his evil deeds³, (28) and nothing whatever of power and help for him arises⁴ from that man.

29. 'And *as to* that which is asked by thee concerning the spiritual and worldly *existences*, the worldly *existence* is, in the end, death and disappearance, (30) and of the spiritual *existence*, in the end,

¹ From this point the translation again follows the Pahlavi text of K43.

² See § 4 n.

³ L19 has 'for whoever fully understands me *as* wicked, *his* deeds do not go after me.'

⁴ L19 has 'nothing whatever of advantage and help comes to me.'

that of a soul of the righteous is undecaying, immortal, and undisturbed, full of glory and full of enjoyment, for ever and everlasting, with the angels and archangels and the guardian spirits¹ of the righteous. 31. And the bridge² and destruction³ and punishment of the wicked in hell are for ever and everlasting⁴. 32. And the wicked soul, apart from the punishment, contemplates the existence, and even the appearance⁵, with the demons and fiends just as, in the worldly *existence*, a healthy man *does that* with him who is very grievously sick.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which man is the mightier? 3. Which road is the more dreadful? 4. Which account is the more

¹ The guardian spirits are the spiritual representatives of each individual being and thing of the good creation, which are supposed to have been all created by Aûharmazd in the beginning (see Chap. XLIX, 23, Bd. I, 8).

² That is the investigation into the character of the soul at the Kindvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162). L19 omits this mention of the bridge.

³ Reading drûs, as in L19, but this is doubtful.

⁴ This phrase can be used either with reference to time or to eternity. Time which lasts for ever must end at the resurrection, as in this case (see Chap. II, 193), because time then ceases to exist. But eternity which lasts for ever can never end. If this phrase had the same meaning here as in § 30, it would contradict all the other statements regarding the fate of the wicked, which are to be found in Pahlavi literature, including those of the author himself.

⁵ L19 has 'the wicked soul contemplates being apart from the punishment, and also apart from appearance.'

perplexing? 5. Which tie¹ is the pleasanter? 6. Which work is the more regrettable? 7. And which gift is the more unprofitable?’

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: ‘That man is the mightier who is able to struggle with his own fiends²; (10) and, in particular, *he* who keeps these five fiends far from *his* person, (11) which are such as greediness, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent. 12. The road in passing over the *K*indvar bridge³ is the more dreadful. 13. The account for a soul of the wicked is the more perplexing. 14. The tie of children is the pleasanter and more desirable. 15. That work is the more regrettable which they do for the ungrateful. 16. *And* that gift is the more unprofitable which they give to the unworthy⁴.’

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘How many kinds of man are *there*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* are three kinds of man, (5) one is man, one is demi-man, and one is demi-demon.

6. ‘A man is he who is without doubt as to the creativeness of *Aûharmazd*, the destructiveness of *Aharman*, and the existence of the resurrection and future existence; and also *as regards* every other happiness and misery, in the worldly and spiritual

¹ K43 has bôî, ‘scent,’ which is distinguished from band, ‘tie,’ only by diacritical marks in Pahlavi.

² His own passions and failings personified as fiends.

³ See Chap. II, 115, 162.

⁴ L19 has ‘to the ungrateful and unworthy.’

existences, (7) that *its* origin is from both of those *beings*, from Aûharmazd and Aharman. 8. And his belief is in this one pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers; (9) and he does not believe in, and does not hearken unto, any heterodoxy.

10. 'A demi-man is he who performs the affairs of the worldly and spiritual *existences* according to his own opinion, self-conceitedly and obstinately; (11) be they duties and good works by the will of Aûharmazd, *or* be they by the will of Aharman, they proceed from him.

12. 'A demi-demon is he in whom *there* is only as *it were* the name of man¹ and the human race, *but* in his doing of every action *he* is then like unto a two-legged demon. 13. He understands no worldly and no spiritual *existence*, (14) he understands no good work and no sin, (15) he understands no heaven and no hell, (16) and even the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul he does not think of.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to make Aûharmazd, the archangels, and the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven more fully for oneself? 3. And how is it possible to make Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the depreciated² and dark?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'To make Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and

¹ L19 has 'humanity.'

² Reading dûs-vahâk. Nêr. has misread the word dus-gand, 'evil-smelling,' both here and in §§ 5, 14.

the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven for oneself, and¹ Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the dark and depreciated, are possible thus: (6) that is, when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back (pûstîk-pânakîh), (7) and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour, (8) and make the spirit of truth² a shield, (9) the spirit of thankfulness a club, (10) the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, (11) and the spirit of liberality an arrow; (12) and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, (13) the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection³. 14. In this manner it is possible to come to heaven and the sight of the sacred beings, and to escape from Aharman, the wicked, and hell, the depreciated.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the sky and earth arranged? 3. How are the flow and arrangement of the water in the world? 4. Whereon do the clouds rest? 5. Where is the demon of winter more predominant? 6. And which country is the more undisturbed?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within

¹ L19 repeats 'to make,' but this is no more necessary in Pahlavi than in English.

² L19 inserts 'like' in §§ 8-11, and omits the verb 'make' in §§ 8, 12.

³ §§ 6-13 bear some resemblance to Isaiah lix. 17 and Ephesians vi. 14-17, so far as mode of expression is concerned.

*them*¹ are egg-like (khâîyak-dîs), just as *it were*² like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth³, like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky⁴, is just like as *it were* the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]⁵

12. 'And the flow of the water of every kind which is in the world is from the region of Arzah⁶ (13) there where the sun comes up⁷; and *its* downward surge (nîgun bâlisnô)⁸ is towards the region of Savah (14) where⁹ the sun goes down; and the

¹ L19 has 'within the sky.'

² L19 has 'are so arranged as.' The reading of dîs, 'like,' is rather uncertain.

³ L19 adds 'and below the earth.'

⁴ L19 has 'and the earth within the sky.'

⁵ § 11 is taken from PB6, but is not found in any other Pâzand or Pârsî MS. consulted, nor in the Pahlavi text of K43; it is, therefore, probably an interpolation.

⁶ See Chap. XVI, 10 n.

⁷ This clause and the corresponding one in § 14 seem to be at variance with the statements of Bd. V, 8, XI, 3, that Arzah is in the west, and Savah in the east; Nêryôsang has, therefore, transferred the conjunction 'and' to the beginning of the section in both cases, so as to make the eastern waters flow towards Savah, and the western waters into the sea. If, however, we understand 'there' to mean 'in those places,' and not to refer to the region whose name it follows, we may conclude that the statement here is to the effect that in the east the water flows from Arzah (the western region), and in the west towards Savah (the eastern region), which might be true if we place the east in China or Bengal, and the west in Armenia or Mesopotamia, but it is more probably meant merely to imply that the whole of the water flows through the central region of Khvanîras.

⁸ L19 has anbârisnô, 'accumulation,' both here and in § 14.

⁹ L19 has 'there where;' and we must understand 'in those places where,' as in § 13.

surging on (âbâlisnô) of the water is into the sea Pûtîk¹, (15) and from the sea Pûtîk it goes back to the sea Varkash².

16. 'The abode and seat of the clouds are on Albûrz³.

17. 'The demon of winter is more predominant in Airân-vêgô⁴. 18. And *it* is declared by revelation⁵, (19) that in Airân-vêgô *there* are "ten months winter and two months summer," (20) *and* "even those" two months of warm weather "are cold *as to* water, cold *as to* earth, and cold *as to* plants." 21. And their adversity⁶ is the winter, (22) and the snakes therein are many, (23) while their other adversity is little.

24. '*It* is declared that Aûharmazd created Airân-vêgô better than other places and districts⁷.

¹ Av. Pûtîka, which Bd. XIII, 8-11 appears to identify with the Persian Gulf, but in early times, if not altogether mythic, it was probably some inlet of the Caspian or Aral.

² Av. Vouru-kasha; in Pahlavi it is usually called 'the wide-formed,' and in Bd. XIII, 1, 8-10 it is identified with the ocean; but in early times it was probably a term for the Caspian and Aral, when not applied to the mythic sea of the sky.

³ Av. hara berezaiti, 'a lofty mountain-range,' which is said, in Chap. LVII, 13 and in the Bundahis, to surround the world and to be the origin of all mountains (see Bd. V, 3-5, XII, 1-4). In early times it appears to have been the name of mountains to the east of the first Irânian settlements, before it was transferred to the mountain range south of the Caspian (see Geiger's Ost. Kul. pp. 42-45).

⁴ Av. Airyanem vaêgô, the first settlement of the Irânians, which Geiger (Ost. Kul. pp. 30-33) places on the upper waters of the Zarafsan river, and which Bd. XXIX, 12 describes, in accordance with late tradition, as 'in the direction of Âtûr-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân).'

⁵ Vend. I, 9, 10.

⁶ Produced by the evil spirit (see Vend. I, 7, 8).

⁷ This is inferred from Vend. I, 2-4.

25. And its goodness is this, that the life of the people is three hundred years¹, (26) and of the oxen and sheep one hundred and fifty years. 27. Their pain and sickness, also, are little; (28) they fabricate (*drûgênd*)² no lies, (29) they make no lamentation and weeping, (30) and the domination of the demon of greediness (*âz*) in their bodies is little. 31. When they eat one loaf among ten men, they are satisfied. 32. And in every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man³. 33. Their law, also, is goodness, and *their* religion the primitive faith⁴; (34) and when they die they are righteous⁵. 35. Their *spiritual* chief (*ratû*), likewise, is Gôpatîth⁶, and *their* lord and king is Srôsh⁷.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'By what does Aharman most deceive and lead people to hell? 3. And from what is his pleasure most? 4. Where is the place he has a foundation?

¹ Compare Chap. LXII, 18.

² L19 has *drenzinend*, 'they cause to repeat.'

³ Compare Chap. LXII, 17.

⁴ Av. *paoiryô-dkaêsha*, a term applied to the true Mazda-worshipping religion of all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

⁵ That is, they go at once to heaven, as the righteous soul does (see Chap. II, 123-157).

⁶ L19 has Gôpatshâh, 'the king of Gôpat' (as in Chap. LXII, 8, 31), which land is described in Dd. XC, 4 as 'coterminous with Aîrân-vêgô.' Aghrêrad and his son are called kings of Gôpat in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 22; and Gôk-patô is said to be 'in the non-Aryan countries,' in the Sûdkar Nask (see Dd. XC, 8n).

⁷ Apparently the angel Srôsh (see Chap. II, 115).

5. Where, also, is his coming, *together* with the demons, most? 6. And from what is his food?

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'Aharman deceives people most by prosperity and adversity¹, the fiend of apostasy, scepticism, and covetousness. 9. His pleasure, also, is most from the discord of men. 10. And his food is from the impenitence² and reticence of men. 11. He has a foundation in the malicious³. 12. And his coming and going are most with the wrathful.'

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is the one⁴ oppression, as regards men, *that* Aharman considers as the more injurious and great?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Aharman, when he wrings life and wife and child and worldly happiness of every kind away from men, does not consider, as to this, that any injury whatever is inflicted by him upon that person; (5) but when he wrings away the soul of a single *individual*, and makes it utterly depraved, he then considers, as to this, that "an injury which is complete would thereby be inflicted by me," because this is done by him through his own depravity of wish and action⁵.'

¹ Or 'superfluity and scarcity.'

² Assuming that *apatôtakîh* stands for *apatîtakîh*, 'non-renunciation of sin.' L19 has 'immoderate eating.'

³ L19 has 'in the slanderous and malicious.'

⁴ L19 omits 'one.'

⁵ The last fourteen words occur only in the Pahlavi text of K43.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is that thing *which* is the most perfect of all wealth ? 3. What is that which is predominant over everything whatever ? 4. And what is that from which no one is able to escape ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'It is wisdom which is better than the wealth of every kind which is in the world. 7. It is destiny which is predominant over every one and everything. 8. And *it is* Vâê the bad¹ from whom no one is able to escape.'

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is the dwelling of the understanding and intellect and seed of men in the body ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The place of the understanding and intellect and seed of men is in the brain of the head. 5. And when the brain of the head is sound, the understanding and intellect and seed are on the increase ; (6) *but* when a person attains unto old age, the brain of the head remains only at a diminution. 7. And he who is an aged man, on account of the diminution of understanding and intellect, sees less and knows less of that which it is necessary to do with wisdom. 8. Wisdom, in the beginning, mingles with the marrow of the fingers of men's hands ; (9) and, afterwards,

¹ The demon which conveys the soul to its account (see Chap. II, 115).

its seat and abode and place¹ are in the heart. 10. And its dwelling² in the whole body becomes such as the shape of the foot in various shoes (mûg-kakö).³

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'As to these stars which are apparent in the sky, and their number is so great, what is then their duty and influence? 3. And how is the motion of the sun and moon and stars?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'Of the stars which are in the sky the first star is Tîstar⁴, which is said *to be* great and good, more valuable and more glorious⁵. 6. And prosperity of every kind and the fertility of the world are in the path of Tîstar.

7, 8. 'And the star of water germs is for the increase of the star of plant germs⁶. 9, 10. And the star of plant germs is for the increase of cattle germs⁷.

¹ L19 has 'its seat and abiding place.'

² L19 has 'and the dwelling of the soul.'

³ L19 has 'in the shoe.'

⁴ Av. Tistrya, the eastern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Tîr (Mercury), which can be identified only with Sirius. It is personified as an angel who contends with the demon of drought and produces rain (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1, VII, 1-13).

⁵ The usual Avesta epithets of Tîstar are 'the radiant and glorious.'

⁶ L19 has 'for the increase of water. And the star of earth germs is for the increase of earth.'

⁷ L19 has 'for the increase of plants. And the star of cattle germs is for the increase of cattle.' The stars of water, earth, and plant germs are mentioned in the formula of dedication to Tîstar (Sîr. 13), and the moon is said to possess the germs of cattle (Sîr. 12).

11. And water, fire¹, plant, and cattle germs are created for the increase of man germs².

12. 'And the star Vanand³ is intrusted with the passes *and* gates of Albûrz⁴; (13) so that the demons and witches and fiends *may* turn from those gates and passes, (14) that *it may* not *be* possible for them to cut off and break up the road and passage of the sun and moon and stars⁵.

15. 'And the star Haptôk-ring⁶, with 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous⁷, is intrusted with the gate and passage of hell⁸, (16) for the keeping

Reference is also made to all of them in Rashnu Yt. 29-31, 33, and to those of water germs in Vend. XXI, 33, Tîstar Yt. 39, 45, 46.

¹ L19 has 'earth.'

² L19 has 'for the increase of men.' As both the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of §§ 7-11 are complete and consistent in themselves, it is uncertain which of them gives the original text. The Pâzand corresponds more closely to certain passages in the Avesta, but a wish to produce such a correspondence may have led Nêr-yôsang to alter the text. That the Pahlavi writer was thinking of some other passage, as yet unidentified, is evident from the omission of the star Satavês (which follows Tîstar in Sir. 13) and from the details he gives concerning the others.

³ The southern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Aûharmazd (Jupiter), which is perhaps best identified with Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it in connection with Tîstar (Sir. 13).

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ Which are supposed to rise and set through openings or passes in the mountain range of Albûrz, which encircles the world (see Bd. V, 5).

⁶ Av. Haptôiringa, the northern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Vâhrâm (Mars), which corresponds to Ursa Major (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it, in connection with the other stars named in the text, in Sir. 13.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 60. The number here mentioned is that generally used in the Avesta to express an indefinitely large number.

⁸ Which is supposed to be in the north, so that the circumpolar

back of those 99,999 demons and fiends, witches and wizards, who are in opposition to the *celestial* sphere and constellations *of the zodiac*. 17. Its motion, also, is round about hell; (18) and its special business is this, as *it were* it holds the twelve signs of the zodiac by the hand, in *their* proper going and coming. 19. And those twelve constellations also proceed *in* like manner by the power and help of Haptôk-ring¹; (20) and every single constellation, when it comes in at Albûrz, provides support for Haptôk-ring², (21) and begs protection from Haptôk-ring.

22. 'The remaining unnumbered and innumerable constellations³ which are apparent are said *to be* the guardian spirits of the worldly *existences*. 23. Because, *as to* the creatures and creations of every kind, that the creator Aûharmazd created for the worldly *existence*, which are procreative and also which are developable (ârôdisnîk)⁴, for every single body *there* is apparent its own single guardian spirit of a like nature.

24. 'And the motion of the sun and moon is the special illumination of the world, (25) and the maturing of procreations and growths of all kinds. 26. And the correct keeping of the day, month, and year, summer and winter, spring and autumn, and other calculations and accounts of all kinds which men ought to obtain, perceive, and understand, (27)

constellation of Ursa Major seems to revolve around it, and to remain on the watch.

¹ Written Haptâôrig in §§ 19-21 in K43.

² L19 has 'holds to Haptôk-ring by the hand.'

³ L19 has 'stars.'

⁴ L19 has azâisnî, 'unprocreative.'

are more fully defined by means of the setting (nisîvakö)¹ of the sun and moon.'

CHAPTER L.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that opulent *person* who is to be considered as fortunate, and which is that *one* who is to be considered as evil-conditioned ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That *one* who has produced opulence by proper exertion is to be considered as fortunate ; and that *one* who has produced *it* by dishonesty, as evil-conditioned.'

CHAPTER LI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when there are *instances* when a lazy, ignorant, and bad man attains to eminence and great welfare, (3) and there are *instances* when a worthy, wise, and good man attains to grievous misery, perplexity, and indigence ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : '*As to* him who is a lazy, ignorant, and bad man, when his destiny becomes a helper, that laziness of his then becomes like unto diligence, that ignorance unto² knowledge, and that vileness unto² goodness.

6. And *as to* him who is a wise, worthy, and good man, when his destiny is an opponent, that wisdom of his then turns to stupidity and foolishness (ala-kîh), and that worthiness to ignorance ; (7) and *his*

¹ Nêr. reads *vaheza* and translates 'new year's day.'

² L19 has 'like unto' in all three clauses.

knowledge, skill, and worthiness become manifestly secluded¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is it necessary to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings and the thanksgiving for the welfare which is owing to the sacred beings? 3. *And* how is the renunciation of *sin* to be performed for the preservation of the soul?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'That ceremonial of the sacred beings is good which they perform in this pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 6. Its origin, also, is goodness and truth, and freedom from doubt in the sacred beings. 7. And for the little and the much that has come *there has* arisen thanksgiving unto the sacred beings; and *one* is to meditate upon the gratifications (*sh nû-makân*) and prosperity which are owing to the sacred beings and to keep grateful². 8. And even when perplexity and misery come on from Aharman and the demons, *he* is not to become doubtful as to the treasure of the sacred beings, (9) and not to diminish the thanksgiving unto the sacred beings. 10. And every disaster which springs up *he* is to give back³ to the violence of Aharman and the demons. 11. *He* is not to seek his own welfare and advantage through the injury of any one else; (12) and he

¹ See Chap. XV, 6n. Nêr. has in Sans. 'are manifest in immobility.'

² The Pâzand version omits the latter half of this section, and also uses the present tense instead of the infinitive in several of the following sections.

³ Perhaps 'trace back' may be meant, but this is uncertain.

becomes compassionate as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd. 13. In duty and good works *he* is diligent and striving¹; (14) *and* especially in the care of water and fire² *he* is to persevere much. 15. And *he* is to be without doubt as to this, that, except happiness, the sacred beings do not then³ give anything whatever, *as* a modification⁴ of it, unto men; and Aharman and the demons, except misery, do not then³ give them any happiness.

16. 'For the existence of renunciation *of sin* the special thing is this, that *one* commits no sin voluntarily; (17) and if, through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation *of sin* before the high-priests and the good. 18. And after that, *when*⁵ he does not commit *it*, then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus a sweeping (êsvârakö)⁶ from his body; (19) just as the wind which is hasty and mighty, when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass (gîyyâkîkâkö-1) and anything which is broken *in* that place.'

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the homage and glorifying of the sacred beings to be performed?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus:

¹ L19 has 'he acts diligently and strivingly.'

² L19 adds 'and plants.'

³ Reading êdînas; Nêr. has misread ainâ, 'otherwise.'

⁴ Reading gvîdarîh; Nêr. has misread vatarî, 'an evil.'

⁵ L19 has 'too,' and K43 omits the word.

⁶ Misread avâz, 'away,' by Nêryôsang.

‘Every day three times, standing opposite the sun and Mitrô¹, as they proceed together², (5) and³ the moon and fire of Vâhrâm⁴, or the fire of fires⁵, in like manner, morning, noon, and evening, homage and glorifying are performed, (6) and *one* has become grateful⁶. 7. And if a sin, or a deficiency (frôd-mând-î)⁷, *has* occurred, especially⁸ as regards the angels of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, men and beasts of *burden*⁹, oxen and sheep, dogs and the dog species, and other creatures and creations of Aûharmazd the lord, (8) *one* is to become sorrowful, penitent, and in renunciation of *sin* before the sun and Mitrô, the moon and the fire of Aûharmazd¹⁰; (9) and, for the sake of atonement *for* the sin, good works are to be practised as much as is well possible.’

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Wherefore *is it* when an ignorant man—when they bring advancement to him—considers the learning

¹ The angel of the sun’s light (see Chap. II, 118 n).

² L19 adds ‘homage and glorifying are to be performed;’ but this is unnecessary.

³ L19 inserts ‘opposite.’

⁴ The sacred fire (see Chap. XXXVI, 9 n).

⁵ A fire in which the remnants of all other fires are deposited from time to time.

⁶ We ought probably to read ‘*one* is to perform homage and glorifying, and to be grateful.’

⁷ L19 omits ‘or a deficiency.’

⁸ Reading fraêstô; Nêr. reads pargast and translates ‘somewhat.’

⁹ L19 omits the ‘beasts of burden.’

¹⁰ These are four out of the five existences to which the daily Nyâyises or supplications are addressed.

and advancement of the wise and good mostly so¹, through greediness, that to teach *it* to him is difficult?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because the ignorant man considers, in thought, his own ignorance as good as the sage *does*, in thought, his own knowledge.’

CHAPTER LV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Wherefore is he who is an ill-natured man no friend of the good, *nor* an untalented man of a talented *one*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because he who is an ill-talented² man is *at* [all]³ times *in* fear of the talented, (5) lest “they should trouble⁴ us by *their* skill and talent, and, owing to that circumstance, shame *may* come upon *us* before the good and *our* opponents.”

6. ‘And the ill-natured are no friends of the good for this reason, because *there* is a time for their annihilation and destruction by the hands of the good.’

¹ L19 has ‘such vexation,’ by reading bêsh instead of vês.

² L19 has ‘untalented.’

³ K43 omits ‘all,’ and its text may be translated thus:—‘because the position of him who is an ill-talented man is *in* danger from the talented.’

⁴ Reading aê rangênd. Nêr. has the doubtful reading airôzi-nend, ‘they enlighten,’ and also several other variations, so as to produce the following meaning:—‘lest “these enlighten *others* by the skill and talent which are not mine,” and shame come upon him before the good and *his* helpmates.’

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore are these mountains and rivers¹ made, which are in the world?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of these mountains, which are in the world, there are *some* which are moderators of the wind, and there are *some* which are² warders off; (5) there are *some* which are the place and vent, the resting-place and support of the rainy cloud; (6) and there are *some* which are smiters of Aharman and the demons, and maintainers and vivifiers of the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord.

7. 'And these rivers, which are in the world, the creator Aûharmazd has formed, from the borders of Albûrz³, for providing the protection and *for* the vivification of his own creatures and creation.'

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when the knowledge and sagacity of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, both united, are connected with thee?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'For this reason, because, from the first, I, who am the innate wisdom, *apart* from the spiritual and worldly existences, have been with Aûharmazd. 5. And

¹ Or it may be 'seas,' as the Sanskrit version translates the word, both here and in § 7, but this hardly agrees with the context.

² L19 omits these five words.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

the creator Aûharmazd created (âfrîdō) the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, and all the other creatures and creations through the power and mightiness, the wisdom and sagacity of innate wisdom; and I produce¹ and he maintains and stimulates *them*. 6. And at the end of the renovation of the universe it is possible to cause the annihilation and destruction of Aharman and his miscreations more fully by the power of wisdom; (7) and Sôshâns², with Kaî-Khûsrôî², and those who cause the resurrection and future existence are able to act more fully, by means of the power and help of wisdom.

8. 'The knowledge and sagacity of the worldly existence, the learning and teaching in³ every profession, and all advancement of temporal beings⁴ are through wisdom. 9. The souls of the righteous, in escaping from hell⁵ and coming⁶ to heaven and the supreme heaven (garôdmân), arrive much better by means of the power and protection of wisdom. 10. And it is possible to seek the good living, pleasure, good repute, and every happiness of people in the worldly existence, through the power of wisdom.

11. 'And the maintenance of the seeds of men

¹ So in K43, but Nêr. has taken this verb in the third person, in place of the nearly synonymous âfrîdō, so as to state that the creator 'created, maintains, and stimulates the angels' and all other existences through the power of innate wisdom. The object of the Pahlavi text, however, seems to be to emphasize the fact that the creation was specially due to the innate wisdom of the creator, while its maintenance is dependent on all his powers and attributes.

² See Chaps. II, 95, XXVII, 63.

³ L19 has 'of.'

⁴ L19 has 'times.'

⁵ That is, in escaping from the risk of being sent to hell.

⁶ L19 omits 'and coming.'

and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, and also every other creature and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord, the seating¹ *of them* in the womb, and making manifest what is their food in the womb, so that they shall not die from hunger and thirst, and the allotment and maturing of the limbs are effected² more fully by means of the durability (dôrângarîh) and great potency which are in the force³ of wisdom.

12. 'The arrangement of the earth and the mingling of the water in the earth, the growth and increase of plants, colour of various kinds, and the scent, taste, and pleasantness of various things are allotted and produced more fully through wisdom.

13. And the arrangement of Albûrz⁴ around the world, the manifestation of the earth of the seven regions⁵ and the sky above the mountain of Albûrz, the motion of the sun and moon and twelve constellations⁶, the six times of the season festivals (gâsân bâr)⁷, the five times *devoted* to the guardian spirits (fravardîkân)⁸, the heaven which is in the place of good thoughts, the place of good words, the place of good deeds, and the perfect supreme

¹ Nêr. has read shâyastan, 'possibility,' instead of nishâstan, 'seating.'

² Reading vâdûnî-hênd. L19 has 'are possible to effect.'

³ L19 has 'by means of the great potency and force.'

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ See Chap. IX, 2 n.

⁶ The signs of the zodiac, whose apparent movement, due to the motion of the earth, is here alluded to.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 5 n.

⁸ The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas or sacred hymns, which follow the twelfth month in order to complete the Parsi year of 365 days. Together with the five preceding days they are specially devoted to the homage of the guardian spirits or Fravashis.

heaven (garôdmân) of all gloriousness¹, the path of the spirits and worldly *existences*, and the Kindvar bridge² are produced and allotted through the power of wisdom.

14. 'The watery-looking³ cloud's seizing water from the sea, advancing in the atmosphere, and gradually breaking away⁴, drop by drop, to the earth, and Aûharmazd's⁵ creatures' thoroughly understanding the nature of heaven and hell, the compassion of Aûharmazd, the archangels, and other angels as regards their own creatures, and the devastation and destructiveness of Aharman and the demons as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd it is possible to comprehend through the more complete power⁶ of wisdom. 15. And the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the sayings and teaching of the spirits⁷, and the demons' demolishing the worldly body *and* making *it* imperceptible by the sight of men are apprehended⁸ more fully by means of the most perfect means of wisdom. 16. And even the struggle and warfare of Irân with foreigners (an-aîrân), and the smiting of Aharman and the demons it is possible to effect through the power of wisdom.

¹ The four grades of heaven (see Chap. VII, 9-12).

² See Chap. II, 115 n. By omitting 'and' Nêr. identifies this bridge with the path mentioned before it, but it forms only one portion of the path to the other world.

³ Assuming that mâ-vênakö stands for mayâ-vênakö.

⁴ Pahl. vîkhtanö is more probably connected with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to break,' than with Pers. pîkhtan, 'to sift.'

⁵ The Sanskrit version adds 'and Aharman's.'

⁶ L19 has 'more fully through the power.'

⁷ L19 has 'worldly *existences*.'

⁸ Reading girî-hastö. L19 has 'are effected.'

17. 'To occasion the sun's inspection of the hidden water also, below the earth, it is expedient to convey *it* for tillage and cultivation, and the advantage, comfort, and enjoyment of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, through the power of wisdom. 18. The thorough understanding of the pain and sickness of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen, sheep, and other animals, and the bringing of medicine and remedies, health of body and comfort unto them are much more possible to effect¹ by means of the power of wisdom.

19. 'And *as to* every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more. 20. Even *as to* Vistâsp², Zaratûst³, Gâyô-mard⁴, and those others whose share of heaven *was* much the more⁵, *it was* on account of the much coming of wisdom unto them. 21. And *as to* Yim, Frêdûn, Kâi-Ûs⁶, and those other rulers who obtained splendour (*vargö*) and mightiness (*tagakîh*)⁷ from the sacred beings—just as the participation of Vistâsp and other rulers in the religion occurred⁸—and their not attaining to the religion, and also as to the *times* when they have become ungrateful unto their own lord⁹, *it was* on account of the little coming of wisdom unto them.

22. 'And Aharman, also, and the demons deceive that man more, and lead *him* to hell, who is poorer

¹ L19 omits 'to effect.'

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 2 n.

⁵ L19 has 'who more fully obtained a share of heaven.'

⁶ See Chap. VIII, 27, where all three are mentioned.

⁷ L19 has 'opulence.'

⁸ This clause occurs only in K43.

⁹ They all three suffered misfortunes in their old age, attributed by the priesthood to neglect of religion, which is here traced to diminution of intellect.

of wisdom and unsteadier in disposition. 23. And *it* is manifest, that, unto *him* who is virtuous in disposition, habit, and demeanour¹, praise is then *due*, owing to his maintenance of wisdom. 24. For *it* is declared, that Aharman shouted to Zaratûst thus²: "If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazdâ-worshippers, then I *will* give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly *existence*, (25) as *was* given to the Vadakân³ monarch Dahâk⁴." 26. On account of complete wisdom, the virtuous disposition and demeanour of Zaratûst not *having* hearkened and not being deluded, he did not become deceived and longing through that temptation of the accursed evil *one*, the wicked⁵. 27. And he spoke to Aharman (28) thus: "I *will* shatter and cause to run (dûkânâ⁶)⁶, and *will* make downcast (nigûîsâr) for thee⁷, the bodies of your demons and fiends, wizards and witches, through the Hô⁸ and sacred twigs⁹, and the good, true

¹ L19 has 'virtuous in disposition and virtuous of demeanour.'

² This is stated, in other words, in Vend. XIX, 23-32.

³ As Vadak is said (Dd. LXXII, 5) to have been the mother of Dahâk, this term may be a matronymic implying 'son of Vadak.'

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁵ This section is a good deal altered in the Pâzand version, but the general meaning is the same.

⁶ L19 has *va vânom*, 'and I *will* smite.'

⁷ L19 has 'and *will* make withered (nizâr).'

⁸ A plant growing in Persia, small twigs of which are pounded in water, and the resulting juice is tasted by the priest during the ceremonial. It is a symbol of the mythic Hô⁸, the producer of immortality (see Chap. LXII, 28). Originally, no doubt, the Hô⁸ (Av. haoma) and the Sans. soma were the same plant (see Dd. XLVIII, 16 n).

⁹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) is a bundle of slender twigs or wires, prepared in a particular manner, to be held in the left hand

religion which the creator Aûharmazd *has* taught to me.” 29. Aharman, when those words *were* heard by him, became confounded and stupefied, and rushed to hell, and remained confounded a long time.

30. ‘This, too, is declared, that Aûharmazd, when Aharman, by agreement¹, had further operated² with his (Aûharmazd’s) creatures and creation of every kind, afterwards formed an assembly with the angels and archangels of every kind³, and the welfare (âvâdîh) due to his own wisdom *was* mentioned and recounted by him.

31. ‘This, too, is declared, that *for* the nine thousand years of renovation⁴, until the resurrection and future existence, wisdom maintains and stimulates the creatures and creation of every kind.

32. ‘And this, too, is declared, that, *as to* him who is an ignorant and bad-tempered man, when he attains even to much eminence, opulence, and authority, even then he is not fit to elevate into that welfare and authority.’

of the priest while reciting certain parts of the liturgy (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n).

¹ The covenant between the good and evil spirits, by which their conflict was limited to nine thousand years (see Bd. I, 18, 19).

² That is, transformed and vitiated them. The Av. frâkerentad (Vend. I, 7), describing the modifying work of the evil spirit upon the creation, is here expressed by frâgö vâdûnd.

³ Such an assembly is mentioned in Vend. II, 42, but its proceedings are not stated.

⁴ So in all versions, but, as the renovation is generally considered as confined to the end of the nine thousand years, we ought perhaps to transpose the words and read ‘*for* the nine thousand years, until the renovation, resurrection, and future existence.’

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when *one* turns the ignorance and foolishness of an ignorant king back to knowledge and cleverness, on account of the sovereignty which is his ; (3) and, *as to* a poor man, who is wise¹, *one* turns the knowledge and sagacity, which are his, back to foolishness and uselessness, on account of the poverty ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'On account of the deceit and violence of the fiend² of greediness (6) men utter more words as to the manliness of every one whose wealth and power are more, and recount *his* deeds and actions more fully ; (7) but, in the eyes of the angels and archangels, a poor *man* who is innocent and wise is better and more precious than a king *or* opulent *man*³ who is ignorant.'

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What are the vices of priests ? 3. What are the vices of warriors ? 4. What are the vices of husbandmen ? 5. And what are the vices of artizans⁴ ?'

6. The spirit of wisdom answered (7) thus : 'The vices of priests are heresy, covetousness, negligence,

¹ L19 adds 'and innocent.'

² L19 has 'demon.'

³ L19 has 'than an opulent king.'

⁴ Literally 'the well-endeavouring,' the lowest of the four classes of the community here mentioned (see also Chaps. XXXI, XXXII).

trafficking (sûḍakîh)¹, attention to trifles, and unbelief in the religion.

8. 'The vices of warriors are oppression, violence, promise-breaking, unmercifulness (an-avôkhshâgâ-vandîh), ostentation (dakhshîh)², haughtiness, and arrogance.

9. 'The vices of husbandmen are ignorance, enviousness, ill-will, and maliciousness.

10. 'And the vices of artizans are unbelief, want of thanksgiving, improper muttering of prayers, moroseness, and abusiveness.'

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of mankind which are more conversant with good and evil?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of mankind *he* whose sojourn³ and business are with the bad⁴, and they provide him a name for good repute and goodness, is the man more conversant with good. 5. And he whose sojourn and business are with the good⁵, and they provide him a name for disrepute, is the man more conversant with evil.

6. 'Because it is said, (7, 8) that whoever joins with the good brings good with *him*, and whoever

¹ Or, perhaps, 'usuriousness.' The Sanskrit version has 'laziness,' as if Nêr. had read âsûḍakîh.

² Nêr. has read gahî, and translated 'incontinence.'

³ Reading nirastô. L19 has 'whose business is most (vêṣ-ast), both here and in § 5.

⁴ L19 has 'the good.'

⁵ L19 has 'the bad.'

joins with the bad *brings*¹ evil—(9) just like the wind which, when it impinges on stench, is² stench, (10) and when it impinges on perfume, is perfume,—(11) *it* is, therefore, notorious³, (12) that he whose business is with the good receives good, (13) and *he* whose business is with the bad *receives*⁴ evil; (14) but, even then, both are to be considered as an experiment (a ûzmâyisnō)⁵.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is the chief of men? Which is the chief of women? 3. Which is the chief of horses? Which is the chief of flying creatures? 4. [Which is the chief of oxen?]⁶ Which is the chief of wild animals? Which is the chief of grains?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'The man who is wise, who is steadfast in the religion, who is well-praising, who is true-speaking is chief over *his* associates.

¹ L19 has 'will bring with *him*' in both clauses, but the repetition is unnecessary in Pahlavi.

² L19 has 'will bring with *it*,' both here and in § 10.

³ L19 has 'proper to know.'

⁴ K43 does not repeat this verb.

⁵ L19 has 'by the result (anzâmesn).' The meaning is that, though a man's character is generally in accordance with the company he keeps, this must not be assumed without proof; and when the contrary is the case, as stated in §§ 4, 5, his own disposition must be of a very decided nature. Nêryôsang seems to have misunderstood the author's argument, and, supposing §§ 6-13 to contain a mere illustration of §§ 4, 5, he considered it necessary to transpose 'the bad' and 'the good' in §§ 4, 5, so as to make the illustration applicable.

⁶ K43 omits the question in brackets.

7. 'The woman who is young¹, who is properly disposed, who is faithful, who is respected, who is good-natured, who enlivens the house, whose modesty and awe are virtuous, a friend of her own father and elders², husband and guardian, handsome and replete with animation³ is chief over the women who are her own associates.

8. 'The ox which is glorious, which is tall-eared, which has a herd *of cows* is chief over oxen.

9. 'The *Kîharâv*⁴ is the chief of birds. 10. The horse which is swift⁵ is the chief of horses. 11. The hare⁶ is the chief of wild animals; *and* wheat⁷ is the chief of grains.'

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'In what place stands Kangdez? 3. Where is the enclosure formed by Yim constructed⁸? 4. In what

¹ L19 has 'talking, eloquent.'

² Nêr. translates nîyâk by 'father's brother,' an elder who is considered as a special protector in India.

³ Reading namag-âkûn, which epithet is omitted in L19.

⁴ A name of the Karsipt, who is said to be the chief of birds in this world (Pahl. Visp. I, 1, Bd. XXIV, 11), the Vis Karsipta who brought the religion to the enclosure formed by Yim (see Vend. II, 138, 139), and which is said, in the Pahlavi version, to be 'a *Kahârvâk* (or *Kahârânâk*) who goes back into the existence of the spirits.' To determine the meaning of this name (which Nêr. translates by Sans. *kakravâka*, 'Brahmany duck') we have to consider not only the two forms *kîharâv* and *kahârvâk*, but also the term *kark*, 'falcon,' used in Bd. XXIV, 11. The *kâm rôs* of Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29 (the *kînâm rôs* of Chap. LXII, 40) is also said to be the chief of birds, but probably mythic birds are meant.

⁵ L19 has 'white,' as in Bd. XXIV, 6.

⁶ See Bd. XXIV, 9.

⁷ See Bd. XXIV, 19.

⁸ L19 omits 'constructed.'

place lies¹ the body of Sâhm? 5. Where is the abode of Srôsh? 6. *In* what place stands the three-legged ass? 7. Where is the Hôrn grown, the preparer of the dead, with which they restore the dead and produce the future existence? 8. In which place is² Gôpaîtôshah? 9. With what work is the Kar fish intrusted? 10. Where has the griffon bird a nest (âsîyân)³? 11. *In* what place sits Kînâmrôs, and what is his work?’

12. The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: ‘Kangdez⁴ is intrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavâyês⁵, (14) on the frontier of Aîrân-vêgô⁶.

15. ‘The enclosure formed by Yim⁷ is constructed in Aîrân-vêgô, below the earth⁸. 16. And every species and seed of all the creatures and creations of Aûhar Mazda, the lord, whatever is better and more select of man and beast *of burden, of* cattle and flying creatures is brought thither⁹. 17. And every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man¹⁰ who are of that place; (18) their life,

¹ L19 has ‘remains.’

² L19 has ‘remains.’

³ L19 has ‘a resting-place.’

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 58, 62.

⁵ Av. Satavaêsa, the western leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Anâhîd (Venus), which may, perhaps, be identified with Antares (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1), though Geiger (Ost. Kul. p. 313) thinks Vega more probable. It also protects the southern seas, and its name is applied to the gulf of ‘Umân in that direction (see Bd. XIII, 9-13, Zs. VI, 16, 18). But its connection with the east, as implied in our text, requires explanation, and throws some doubt upon the reading.

⁶ See Chap. XLIV, 17-23.

⁷ See Chap. XXVII, 27-31.

⁸ So stated in Bd. XXXII, 5, and probably meaning that its position could no longer be discovered on earth. Bd. XXIX, 14 states that it is in the middle of Pârs, below Mount Yimakân.

⁹ See Vend. II, 106-113.

¹⁰ Perhaps we should understand ‘from each woman and each

too, is three hundred years¹, (19) and their pain and disturbance are little².

20. 'The body of Sâhm³ is in the plain of Pê-sândas⁴, near to Mount Dimâvand⁵. 21. And on that plain, except corn and the eatable things they sow and reap *and* live upon, there is not so much as a single other tree⁶, *or* shrub, *or* plant; (22) and its golden colour is mostly wormwood⁷. 23. And the angels and archangels have appointed 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous as a protection for the body of Sâhm⁸, (24) so that the demons and fiends *may* not injure it.

25. 'The abode of Srôsh⁹ is mostly in Arzah¹⁰, and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world.

man,' that is, a couple of children from each couple, which would agree with Vend. II, 134.

¹ Pahl. Vend. II, 136 has 150 years.

² The characteristics mentioned in §§ 17-19 are ascribed to the whole of Aîrân-vêgô in Chap. XLIV, 25, 27, 32.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 49.

⁴ L19 has Pust Gustâspâ, 'the ridge of Vistâsp,' which appears, from Bd. XII, 18, 34, XVII, 8, to have been somewhere in the central desert of Persia. In Bd. XXIX, 7-9, 11 we are told that Sâm lies asleep in the plain of Pêsyânsaî (evidently the Pê-sândas of our text) in Kâvulistân, till he is waked hereafter to slay Dahâk, who escapes from Mount Dimâvand. This legend may have led to the perplexing juxtaposition of Pê-sândas and Dimâvand in our text, and the perplexity occasioned by this may have led Nêr. to substitute Pûst-î Vistâspân for the former name, as being nearer Dimâvand.

⁵ The highest peak of the modern Albûrz, in which Dahâk is said to be confined (see Bd. XII, 31).

⁶ Reading hânô drû-âê; L19 has han mûrd, 'another myrtle-bush.'

⁷ With yellow blossoms.

⁸ As stated in Fravardîn Yt. 61.

⁹ See Chap. II, 115.

¹⁰ The western region, as Savah is the eastern one (see Chap. XVI, 10).

26. 'The three-legged ass¹ sits² amid the sea Varkash³; (27) and *as to* water of every kind that rains on dead matter, the menstrual discharge, and other bodily refuse⁴, when it arrives at the three-legged ass, he makes every kind clean and purified, with watchfulness.

28. 'The Hô⁵m, which is the preparer of the dead, is grown in the sea Varkash, in that which is the deepest place; (29) and 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous are appointed *as* its protection⁶.

30. The Kar fish⁷, too, ever circles around it, and always keeps the frog and other noxious creatures away from it.

31. 'Gôpaitôshah⁸ is in Aîrân-vêgô, within the region of Khvanîras⁹. 32. From foot to mid-body *he* is an ox, and from mid-body to the top *he* is a man. 33. And *at* all times he sits on the sea-shore, (34) and always performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and pours holy-water into the sea. 35. On account of which¹⁰, through the pouring of that holy-water, innumerable noxious creatures in

¹ A prodigious monster of benevolent character, described in Bd. XIX, 1-12; possibly some local divinity.

² L19 has 'stands,' as is also stated in Yas. XLI, 28.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 15.

⁴ L19 adds 'and pollution.'

⁵ The white Hô⁵m or Gôkarn, the tree of immortality (see Bd. XVIII, 1, XXVII, 4). It is 'the preparer of the dead,' because the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from it at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

⁶ Those who watch over the sea Vouru-kasha (see Fravardîn Yt. 59).

⁷ Ten such fish, of enormous size and intense watchfulness, are said to be employed to protect the Gôkarn from a lizard or frog sent by Aharman to injure it (see Bd. XVIII, 2-6).

⁸ See Chap. XLIV, 35n.

⁹ See Chap. XXVII, 40.

¹⁰ L19 omits these four words.

the sea will die. 36. Because, if he does not specially perform that celebration of the ceremonial, and does not pour that holy-water into the sea—where those innumerable noxious creatures shall utterly perish¹—then, whenever the rain shall rain, the noxious creatures *have* to rain just like rain.

37. 'The nest of the griffon bird² is on the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded³. 38. Whenever he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot out from that tree, (39) and when he alights he breaks off the thousand twigs and bites the seed from them. 40. And the bird *Kînâm-rôs*⁴ alights likewise *in* that vicinity; (41) and his work is this, that he collects those seeds which are bitten from the tree of many seeds, which is opposed to harm, and he scatters (*pargandêd*) *them* there where *Tîstar*⁵ seizes the water; (42) so that, while *Tîstar* shall seize the water, *together* with those seeds of all kinds, he shall rain *them* on the world with the rain⁶.'

¹ L19 has 'and those innumerable noxious creatures do not utterly perish.'

² The *Sênô-mûrûv* (Av. *saênô mereghô*) or Simurgh, a mythic flying creature said to suckle its young and to be of three natures like the bat (see Bd. XIV, 11, 24, XIX, 18).

³ L19 has 'of all seeds.' This tree, from which all wild plants are supposed to spring, is said to grow in the sea near the *Gôkarn* tree, and also in *Aîrân-vêgô* (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

⁴ The chief of mythic birds next to the *Sênô-mûrûv*; he is said to defend *Îrân* from invasion by occasionally picking up foreign districts like grains of corn (see Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29).

⁵ The angel who personifies the star *Tîstar* (Sirius, see Chap. XLIX, 5, 6), after a conflict with the demons of drought and thunder (see Bd. VII, 1-13), pours down rain from the cloud, in which he had brought the water from the sea.

⁶ Originally, the archangel *Amerodad* (see Chap. II, 34) is said

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that good work which is greater and better¹ than [all²] good works, and no trouble (angînakö) whatever is necessary for its performance³ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To be grateful in the world, (5) *and* to wish happiness for every one. 6. This is greater and better than every good work, and no commotion (angegînakö) whatever is necessary for its performance⁴.'

Peace and prosperity⁵.

to have mingled the plants with the rain (see Bd. IX, 2) ; but afterwards this was done by the mythic bird (see Bd. XXVII, 3). This legend was evidently intended to account for the rapid appearance of wild plants after rain in dry climates, where all traces of vegetation often disappear during the summer droughts.

¹ L19 inserts 'more valuable and more advantageous.'

² K43 omits 'all.'

³ L19 has 'no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

⁴ This reply is much altered by Nêr. and stands as follows, in L19 :—'To wish happiness for every one ; (5) to be grateful unto the sacred beings and the good ; (6) in every position and time to consider and keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness ; (7) and to be without doubt as to the existence of the sacred beings, the religion and soul, heaven and the account in the three *days*, and the reality of the resurrection and future existence. 8. This, most especially, is the good work which is greater and better, more valuable and more advantageous than all good works, and no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

The text of all versions ends abruptly at this point, without any peroration.

⁵ Only in K43.



SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR,

OR

THE DOUBT-DISPELLING

EXPLANATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For the division into chapters the translator is responsible, but the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

AK (probably written A.D. 1568) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona ; it is now defective, and contains only Chaps. I, 16-XI, 145, but this translation is based upon its text so far as it extends.

BM a modern fragment, Pahl.-Pers., in the British Museum (additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378), containing Chap. I, 1-31.

JE (written A.D. 1842, by Jamshedji Edalji) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji and as complete as this translation, the latter half of which is based upon its text.

JJ (written A.D. 1768, by Jamshedji Jâmâsp Âsâ) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Khurshedji Jamshedji of Nâwsârî, and as complete as this translation.

K28 (about 150 years old) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans., No. 28 in the University Library at Copenhagen ; it is now defective, but contains Chaps. I, 1-II, 8 ; III, 1-25 ; III, 36-IV, 106 ; VIII, 103-IX, 16 ; IX, 30-X, 13 ; X, 71-XI, 28 ; XI, 55-61.

L15 (written about A.D. 1737) Pahlavi, No. 15 in the India Office Library at London. It contains Chaps. I, 4-V, 71.

L23 (written by the same hand) Pâzand, No. 23 in the same library ; containing Chaps. I, 34-VIII, 23.

MH19 (about 150 years old) Pâz.-Gug., No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 1-XI, 201.

PB3 (more than a century old) Pâz.-Sans., No. 3 of the Bur-nouf Collection in the National Library at Paris. It contains Chaps. I, 5-X, 66.

R (modern) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans.-Pers., formerly belonging to Mr. Romer, and now partly in the India Office Library at London, and partly in No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 25-V, 57.

SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of Aûharmazd, the lord, the greatest and wise, [the all-ruling, all-knowing, and almighty, (2) who is a spirit even among spirits, (3) and from his self-existence, single in unity, *was* the creation of the faithful. 4. He also created, by his own unrivalled power, the seven supreme arch-angels¹,] all the angels of the spiritual *and* worldly existences, (5) and the seven worldly characteristics² which are man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, *and* plants.

6. And man *was* created by him, as a control of the creatures, for the advancement of *his* will. 7. From him likewise came³ *at* various times, through

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in several Pahl. MSS., many of which commence at this point, but it is found in K28, BM, and others, and also in the Pâz. MSS. and Sans. version. The first epithet, 'all-ruling,' which it contains is likewise omitted in a few Pâz. MSS., while others add a further laudatory passage at that point, which is evidently a modern interpolation. The seven archangels include Aûharmazd himself (see Bd. I, 26 n).

² So in the Pahl. MSS. and Sans. version, and also in MH19 and PB3, which latter follows the oldest Pâz. MS. (AK) very closely; but §§ 1-16 have been lost from AK itself. Several other Pâz. MSS. substitute 'creations.'

³ So understood by Nêryôsang, but the original Pahlavi could have been translated by 'he likewise sent,' because the Huzvâris yâtûnd, 'came,' and sedrund, 'sent,' are written alike.

his own compassion, mercifulness to his own creatures, religion, and a natural desire of the knowledge of purity *and* contamination. 8. So, also, *as to* the intellect, understanding, wisdom, knowledge, consciousness, *and* guardian spirit—which are the appliances of the soul that are seeking information of these spiritual appliances, the five which are the sight, hearing, smell, taste, *and* touch, (9) through the five worldly appliances, which are the eye, the ear, the nose, the mouth, and the rubbing surfaces of the whole body—(10) he likewise created man with the accompaniment of these appliances, for the management of the creatures.

11. He also created the religion of omniscience like an immense tree, (12) of which *there* are one stem, two branches, three boughs, four twigs, *and* five shoots¹. 13. And its one stem is agreement. 14. The two branches are performance and abstinence. 15. The three boughs are Humat, Hûkht, *and* Huvarst, which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds. 16. The four twigs are the four classes of the religion, by whom the religion *and* world are prepared, (17) which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, *and* artisanship. 18. The five shoots are the five rulers whose scriptural names are the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, *and* the supreme Zaratûst. 19. And the one chief of chiefs, who is the king of kings, is the ruler of the world.

20. Likewise, the work manifested by him in the world—which is man—is in the likeness of these four

¹ The last two terms were, no doubt, Pahl. *sâk* and *barg-gâh*, of which the Pâz. *dêśaa* and *brîśaa* are merely misreadings.

classes of the world. 21. As unto¹ the head is priesthood, (22) unto the hand is warriorship, (23) unto the belly is husbandry, (24) *and* unto the foot is artisanship.

25. So, also, of the four capabilities (*hunarân*) that are in man—which are temper, ability, wisdom, and diligence—(26) unto temper (*khîm*) is priesthood, as the greatest duty of priests is the temper that they do not commit sin on account of shame and fear; (27) unto ability (*hunar*) is warriorship, that is, the most princely adornment of warriors is the ability which is expended, the manliness which is owing to self-possession (*khvadîh*); (28) unto husbandmen is the wisdom (*khirad*) which is strenuous performance of the tillage of the world, and continuance unto the renovation of the universe; (29) *and* unto artisans is the diligence (*tukhshâkîh*) which is the greatest advancement of their class.

30. This arrangement² of every kind is upon one stem, truth and agreement, opposing the fiend and his appliances which are co-existent. 31. These³, which are recounted by me, are of many kinds *and* many species, as many are religious *and* many believing at a period that all are mutually afflicting⁴,

¹ Or 'over.' This comparison of these four parts of the body to the four classes of men is mentioned several times in the *Dînkard*, especially in the latter part of the fourth book.

² That is, the ordinances of religion (see §§ 11-13).

³ The various heterodox religions, here assumed to be appliances of the fiend for misleading mankind, which the author discusses in the course of his arguments hereafter.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. *anbasâ* stands for Pahl. *hanbêshin*, as in Mkh. I, 37. It might be *hû-bêshin*, 'well-afflicting,' but this would not be so easily reconciled with the meaning 'inconsistent' which the word often assumes, as in Chaps. XIII, 145, 147, XV, 77, XVI, 42.

co-existent destroyers *and* injurers, one as regards the other. 32. *And* with the mutual afflictiveness, destructiveness, and combativeness which are theirs, one towards the other, they¹ afterwards also contend against the one truth co-operatively *and* with united strength.

33. The possession of truth is the one power of the faithful, through the singleness of truth. 34. The many kinds of falsehood, *which* must become confused *and* mutually afflicting to many, are, in the aggregate, from one source of deceitfulness.

35. *As to* that, this composition is provided by me, *who* am Mardân-farukh² son of Aûharmazd-dâd, as I saw in the age much religiousness *and* much good consideration of sects (kêshân) of many species; (36) and I have been fervent-mindedly, *at* all times in my whole youthful career, an enquirer *and* investigator of the truth of them. 37. For the same reason I have wandered forth also to many realms *and*³ the sea-shore. 38. And of these compendious statements which, owing thereto⁴, are an enquiry of those desiring the truth, *and*⁵ a collection and selection (vigîdanô) of

¹ The heterodox religions.

² As this name has not been found elsewhere, nothing further is known about the author of this work than can be gathered from the few statements he has made in the work itself. He lived probably in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era, as he mentions the Dînkard edited by Âtûr-frôbag in Chaps. IV, 107, V, 92, IX, 1, 4, X, 57, XII, 1, and also the Rôshan commentary prepared by Âtûr-frôbag's son (see Chaps. X, 53, 54, XI, 213); but he does not allude to the later edition of the Dînkard, prepared by Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, who was living in the latter part of the ninth century (see Bd. XXXIII, 11 n).

³ Sans. 'on.' This statement is very similar to that in Mkh. I, 35.

⁴ Reading *agas*, instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and of it.'

⁵ Reading *afas*, instead of *agas* here.

it, for these memoranda, from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages *and* high-priests of the just—and especially those of the glorified Âtûr-pâdîyâvand¹—the name Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr² is appointed by me. 39. As it is very suitable for explaining away the doubts of new learners about the thorough understanding of the truth, the blessedness and truth of the good religion, and the inward dignity of those free from strife.

40. And it is composed and arranged by me not for the wise and talented, but *for* preceptors (farhangîkân)³ *and* those newly qualified. 41. So that, while many become freer from doubt about the miraculousness and blessedness of the statements of the good religion and primitive faith, (42) I am still begging of distinguished sages, (43) that whoever wants to look, should not look⁴ to the religion of the particular speaker *and* composer, but to the greatness of the truth, blessedness, and definite statements of the ancient sages. 44. Because I, who am the composer, do not hold the station of teaching, but that of learning.

45. And it seemed to me, through liberal thought, a statement, from that knowledge of the religion, destined and important even for new learners. 46. Because *he* who distributes to the worthy, out of the little knowledge which is his, is more acceptable than *he* who knows much *and* the worthy are without benefit *and* without help from him.

47. Since those ancient sages decided, (48) that liberality is of three kinds, of thought, of word, *and*

¹ See Chap. IV, 106.

³ Sans. has 'students.'

² 'Doubt-dispelling explanation.'

⁴ Sans. has 'you should not look.'

of deed. 49. Liberality of thought *being* that whose wishing of happiness for any others whatever, of a like disposition, is as much as for its own. 50. Liberality in word *being* that which teaches to the worthy *something* out of every virtuous knowledge and information which have come to it; (51) just as that which a *certain* sage said (52) thus: 'I desire that I *may* understand all information which is advantageous, and I *will* teach *it* to friends and acquire the result which is obtainable.' 53. *And* the liberality which is in deed *being* that which, out of any benefit whatever that has come to it, is a benefit to the worthy.

54. Again, *it* is a reminding of the good as to the preservation of the soul; (55) *and* for the same reason I *have* arranged that while the wise are kindly observant of me, through their own compassion, they *may* remember about the immortality of the soul. 56. Since it is said, that the eye of him who observes all good creatures with kind eyes is the eye of the sun; (57) because the sun is, indeed, an observer and beautifier with kind eyes for all creatures.

CHAPTER II.

1. The first subject (2) is about several questions *that* the ever-successful Mitrô-aîyyâr¹, son of Mah-

¹ This person, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was probably a layman and evidently a Mazda-worshipper, although his father's name seems to be Muhammadan, either Ma'hmûd or Mu'hammad. The Parsis under a Muhammadan government often adopted Muhammadan names, as they also took Hindu names in India; but, in this case, it is perhaps more probable that the father had become

mâd, from Spâhân¹, asked with good intent *and* not in search of defects, *and* the answer *thereto*.

3. *As to* that which is asked thus: 'Why did Aharman hurry on to the light², and how was it possible to be *so* when *he* is not *of* a like nature with it, though we always see that whatever is not *of* a like nature abstains from a different nature as much as water *does* from fire?' 4. The answer is this, that the cause itself of the hurrying on of Aharman, which *was* to the light, *was his different* nature. 5. And on account of the desire of a destroyer, which was perpetually in his nature, *he* is a destroyer of different natures.

6. Being injured and injuring, however they occur, do not take place except from difference of nature and those of a different nature. 7. Because in those of a like nature there exist similarity of will and unanimity, one towards the other, not injuring and being injured. 8. And those of a different nature, on account of their opposing nature, are destroyers and injurers, one of the other, however they come together. 9. Those of a like nature, on account of unanimity and similarity of nature, are lively³, efficient, and mutually helping, when they come together.

10. The disintegration and separation of like natures is the disunion of different natures. 11. Just

a convert to Muhammadanism, and changed his name accordingly, after his son had grown up.

¹ The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

² In Bd. I, 9, 10 we are told that when the evil spirit arose from the abyss, he rushed in to destroy the light which he then saw for the first time, but was frightened away by its bravery and glory.

³ So understand by Nêr., but zîvihend may mean 'they are graceful,' or it may be a misreading of zênihend, 'they are armed.'

as heat *and* cold which, on account of *their* opposing nature, are destroyers and injurers, resisting *and* disintegrating one another, through *their* perpetual nature. 12. Because every disintegration is owing to the laws (rastagân) of cold and dryness, heat and moisture, (13) and *their* destruction, injuring, *and* opposition of one another. 14. For the disintegration of bodies is owing to the perpetual struggling of heat and cold, dryness and moisture; (15) *and* owing to their struggling, one with the other, bodies are disintegrated *and* disabled.

16. Of water and fire, through their own nature, no injury whatever is manifest; (17) but the cold of *their* fraternization¹ is mingled with the moisture of the water, *and* is an opponent of the heat of the fire; (18) and the dryness of *their* fraternization is mingled with the heat of the fire, *and* is counteractingly an injurer of the moisture *of* the water.

CHAPTER III.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'Why does not the creator Aûharmazd keep Aharman back from evil doing and evil seeking, when he is the mighty maker? 3. As I assert that no mighty maker is afterwards imperfect *nor* yet unresisting.'

4. The answer is this, (5) that the evil deeds of Aharman are owing to the evil nature and evil will which are always his, as a fiend. 6. The omnipotence of the creator Aûharmazd is that which is over all *that* is possible to be, and is limited *thereby*.

¹ When water comes in contact with fire.

7. That which is not possible to be is not stirred up *by* a capable *or* an incapable being. 8. Whoever says *it is so* is not within the limits of understanding the words. 9. Because, though he said that it is not possible to be, he says again that the sacred being is capable of it, *and* that *has* brought it out of the limits of *what* is not possible to be. 10. For then *it* is not the not-possible, but the possible to be.

11. As his capability is limited, so also is *his* will, thereby. 12. For *he* is sagacious, (13) and the will of a sagacious *being* is all for that which is possible to be, (14) and his will does not pass on to that which is not possible¹, (15) because he wills all that which is possible *and* fit to be.

16. If I say that the creator Aûharmazd is able to keep Aharman back from the evil which is his perpetual nature, (17) it is possible to change that nature which is demoniacal into a divine *one*, and that which is divine into a demoniacal *one*; (18) and it is possible to make the dark light, and the light dark.

19. *Of* the changing of a nature by its own self those not understanding nature speak, (20) who are uninformed of the nature of the result² in actions *and* propensities³; (21) and they account the wolf *and* noxious creatures as a benefit.

¹ Sans. adds 'to be,' and is followed by most of the modern MSS.

² Pâz. vazîhasn, probably a misreading of Pahl. uzdahisn.

³ Pâz. gadasni, both here and in Chaps. IV, 56, VIII, 122, 123, 126, XII, 64, evidently means 'disposition, peculiarity.' It is probably a misreading of Pahl. guzinisn, occasioned by some writer connecting the two letters zn and so converting them into a t (d).

22. Since the harm and evil which *arise* from mankind and cattle are not naturally their own, but are owing to the havoc, deceit, solicitation, *and* deluding¹ of the fiend, (23) *they* are from the like vileness of other fiends who are such as the malice, wrath, and lust² which are mingled with mankind.

24. Just as the swallowing of bitter medicine, which is mingled with poison, is not the accomplishment of happiness, but for the removal of the pain and sickness which are owing to an extraneous nature (*barâ gôhar*). 25. As of a statement which is true *or* false—(26) though it *may* be that, connected with a false statement, a righteous man is preserved from much harm, and is ruined by that which is true—(27) mostly that benefit is not from the false statement, but from the removal of the destruction and evil which are mingled with the vile, (28) and that harm is not from the true statement, but from the evil which is mingled with the vile.

29. Also, as regards that which *happens* when opponents have appeared *in order* to remove each one its own competitor, (30) every one is unrestricted³ *in* keeping away that which is its own opponent, (31) such as light *and* darkness, perfume *and* stench, good works *and* crime, erudition *and* ignorance. 32. That *which* is not unrestricted is the

¹ Nêr. reads *vyâwānî*, which he understands to mean 'bewildering,' but it is doubtful if we can derive this meaning from *vyâwān*, 'a waterless wilderness,' which word occurs in Chap. XIV, 30. The original Pahlavi word can be also read either *nîyâzânîh*, 'cause of longing, temptation,' or *nihâzânîh*, 'intimidation.'

² Evil passions which are personified as fiends (see Mkh. XLI, 10, 11).

³ Reading *atang*, instead of the similarly-written *âtûk* which would be the equivalent of the Pâz. *atû* (Sans. *śakta*) used by Nêr.

light to keep away stench, nor the perfume darkness; (33) but they have each separately appeared *in order* to keep away their own opponent.

34. *As to* that, too, which they say¹, that in the dark night a righteous man is preserved from the lion, wolves, dogs, and robbers, (35) *while* in the light day he becomes a captive² in their hands, (36) it is not proper to consider that as a benefit owing to darkness, nor yet as an evil owing to light. 37. Because light is created for the removal of darkness, not for the keeping away of the lion, wolf, and noxious creatures. *And there are* many other *things* which are of this nature. 38. On account of tediousness *this* is collected *merely* as a summary; the virtue *and* understanding of you triumphant *ones* (39) are so much, that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER IV.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'When I always see that all things ever arise from the *celestial* sphere and stars, (3) and who created this sphere, then it is like that *which* those of the Vîrôd³ religion say, that he created good and evil. 4. If Aharman

¹ For the purpose of arguing that evils are sometimes advantageous, and may, therefore, form part of the design of a beneficent spirit.

² Or grôh may mean 'a hostage.'

³ Compare Sans. viruddha, 'perverse, contradictory,' or Pers. bulûd, 'antiquity.' It is possible that Muhammadanism is alluded to, as that religion is hardly ever mentioned by name in Pahlavi writings, probably from motives of policy.

created *anything*, how did he become able to create the effect of these marvellous things, (5) *and why is it* when they are stars by which assistance of virtue is always bestowed? 6. If Aûharmazd and Aharman created in conference, then that way *it* is manifest that Aûharmazd is an accomplice *and* confederate, with Aharman, in the harm and evil which ever arise from the *celestial* sphere.' 7. The answer is this, (8) that the *celestial* sphere is the place of the divinities (baghân), who are the distributors of happiness, from which they always justly bestow their distribution of every happiness. 9. And the forms of the seven planets (star) are witches who rush below them, despoilers who are antagonistic distributors, (10) whose scriptural name is Gadûg¹.

11. *Through* the creator Aûharmazd *was* the arrangement of these creatures and creation, methodically *and* sagaciously, and for the sake of the continuance of the renovation *of the universe*. 12. As the evil spirit *was* entangled in the sky, that fiend, with evil astuteness *and* with lying falsehood, encompassed² *and* mingled with the light, *together* with the fiends of crimes of many kinds, who are those of a gloomy race, *thinking* thus: 'I *will* make these creatures *and* creation of Aûharmazd extinct, or I must make *them* for my own.'

13. Those luminaries, the highest of those of the

¹ Av. gadha, a term for 'a brigand' which is used in conjunction with witches and other evil beings in the Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, 5, 6.

² Supposing that the Pâz. frawast (fravast in § 16) stands for Pahl. parvast, as in Chaps. VIII, 96, 97, XIV, 73, XVI, 56, 60, 66-69, 71, 72; but as Nêr. uses Sans. prasarpita, pravish/a, pravartita, samudgata, and samutpatita to translate the word, he must have assumed that it stood for frazast (Pahl. fragast, 'sprang forth').

good *being*, became aware, by means of omniscience, of the blemishing operation and the lies *and* falsehoods of the fiend, (14) *and* of this too, that is, of what extent *was* this power of his, by which this blemishing operation and work of ruin creep on¹, (15) so that, henceforth, *there* exists no power whatever for its restoration, which is *free* from the complete daubing of restraint, pain, and entanglement that is inside the sky.

16. It is they² who are sagaciously mingled by him (the good being) with the substance of the luminaries, because that fiend encompassed and *was* entangled with his luminaries, therefore all his powers and resources are for the purpose of not allowing the fiends of crimes of many kinds their own performance of what is desirable for them each separately; (17) such as the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures which the four elements (*zahakân*), pertaining to *Aûharmazd*, [keep enveloped³. 18. For if this fiendish venom of the noxious creatures] does not remain entangled [with the four elements of the bodily formations pertaining to *Aûharmazd*]³—which are water, fire, earth, and air—*it is* just as though they came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*. 19.

¹ Sans. 'will retreat,' as if *Nêr.* understood the pronoun 'his' to refer to the good spirit, instead of the evil one; the application of the pronouns in §§ 14, 15 being by no means clear in the original text.

² The spiritual representatives of the luminaries, who are angels.

³ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, L₂₃, so that §§ 17, 18, in those MSS., stand as follows:—'Since the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures, that the four elements pertaining to *Aûharmazd*—which are water, fire, earth, and air—have not entangled, is just as though they (the creatures) came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*.'

And if they attained to spirituality and a disembodied existence, it would not be possible for those creatures of Aûharmazd to avoid *and* escape from that demoniacal venom of theirs. 20. It would be in the grasp (grôhê)¹ and mingled with the breath (vâd) of mankind *and* the other creatures, *and their* restoration, support, increase, *and* growth would not be possible.

21. So they² also keep those planets enveloped in light, because the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures is in the substance of *those* luminaries.

22. On account of that, too, the existence of somewhat of advantage is manifest from the serpent species, which are dissolving venom from the multitudes of other wild animals *and* noxious creatures³.

23. So also from the planets; on account of the commingling of the inferior splendour of *those* luminaries, benefit is manifested by them.

24. A similitude of these planets *and* the benefit which they always bestow (25) is such as the brigands (gadûgân)⁴ *and* highwaymen who interrupt the path of traders in a caravan. 26. They abstract important things *from* many, (27) *and* do not grant and give *them* to the diligent *and* worthy, but to sinners, idlers, courtezans, paramours, *and* the unworthy.

28. *Observe* this, too, that this performance of good works which astrologers compute and state from those planets is for this reason, (29) when they have not preferred the method of the divinities

¹ Or grôhê may mean 'an assemblage.'

² The angels of the luminaries.

³ Which they eat, and thereby diminish the number of such objectionable creatures.

⁴ See § 10 n.

(baghân) who are distributing welfare, and that, also, of the five constellations pertaining to Aûhar-mazd—which are the great *one*¹ that is supreme and measurable², Haptôiring³, created by Mazda⁴, and the stars Vanand⁵, Satavês⁶, and Tistar⁷—as regards the brigands (gadûgân)⁸ and distributors of evil. 30. And those are the five planets that rush below them in the shape of stars, and they keep *them* enveloped in light, which are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. 31. Since the supreme constellation, the great *one* of the north-opposing⁹ (32) Haptôiring, is opposing Saturn, (33) Haptôiring, created by Mazda, is opposing Jupiter, (34) Vanand, the smiter of noxious creatures, is opposing Mars, (35) the star Satavês is opposing Venus, (36) and the star Tistar is opposing the planetary Mercury¹⁰, (37) the welfare, which they say is from those brigands (gadûgân), is from those five constellations per-

¹ Called 'the great *one* of the middle of the sky' in Bd. II, 8, V, 1, which has not yet been identified, but may be Regulus or Orion.

² Sans. 'very visible.'

³ See Mkh. XLIX, 15-21, where it is called Haptôk-ring.

⁴ This epithet is often applied to Haptôiring, Vanand, and Satavês.

⁵ See Mkh. XLIX, 12-14.

⁶ See Mkh. LXII, 13.

⁷ See Mkh. XLIX, 5, 6.

⁸ The planetary witches (see § 10).

⁹ Or it may be 'planetary-opposing,' or 'north-accepting.' The dislocation, and probable corruption, of these sections is due to Nêr., who evidently considered the epithet mazdadhâta, 'created by Mazda,' as the name of one of the constellations, and 'great' and 'supreme' as mere epithets of Haptôiring. But he found it difficult to adapt the text to this opinion of his.

¹⁰ These oppositions agree with those mentioned in Bd. V, 1, except that Haptôiring is there opposed to Mars, and Vanand to Jupiter.

taining to Aûharmazd, (38) as they obtain the triumph of much power *and* little injury.

39. And for the sake of not leaving these five planets to their own wills, they are bound *by* the creator, Aûharmazd, each one by two threads (*gîk*), to the sun (Mihir) and moon. 40. And their forward motion and backward motion are owing to the same cause. 41. There are *some* whose length of thread is longer, such as Saturn and Jupiter, (42) and there are *some of* which *it* is shorter, such as Mercury and Venus. 43. Every *time* when they go to the end of the threads, they draw *them* back from behind, (44) and they do not allow them to proceed by their own wills, (45) so that they *may* not injure the creatures.

46. And those two fiends that are greatly powerful, who are opponents of the planetary sun and moon, move below the splendour of *those* two luminaries¹. 47. Another—even that which is called the brigand (*gadûg*) of the stars, as regards the welfare that exists²—is likewise confined below the splendour of the sun. 48. And when it³ gets far from control, it commits damage and harm on the constellation into which it springs, *and* on the quarter which is the particular concern of that constellation, (49) until it

¹ Referring to the supposed cause of eclipses, which are said to be occasioned by two dark bodies revolving below the sun and moon, so as to pass between them and the earth whenever an eclipse occurs (see Dd. LXIX).

² Referring to the supposed injurious influence of comets which, as they usually appear one at a time to the unassisted eye, are here assumed to be a single evil being, the Mûspar of Bd. V, 1, 2.

³ We should perhaps say 'she,' as a *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually considered to be a female being, and the Mûspar or Mûs-pairika is a witch.

becomes again, a second *time*, bound *and* fettered *to* the sun.

50. The statement which they offer about it¹ (51) is this, the conflict of the superior beings within the star station. 52. Out of the inferior of those are the conflicts of Tistar and the demon Spenzagar², (53) *of* the fire Vâzist³ and the demon Avâush⁴, (54) *and of* other good spirits with gloomy ones, for the formation of rain and allotment of welfare to the creatures.

55. Below them are mankind and cattle, noxious creatures and deadly *ones*⁵, and other creatures that are good and bad. 56. Because propensities (gadasni) are mingled with mankind, (57) which are greed, lust, malice, wrath, and lethargy, (58) wisdom, temper, skill, knowledge, understanding, and intellect, (59) as the good influences and bad influences are called, which are the causes of good works and sin.

60. All this welfare of the creatures⁶ is specially owing to the creator of the creatures, (61) who is himself the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer of protection, nourisher, and caretaker, preserving his own creatures. 62. And, for his own creatures, he

¹ Meaning, probably, the reason given by the astrologers for the good works mentioned in § 28.

² The demon of thunder (see Bd. VII, 12).

³ The lightning (see Bd. XVII, 1).

⁴ The demon of drought (see Bd. VII, 8, 10, 12, XXVIII, 39). These two conflicts represent the struggle between rain and drought, which culminates in the thunderstorm; Tistar (Sirius) being the bringer of rain.

⁵ So in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but other MSS. have *mâr*, 'serpent,' instead of *mar*, though Nêr. uses Sans. *nrīṣamsa*.

⁶ Which is manifest in the world around us.

has thoroughly created and taught the means of preservation from evil, and the appliances for abstaining from crime.

63. A semblance, too, of him is such as a wise orchard-owner and gardener who wishes to diminish the wild animals and birds which are mischievous and destructive for his orchard by spoiling the fruit of the trees. 64. And that wise gardener, effacing (*padasâê*) his own little trouble, for the sake of keeping those mischievous wild animals away from his own orchard, arranges the appliances which are necessary for the capture of those wild animals, (65) such as springes, traps, and snares for birds. 66. So that when a wild animal sees the snare, and wishes to proceed with suspicion of it, through unconsciousness of the springe and trap he is captured therein.

67. This is certain, that, when a wild animal falls into a trap, *it* is not a victory of the trap, but that of the arranger of the trap, (68) *and* through him the wild animal is captured in the trap. 69. The proprietor *and* orchard-owner, who is the arranger of the trap, is aware through sagacity that the wild animal is powerful, *and* to what extent and how long a time. 70. The power and strength of that wild animal, which are in its body, are exhausted and poured *out* by struggling, as much as it is able, in demolishing the trap and *in* endeavouring to destroy *and* spoil the springe. 71. And when, on account of imperfect strength, its power of struggling totters *and* is exhausted, that wise gardener then, by his own will and his own result of determination, wisely throws that wild animal out of the trap, with *its* existing nature *and* exhausted strength. 72. *And*

he consigns his own trap and springe, rearranged *and* undamaged, back to the storehouse.

73. Even like him is the creator Aûharmazd, who is the preserver of creations and arranger of creatures¹, the disabler of the evil original evolution² and protector of his own orchard from the injurer. 74. The mischievous wild animal, which is the spoiler of the orchard, is that accursed Aharman who is the hurrier *and* disturber of the creatures. 75. The good trap is the sky, in which the good creations are lodging, (76) *and* in which the evil spirit and *his* rudimentary³ miscreations are captured. 77. And *pertaining* to the springe and trap of the wild animal, who is mischievous owing to his own wilfulness, is the exhauster (78) time that, for the struggling of Aharman and his powers *and* resources, is for the long period⁴ (79) which, through the struggling of the wild animal in the springe and trap, is an exhaustion of its strength. 80. The sole⁵

¹ Nêr. has 'of the trap' in Sanskrit. The Pâz. dām, meaning both 'creature' and 'trap.'

² Reading būn gastak instead of būn yastak, as the word has evidently no reference to any form of worship. It cannot be translated 'original perversion' (a possible meaning of the word) because there are two of them (see § 103 and Chap. VIII, 101), one competing with the other (see Chap. VIII, 1), which, as one of them is here said to be evil, implies that the other is good and cannot, therefore, be a perversion; nor would this term be applicable in Chap. VI, 6 or XV, 56.

³ Or it may be 'primitive,' as kâdmon is the Huzvâris form of the Pâz. khâmast (superlative of Pers. 'hâm, 'immature') here used.

⁴ So in all the older MSS., but in Sans. it 'is the long-time lord,' a common Avesta epithet of 'time,' and this alteration has been introduced into JE, R, and a few other modern MSS.

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. awâz stands for ewâz. The word is omitted by Sans., K28, L15.

creator of the creatures arranges a preservation again, which is the preparation of an eternal happy progress *free* from his adversary, which that wise orchard-owner *does with* his own trap and springe¹.

81. Then² the scanty power and want of ability of that fiend for it, in his struggling for the luminaries, are manifest even from this. 82. When as with lying falsehood he thought thus³: 'I *will* make this sky and earth and the creatures of Aûharmazd extinct, or I *will* turn *them* from their own nature and bring *them* to my own,' (83) even then, with *all* the power, desire of destruction, and perpetual struggling of the fiend, no slaughter whatever *by* the demons is *free* from effectual limits; it is this earth and sky, and these creatures, (84) *that* are propagating from few to many, as is manifest, (85) and innumerable *persons* are convinced of it. 86. For, if in this struggling any victory should have specially occurred, it would have been impossible to attain from few to many.

87. Moreover, if the births of the worldly *existence* are mostly manifest through the occurrence of death therein, even then it is seen that that death is not a complete dissolution of existence, but a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty⁴. 88. For, as the existence of all these creations is *derived* from the four elements, *it* is manifest to the sight *that* those worldly bodies of theirs are to be mingled again with the four elements. 89. The spiritual *parts*, which are the rudimentary appliances of the life

¹ As stated in § 72.

² Reading adînas, 'then for it,' which is the original Pahlavi indicated by the Pâz. ainâ of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ See § 12.

⁴ Compare Chap. XII, 79.

stimulating the body, are mingled with the soul—(90) on account of unity of nature they are not dispersed—(91) and the soul is accountable (amâr-hômand) for its own deeds. 92. Its treasurers¹, also, unto whom its good works and offences are intrusted, advance there for a contest. 93. When the treasurer of the good works is of greater strength, she preserves it, by her victory, from the hands of the accuser², *and* settles *it* for the great throne and the mutual delightfulness of the luminaries; (94) and it is assisted eternally in virtuous progress. 95. And when the treasurer of its offences is of greater strength, it is dragged, through her victory, *away* from the hands of the helper³, (96) *and* is delivered up to the place of thirst and hunger and the agonizing abode of disease⁴. 97. And, even there, those feeble good works, which *were* practised by it in the worldly *existence*, are not useless to it; (98) for, owing to *this* same reason, that hunger and thirst and punishment are *inflicted* on it proportionately to the sin, *and* not lawlessly, (99) because *there* is a watcher⁵

¹ Nêr. divides the word gangôbar, 'treasurer,' into the three words gang u bar, 'treasure and produce.' These treasurers are the female spirits who meet the soul after death, with its stores of good works and sins (see Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5), and symbolize its good and bad conscience, represented by a beautiful maiden and a frightful hag, respectively.

² The accuser is any person or thing of the good creation that has been injured by any sin, and who must be satisfied by atonement before the sin can be remitted. The question, therefore, to be settled, when the account of the soul is rendered, is whether its good works are sufficient to atone for its sins. In this case the treasurer of offences represents the accusers.

³ The treasurer of good works.

⁴ That is, to the torments of hell.

⁵ Either the treasurer of its good works, or the good works themselves.

of the infliction of its punishment. 100. And, ultimately, the compassionate creator, who is the forgiver of the creatures, does not leave any good creature captive in the hands of the enemy¹. 101. *But*, one day², he saves even those who are sinful, *and* those of the righteous through atonement for sin, by the hands of the purifiers, *and* makes *them* proceed on the happy course which is eternal.

102. The conclusion is this, that the creator is the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer and nourisher, protecting *and* preserving the creatures³; not a producer of the disease, a causer of the pain, and an inflicter of the punishment of his own creatures. 103. And it is more explicitly written below, with the arrangement of the two original evolutions⁴, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being⁵, and the contemplators of unity⁶.

104. As ordered and requested by you it is provided (padarâst); do you direct and observe *it* with kind regards. 105. Because, as written above⁷ by us, I do not hold the station of teaching, but really that of learning. 106. Even this teaching of doctrines is that which *was* obtained by me, through the religion of wisdom⁸, from the writing (nipîk) of Âtûr-pâdîyâvand⁹, and is here indicated. 107. And his teachings

¹ Compare Chap. XII, 59.

² Assuming that Pâz. gumê is a misreading of Huz. yôm-1.

³ Compare § 61.

⁴ See § 73 n, Chaps. V, 46-IX, 45.

⁵ Chap. V.

⁶ Chap. X.

⁷ Chap. I, 44.

⁸ It is doubtful whether this dîni-i-khard was the name of a book now unknown, as the phrase admits of reasonable translation.

⁹ This writer is also mentioned in Chaps. I, 38, IX, 2, X, 52, but his name has not yet been found elsewhere. As he does not

are in the *Dînkard*¹ manuscript (*nipîk*), which the supremely learned Âtûr-frôbag², son of Farukh-zâd, who was the leader of those of the good religion, explained out of *his* knowledge of the religion, *and* which consists of a thousand subjects³.

108. Of that, too, which is asked by you about unlimitedness and limitation, I have written below⁴, through the will of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER V.

1. Another subject, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being, is about the existence of the sacred being and his competitor.

2. Of the knowledge approvable by wisdom and the statements of the limits of evidence, *about* the existence of the sacred being and his competitor, (3)

appear to be mentioned in that portion of the *Dînkard* known to be extant, his writings were probably embodied in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered.

¹ The most extensive Pahlavi work in existence, of which only Books III-IX are extant; they contain about 170,000 words and are a summary of the religious opinions, customs, legends, and literature of the *Mazda*-worshippers, compiled probably in or before the eighth century of the Christian era from earlier records.

² An early editor of the *Dînkard*, 'acts of the religion.' His selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that work. He appears to have been succeeded in the editorship by his son Zarâtûst. And when their manuscript became worn out, it was finally re-edited by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmîd, who lived in the latter part of the ninth century. All these three editors were 'leaders of the good religion,' and are mentioned in the last paragraphs of the third book of the *Dînkard*.

³ Pâz. daraa means rather 'subject' than 'chapter' (Pâz. dar).

⁴ See Chap. XVI, 53-107.

this is a summary :—*One* knows it should be enjoined, that the supreme first knowledge, most *suitable* for the well-discerning, is comprehending the sacred being. 4. He, of whom this knowledge is not the leader of knowledge, is unaided by other knowledge. 5. Comprehending the sacred being is possible through undecayed¹ understanding, fervent intellect, and decisive wisdom.

6. Since comprehending the sacred being is not, thus far, more than *that one* knows that a sacred being exists, (7) because whoever is acquainted with the existence of a certain thing, and is unaware of its nature, is thinking thus, that that thing is good or bad, erudite or ignorant, antidote or poison, cold *and* frozen or hot and scorching, dry *and* withering or damp, (8) and, when unaware of its nature, his only knowledge of it is then useless—(9) for it is possible to cause the commendation and condemnation of any person *or* thing, not through *its* existence but through *its* nature—(10) *therefore one* knows this should be also enjoined, that a knowledge of² anything is *acquired* in three modes :—(11) by knowing *what* is inevitable, or by knowing *what* is analogous, or by *what* is possible *and* fit to exist.

12. Inevitable knowledge is such as once one is one, and twice two are four. 13. For within the bounds of the really inevitable it is not possible to say, (14) that *there was or will* be a time, or a place, where twice two are said *to be* five or three.

15. Knowledge *by* analogy is that which announces, from anything manifest, something which is not

¹ Assuming that Pâz. agunast (Sans. anâvila) stands for Pahl. agôndîd; but it may stand for Pahl. agûngîd, 'unsilenced.'

² Sans. inserts 'the nature of.'

manifest, (16) and brings, out of anything visible, something invisible, in the likeness of a hand put up¹, for the household service of the perception of wisdom, (17) through complete similarity, resemblance, *or* partial resemblance.

18. Complete similarity is such as *that of* a man of Pârs to a man of another district. 19. Resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to the white of an egg. 20. And partial resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to chalk, (21) since this is about the limit of partial resemblance, because cheese is like unto chalk only in whiteness, (22) *but to* the white of an egg in whiteness and also *as* food.

23. And there is also *that* which is called more resembling than resemblance, and more partially resembling *than* partial resemblance. 24. That which is more *than* complete similarity is not spoken about, (25) because completion does not become more complete.

26. By this mode *it* is set forth a second time at more length. 27. To demonstrate an invisible from a visible thing is such as from a thing made and maintained, which is not domestically serving the maker and maintainer, (28) and from a thing written, whose writer is not declared, (29) are manifest a maker of that *which is* made, a maintainer of that *which is* maintained, *and* a writer of that *which is* written, who are inevitable, (30) because that which is not manifest *and* is invisible is demonstrated by the thing which is manifest and visible.

31. Information of that which is within the possible *and* fit to exist is credible, (32) such as what *one*

¹ As a finger-post.

states thus : ' I saw a man by whom a lion, or a lion by whom a man, *was* slain outright.' 33. And this, *being* that which is within the limits of the possible *and* fit to exist, may be a lie. 34. But when a man announces that intelligence, who is renowned for truth and tested in judgment, it is within the limits of truth and reality. 35. If a man announces *it*, who is disgraced by falsehood and tested in misjudgment, it is within the limits of falsehood and unreality.

36. Another mode, outside of these *and* within the limits of the inevitable, is *by knowing what has* not occurred *and* is not possible ; (37) such as what *one* states thus : ' It is possible to bring the world, in secrecy, into the inside of an egg,' (38) or ' it is possible *for* an elephant to pass into an eye of a needle,' (39) *in* such a manner *as* though one of *them* really becomes no greater and no less, (40) or *its* substance is something which is not a rudiment.

41. A struggle which should not be limited, (42) an existing thing which is not temporary and localised, (43) or is localised *and* not limited, (44) the working of a vain miracle, (45) and other *things* of this description of speaking *and* imagining are faulty and false and not possible.

46. Then¹ the knowledge of the existence of him who is the exalted sacred being, apart from tangibility of nature and other evidence, is through the inevitable and analogy, (47) as much visible before the sight of wisdom as from the prosperity², formation, and organization which are, according to dif-

¹ Reading *adînas*, ' then of him,' for *Pâz. ainâ*, as in Chap. IV, 81. Having explained the modes of arguing, in §§ 12-45, the author now returns to the argument itself.

² So in Sans., but *bâhar-hômandîh* also means ' divisibility.'

ferent statements of many kinds, the formation of the things of the world and mankind whose particles, *and* the appliances which are owing thereto, are such as the elements of the body *and* life, from which¹ they are prepared *and* formed, (48) which are fire, water, air, *and* earth, (49) that are, each separately, a stimulus so qualified and ennobled for their own operations, (50) that the operation of fire, through its own quality (*kîharîh*) and nobility (*vâspûhara-kânîh*), is such that the operations of water, air, *and* earth are not to stimulate unrestricted (*atang*)² by it. 51. Thus, also, the operation of water, through its own quality, is such that the operations of air, fire, *and* earth are not *unrestricted* by it. 52. So, also, of air, the operations of fire, water, *and* earth are not *unrestricted by it*. 53. So, also, of earth, the operations of these *others* are to stimulate not unrestricted *by it*. 54. But each separately is for its own operation, just as they are ennobled *and* qualified (55) by him who is, sagaciously *and* methodically, a qualifier, a constructor, and an ennobler. 56. *And* the organization is constructed, prepared, qualified, *and* ennobled as is suitable for those operations.

57. So, also, *as to* mankind and the other creatures, who are the germinating of these elements, (58) whose organization of bone, fat, sinew, veins, and skin, each separately (59) without sympathy, one for the other, is visible altogether. 60. Thus, too, are the nobility *and* qualification of the internal organs, (61) such as the liver, heart³, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, *and*

¹ Reading *mûn azas* for *Pâz. ke vas*.

² See Chap. III, 30 n.

³ Assuming that *Pâz. dawur* is a misreading of *Pahl. dîl*.

other appliances, *for* every one of which a function of its own is manifest. 62. They are qualified *and* ennobled for their defence by those functions which are their own.

63. So, also, is the qualification of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, mouth, teeth, hand, foot, *and* other external appliances, whose own functions are each separate. 64. And *it* is visibly manifest therein; inasmuch as, when one of these organs is disabled, any *one* of the rest is not suitable for the work of that other *one*, for which it is not qualified. 65. And when only the construction of one of the organs of the body is examined into—that is, how *it is*—it is wonderfully sagaciously constructed¹.

66. Such as the eye, which is of many natures of different names and different purposes, (67) as the eyelash, the eyelid, the white, the eyeball (khâyak), the iris (sâyak), *and* the pupil (têḍak), (68) *in* such way that the white is fat², (69) the iris is water which *has* so stood in the prison³ of fat that the turning of the eye, from side to side, occurs through it, (70) *and* the pupil, itself the sight, is like a view into the water. 71. The iris stands in the prison of white, like the standing of water in a prison of fat; (72) and the pupil is within the iris, like the view of a thing within clear water, (73) *or* the form of a column in

¹ So in Sans., but the Pahl. text may be translated 'how wonderful *it is*, it is sagaciously constructed.'

² Assuming that Pâz. *pegh*, as well as *pih* in § 69 and *peh* in § 71, stands for Pahl. *pîk* (Pers. *pî*), 'fat.' It might also be connected with Pers. *pikah*, 'a veil,' as Nêr. seems to have understood it here; but 'fat' suits the whole context better.

³ Reading *lag*, instead of *rag*, 'a vein,' which latter is adopted by Nêr. both here and in § 71.

a shining mirror. 74. And the arrangement of the white *in* the orbit is for the reason that the dust whirling from the atmosphere, when it arrives at the eye, shall not be concealed in it, (75) *but* shall turn to the lid (gumb) of the eye, (76) and shall not injure the sight of the eye. 77. Just as the construction of the tube (rag) of the ear is undilated (afâhal), for the reason (78) that whirls of dust and winged noxious creatures shall not rightly enter therein. 79. And the moisture of oneself, the secretion of the ear, and the venom of noxious creatures are manifestly as *useful*¹.

80. When the appliances of life and soul are observed—(81) such as the smell, hearing, sight, taste, and touch which are causing the intelligence of living beings, (82) as also the wisdom of every pontiff (rad), *which* is pronounced decisive, (83) the knowledge which is acquiring, (84) the intellect which is a seeker *and* transmitter, (85) the understanding which is a treasurer *and* defender, (86) the consciousness which is itself the sight of the soul, (87) the guardian spirit (fravash) which is itself the nature that is a maintainer of the body, (88) the spiritual life (ahû) which is pure, (89) and the other spiritual *existences* that are maintaining the body, which are each separately qualified, in that manner², *for* their operation and duty—(90) they are perfect in their own operation, as to duty such as they are ennobled *and* qualified *for*. 91. As to that *for* which they are not qualified, they are not suitable.

92. The two *arguments* which are each separate

¹ As means of defence.

² By the assistance of the senses mentioned in § 81.

in the Dînkard manuscript, as the supremely learned *one*¹ has explained *them* out of *his* knowledge of the religion, are here set forth at length. 93. *He* whose wish is to fully understand the wonderfulness of the Mazda-worshipping religion and the statements of the primitive faith, (94) examines into it in a manuscript of that character, (95) *and* shall understand more fully the wonderfulness and truth of the religion².

CHAPTER VI.

1. *As to* another delusion³ of those asserting the non-existence of a sacred being—(2) whom they call atheistical (daharî)⁴—(3) that they are ordained *free* from religious trouble (alag) and the toil of practising good works, (4) and the unlimited twaddle (drâyisn)⁵ they abundantly chatter, (5) you⁶ should observe this:—6. That they account this world, with the much change and adjustment of description of its members *and* appliances, *their* antagonism to one another, and their confusion with one another, *as* an original evolution⁷ of boundless time. 7. And this, too, that there is no reward of good works, no punishment of sin, no heaven and hell, and no stimulator of good works and crime. 8. Besides

¹ Âtûr-frôbag (see Chap. IV, 107).

² Nearly all the Pahlavi manuscripts of this work terminate here.

³ Pâz. vyâwânî (see Chap. III, 22 n).

⁴ Sans. digambara refers this term to Buddhist ascetics, the nearest approach to atheists with which Nêr. was acquainted.

⁵ A contemptuous term for the speech of evil beings.

⁶ Or it may be '*one*,' as the Sanskrit uses the third person.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 73 n.

this, that things are only worldly, and there is no spirit.

9. As I *have* written and shown above¹—(10) that to be made without a maker, and decided without a decider, is as impossible as to prepare *what* is written without a writer, *or* a house without a mortar-mixer (râz)² and building (dêsâk)—(11) things made, of all kinds, cannot arise without making.

12. And this worldly *existence* is owing to the mingling of competing powers. 13. So *its* numerous possessions are so constructed, selected, *and* made of diverse races (kîharân), diverse colours, diverse scents, diverse characteristics, *and* diverse species as I *have* stated above³ about the body, (14) that it is constructed *and* made out of many things, such as bone, fat, sinew, veins, skin, blood, breath, hair⁴, fundament⁵, hand, foot, head, belly, *and* other members, internal and external, (15) in two series⁶ of things of many kinds, of which *to be* never made by means of the diverse nature of diverse powers, (16) or to arise without a maker, the impossibility is certain.

17. And *in* like manner of the other creatures, plants *and* trees, water *and* fire, earth and air, their stimulus, too, which is not themselves, is to their own duty; and they are not stimulators, (18) but there is a stimulator, a building (dêsâk), and a making for

¹ Chap. V, 27-30.

² Sans. has 'carpenter.'

³ Chap. V, 57-63.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. vas is a misreading of Pahl. varas. Nêr. has Sans. rasa, 'liquid secretion.'

⁵ Supposing that Pâz. daryam (Sans. nishîhâ) stands for Pahl. dar-î dum.

⁶ Literally 'columns.'

them. 19. And the usage (vâzâr) which is changing *and* urging them, from stimulus to stimulus, from statement to statement, *and* from time to time, is not according to the will and requirement of those made, but according to those that are stimulating and making.

20. Even so, indicative of the rotation of the years, months, days, *and* hours, is the revolution of the *celestial* sphere and stars which are settled (pasâkhtak), and *of* the sun and moon which are adjusted (nîvârdak), a well-horsed¹ progress *and* conspicuous revolution. 21. This, too, is an indication that the movements of every appearance (kîharîh) are owing to an exhibitor, by whom the movement of that appearance is exhibited.

22. Owing to other differences and different management in the worldly *existence*. (23) it is possible to know, from the worldly *existence* at various times *and* various periods, that this worldly *existence* is not without a manager. 24. Or *that* its manager is not a sacred being², who is learned, acting reasonably, of unlimited power, and illumining³ the sky, is also that which is visible when the development, decay, and death of the world are such, that the nature alike of mankind and animals, and alike of races and trees, is to come from youth to old age, *and* from old age to death. 25. No one whatever is seen *that has* come from old age back to youth, *or* from death back to life, and *it* is not

¹ Alluding to the supposed horses of the sun. Sans. has 'brilliant.'

² That is, the world cannot be controlled by a sacred being alone, on account of the evil it contains.

³ Sans. has 'making,' another meaning of varz.

possible to say *so*. 26. Nor yet is it proper to think, say, *or* believe this, (27) that there is no recompense of good works and punishment of crime, (28) nor even an appearance of an attainable creator of all the creatures, and *of* the daubing of a destroyer.

29. Moreover, *as to* this *latter*, that is precious to those who are more friends of penury than *of* the comfort of ill-famed vileness—(30) because they produce their happiness thereby¹, and are grateful, (31) and when they see distress they become suppliants (32) even from this destiny and dispensation which cannot become spiritual except by the spirits—(33) even so, in the appearance of every one *of* the hungry, (34) *and* in every one hurrying and straitened², who is imploring favours, is a manifestation of the maintenance of a hope for a supreme inspection over mankind, *and*, indeed, over wild animals, birds, *and* quadrupeds.

35. *As to* this, too, which they call sophistical³, (36) that there is no assurance of even one of *these* things, (37) because all are jaundiced⁴—(38) for whoever says that honey is bitter and honey is sweet, is right *in* both, (39) since *it* is bitter to those abounding in bile, *and* sweet to others; (40) also bread is pleasant and bread is unpleasant are both

¹ By performing the good work of charity, which is necessary for the future happiness of their own souls.

² Assuming that Pâz. *hvastâw u vadang* is a misreading of Pahl. *aûstâvö va tang*.

³ Pâz. *suwastâi* (Sans. *suvastâyîka*) is evidently traceable to σοφιστικός through Pers. *sûfistâîyah*.

⁴ Paz. *tahal* (Sans. *kaṭuka*) is transposed in Pers. *tal'h*, 'bitter,' in which sense the word is used in §§ 38, 39, and Chap. III, 24.

true, (41) since *it* is pleasant to the hungry, *and* unpleasant to the surfeited; (42) *and* many other *statements* of this description—(43) that *which* should be said in reply to their twaddle is summarily (44) such as the wise *have* told them (45) thus:—‘Even this statement of you sophists, about the jaundiced nature of everything, is alike jaundiced, and there is no truth *in* it.’

46. Many other *things* are said among them; (47) and this that is indicated by us is the predominant information *for* you victors, (48) so that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Another *subject* is about the existence of a competitor of a different nature, as shown above¹, (2) that, from the constructing, qualifying, *and* ennobling of things so sagaciously, *and* even from the circumstances of an unimproving (a *kârîk*) hand put upon the concentrated light, *it* is manifest that its maker, constructor, concentrator, *and* qualifier is sagacious. 3. Also his constructing sagaciously is manifest, from each separately, through the qualifying *and* ennobling of his own works severally. 4. And his working sagaciously is an indicator that his work is purposed *and* caused, (5) because every one of the works of the sagacious ought to be purposed *and* caused. 6. The purpose and cause of a work arise first, the work *itself* afterwards.

7. From the many kinds of his work *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 8. For *there*

¹ Chaps. IV, 11, 12, V, 54-56.

are two modes of doing a work, (9) either the willed is *of* the many kinds which are his will, (10) or the quality is *of* one kind which is as it is qualified¹; (11) *so* from the many kinds *of* work of the creator *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 12. And his will is owing to a necessity of different limit², (13) because his will *was* a requisite for the power of the original evolution.

14. The purpose and cause of a work are before the necessity, (15) because while the purpose of the necessity of a work does not occur, the necessity does not exist. 16. The purpose of a work arises from the cause, towards which the necessity of that work instigates. 17. The necessity *and* willing of a thing which is caused exist; (18) and a cause of the necessity of a thing owing to its own self is not well suited, (19) because the cause arises from progression, (20) concerning which an indicator is the purposed work that is sagacious. 21. The purpose is owing to a cause, the cause is owing to promptitude (*aûstâv*), the promptitude is owing to an exception (*barâ*), the exception is owing to an injurer, and the injury is owing to an opponent, without *further* words.

22. I *have* also shown³, on this subject, through inevitable knowledge and through analogy, the making and qualification of the world and its circumstances *and* appliances. 23. From the making and qualification of the world is manifested a maker and qualifier; (24) and⁴ [through the purposely-made

¹ By necessity, and not exhibiting any freedom of will on the part of its maker.

² That is, not limited by anything in his work of creation.

³ In Chap. V, 46-91.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted by AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, L₂₃,

work of the sagacious creator, (25) owing to] the purposely-made work¹, is manifested the existence of an injurer from without.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Again, about the existence of a competing *and* different original evolution², *there* are these (2) that are manifest from the good and evil which are in the world, (3) and the particulars of *its* good maker which are self-limited. 4. Such as darkness and light, (5) erudition *and* ignorance, (6) perfume and stench, (7) life and death, (8) sickness and health, (9) order (*dâd*) and disorder, (10) distress and freedom from care (*âzâdîh*), (11) *and* other co-existing³ factors whose certain existence is visible in every district *and* land, and every age. 12. So that no district *or* land whatever is discovered, nor yet any age *has* existed *or* shall exist, (13) wherein these good and bad terms and particulars *have* not existed *or* do not exist. 14. And it is not possible to say, as to any place *or* age, that good and evil are changeable in themselves by their own nature.

15. So, moreover, of the other co-existences whose difference is not through different duty, through different species, *or* through different quality—(16) as the difference of those of a like nature among one another, such as male *and* female, (17) *of* the varieties

evidently by mistake, as it is necessary to complete the meaning of the sentence.

¹ Made for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the fiend, which he foresaw (see Chap. VIII, 51, 71).

² See Chap. IV, 73 n.

³ And, therefore, competing, as their natures are different.

of scents *and* flavours, and of the sun *and* moon *and* stars, whose difference is not through different nature, but through different duty, through different qualification, and through different construction, which are such as are attainable for various duties—(18) the good and evil, light and dark, *and* other different natures are then their distinction not through different duty, but through different nature, (19) the incompatible quality and the injuriousness which are manifest *in* them, one towards the other. 20. Therefore, when good is there¹, the non-existence of evil is unquestionable; (21) when light *has* come, darkness is removed. 22. Even so of the other co-existences² whose incompatibility and injuriousness together are owing to the cause of difference of nature, (23) because, in the worldly *existence*, *there* is a manifestation of the competing nature and injuriousness of the things, one towards the other.

24. The worldly *existence* is the fruit of the spiritual, and the spiritual is its root, (25) because fruit is obtained through a root. 26. *In* like manner the giver of the evidence arisen among the intelligent is clear. 27. Of the worldly *existence* being the fruit, *and* the spiritual being the root, the evidence is this, (28) when the progress (*maḍanō*) of every visible *and* tangible thing from imperceptibility to perceptibility is explicitly manifest. 29. Because the arising of mankind and other creatures,

¹ Sans. has 'so that where (*yatra*) good is,' which has induced JE to insert Pâz. *edar* for Sans. *yatra*, so as to make the author say 'when good is here (in this world), the non-existence of evil there (in the other world) is unquestionable.' A noteworthy instance of punctilious blundering, on the part of a revising copyist, making an author say more than he means.

² Mentioned in §§ 5-11; those in § 4 having been just referred to.

who are visible *and* tangible, from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible is known, (30) as much as the mirrored length *and* breadth of the body *being* an emanation of itself. 31. And the perceptibility of the body of man and other creatures was imperceptible *and* invisible in the semen which is *derived* from *their* fathers; (32) the semen itself, too, came into perceptibility, visibility, *and* tangibility in the skin¹ of the fathers.

33. It is now possible to know inevitably² that this worldly *existence*, which is visible *and* tangible, is produced *and* has arisen from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible. 34. *In* like manner the lapsing (yehevûntanö) from visibility *and* tangibility into invisibility *and* intangibility³, which are themselves a spiritual *state*, is unquestionable.

35. When *these* are seen by us, in the worldly *existence*, the competing nature, formation, and injuriousness of one towards the other, even as to the property of the spiritual *existence*, (36) which is the root of the worldly *one*; (37) and, *in* like manner, *there* is no doubt of the existence of its fruit of worldly possessions; (38) this is that which is manifest as regards a competing nature. 39. Then⁴ its purpose and cause *were* indicated by me above⁵, which are the sagaciously working of the creator, (40) who created the creature which is an indicator *of* the existence of an opponent.

¹ That Nêr. thus read pôst is shown by his Sanskrit translation of the word, but the original word was probably pôst, 'the back.'

² See Chap. V, 12-14 for the technical meaning of this word.

³ As in the case of death and decay.

⁴ Reading adinasam, 'then its by me,' which is the Pahlavi form indicated by the Pâz. ainâum of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

⁵ Chap. VII, 4, 5, 19-21.

41. For *it* is known that work due to workers is of two kinds, designed or qualified. 42. That which is designed is of three kinds. 43. Two are due to the wise *and* sagacious; (44) either through seeking for their own working of advantage and benefit, (45) or *through* removing *and* keeping away the harm and evil which are from without. 46. And one is due to the ignorant *and* unwise, (47) *done* defectively *and* without a purpose. 48. From the wise *and* sagacious, work ought¹ not to arise without a purpose *and* without a cause.

49. As the sagacious creator, who is all-knowing, perfectly capable, *and* fully complete in his own self, *has* sought that which is not a necessity for any advantage and aggrandizement of his from without², (50) it is, therefore, necessary to understand that the purpose *and* causes of his works are of that one kind³, (51) to remove *and* keep away the harm which is due to his opponent and the injurer who may arise from without, which is itself the purpose and cause of the creation of the creatures. 52. Also this, that that sagacious creator is good-willed, (53) and his will is all goodness. 54. The creatures *were* also created by him predominantly of his own will. 55. And the completely-stirring desire of him who is good-willed *and* sagacious is to subdue⁴ evil *and* make *it* extinct, (56) for while evil is not subdued the

¹ Reading *sazêd*, as in JE, because, although AK, PB₃, MH₁₉ have Pâz. *sahed*, 'seems,' Nêr. uses Sans. *saknoti*.

² And, therefore, cannot have been actuated by the design mentioned in § 44.

³ Mentioned in § 45.

⁴ Reading *khvâftan*ŏ, instead of Pâz. *anâftan*, which is almost identical in writing; and making a similar correction in § 56.

will of him who is good-willed is not fulfilled. 57. *And* this, that the goodness of that sagacious creator is manifest from creativeness, cherishing, and protection, *and from* commanding *and* teaching the means of putting away the path of evil and causing forbearance from crime; (58) also from the qualities and powers of the body in pain and sickness from without.

59. And, as a cause of the body, (60) to remove and keep away the opponent who comes to the body, *and to be* the maintenance, the cause of maturity, and the cause of growth of animals *and* sprouting plants¹, through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing *their* qualities, *there* is a co-operator who is scripturally called the Fravash². 61. And through those four powers that are accumulative, which are the powers of attracting, seizing, digesting, *and* extracting—(62) and which, owing to the creator's sagacity of every kind, are co-operators with proportionate power for keeping away the pain and sickness of various kinds which are owing to the opponent, who is working defectively *and* desirous of evil—(63) and *through* others *that* are of like strength *and* auxiliary, the good will of the creator is manifest.

¹ Pâz. rôdamãnã, which Nêr translates by the Sanskrit for 'trees and grains;'; and the occurrence of the latter word has induced some reviser of AK to alter the following words zôr-i dêrâ, 'power of maintaining,' into zôridêrâ, 'grains,' which alteration has been adopted by MH₁₉ and PB₃, but the latter has also zôr-i dêrâ inserted in the margin, while JE has both readings in the text which thus means 'through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing the quality of grains.'

² The guardian spirit or spiritual representative of each object created by Aûharmazd, which acts for that object in the spiritual world (see Mkh. XLIX, 23).

64. Of this, too, that this *one* is no creator of the pain and death which are dissipaters of the body, who is good-willed *and* a maintainer and cherisher of the body, (65) the evidence is even from this, when the sagacious creator is not a sufferer from sorrow (apakhshadâr) and performing penitence, (66) and is no dissipater and disabler of his own achievements¹, (67) because *he* is sagacious and all-knowing.

68. *As to this other and* the sorrow *and* penitence of the kind which is owing to his own work, it is fitting to speak about him *as* of deficient knowledge, incomplete wisdom, and inconclusive understanding.

69. As work does not arise from the wise and sagacious without a purpose *and* without a cause², (70) *in* like manner work from the unwise *and* ignorant *and* those of inconclusive understanding is all defective, without a purpose, *and* without a cause³.

71. And that sagacious *one* is a contriver, working sagaciously *and* methodically, for keeping away that defective work and inconclusive understanding from his own creatures.

72. He who is working defectively produced distorted⁴ *and* entangled scriptures among the creatures; (73) because this is known, that it is not possible so to keep away *and* cramp⁵ him who is a moving *and* living nature in a boundless void, *and*

¹ Sans. has 'creatures.'

² See § 48.

³ See §§ 46, 47.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. farzînmand (Sans. gumphita) stands for Pahl. parêîn-hômand.

⁵ Pâz. awefsûidan (Sans. sañkoḥayitum); but it may be noted that the Pahlavi equivalent of this word might be easily read apasagagînîdanō, 'to disorganize.'

to become without risk of injury¹. 74. But, though he does not become entangled, fenced in, and captive, (75) *he* is spreading anguish into the entanglement and captivity, and *it* is a means of grievous punishment. 76. Only while a complete wiping away of the anguish *due to* him, and complete information as to his own ignorant activity do not arise, he *has* meditated² with lying falsehood on that which is connected therewith. 77. And the complete capability of the almighty creator is the wiping away of the anguish.

78. Owing to the complete wiping away of anguish, through the almightiness of the sagacious creator, he casts *him* back impotent into the boundless void. 79. *And* the good creatures thereby become fearless, immortal, *and* undistressed (80) *through* the completely methodical sagacity and discernment of means of that omniscient creator of good beings.

81. From observation of possessions the difference of things is manifest. 82. And the difference is *of* two kinds, as mentioned above³. 83. One is difference of operation, and the other is difference of nature. 84. Difference of operation is owing to mutual assistance and united strength⁴, (85) and difference of nature is owing to want of an adapter

¹ From him, the evil spirit, who is said to have left his native abyss and come on towards the light, through the void which intervened (see Bd. I, 3-5, 9).

² So in Pâz.—Sans.; but 'he meditates' is more probable, and would be written in the same manner in Pahlavi.

³ Perhaps referring to the 'two series of things' mentioned in Chap. VI, 13-15, but the connection is not very clear.

⁴ Because co-operation in complicated work tends towards division of labour.

and *to* opposition. 86. And not in a single place is a permanence of possessions manifest.

87. If one of anything shall exist *and* one does not exist, *its* name shall exist, (88) for the sake of recognising things, one from the other, and preserving the name. 89. The bad, by separation from the good existence, is originally evolved *in* such a manner that the one is really no cause of the other. 90. Because each one is existent (aît-hômand) through its own self, (91) owing to the perpetual injury *and* antagonism which are manifestly theirs, one towards the other.

92. If any one shall say that, as the competing *formations* of the competitors are numerous—(93) such as good *and* evil, dark *and* light, perfume *and* stench, life *and* death, sickness *and* health, pleasure *and* vexation—(94) there ought to be many other such original evolutions, many *in* number and of many species; (95) then they *may* give this reply¹, (96) that, even when *there* are many names and many species of competitors, still then all are within the compass² of two names. 97. And these two names are their including-source, which are good and evil. 98. Their different names and different species are tokens of these two sources.

99. *There* is nothing whatever that is not *in* the compass of these two names. 100. *There has* not been and *will* not be anything which is not good or evil, or a mixture of both. 101. On which account

¹ Sans. has 'others give a reply;' but the Pâz. anyê, 'others,' is certainly a misreading of Pahl. adîn aê, 'then this,' or adînas, 'then to him,' in which latter case the phrase would be 'then they may give a reply to him.' The proper Pâzand for 'other' is aware or han.

² See Chap. IV, 12 n.

it is explicitly manifest that the original evolutions are two, *and* not more ; (102) *and* also this, that it is not possible *for* good to arise from evil, and evil from good.

103. From this, too, it is possible to understand¹, (104) that it is not possible *for* complete evil to arise from that thing which is filled with goodness. 105. If it be possible, then *it* is not full ; (106) because *any* one thing, when said *to be* full, is no place *for* anything else ; (107) and when *there* is no place *for* anything else, other things are not improved by it.

108. If the sacred being *be* perfect in goodness and wisdom, the folly and evil of *any* one are known not to arise from him. 109. If it be possible for them to arise from him, then *he* is not perfect. 110. If *he be* not perfect, it is not proper to glorify *him* for the sacredness of complete goodness. 111. If good and evil have crept on from the sacred being, ~~*he*~~ is imperfect in goodness. 112. If *he be* imperfect in goodness, *he* is imperfect in good information. 113. If *he be* imperfect in good information, so also *he* is imperfect in wisdom, understanding, knowledge, intellect, and other appliances of sagacity. 114. If *he be* imperfect in wisdom, understanding, intellect, *and* knowledge, *he* is imperfect in health. 115. If *he be* imperfect in health, he is apt to become sick. 116. If he be apt to become sick, *he* is imperfect in life.

117. If any one shall speak thus : ' I always see that from one nature, such as *that of* mankind, alike good and alike evil have always crept on, through actions owing to them,' (118) that is for this reason,

¹ MH19 has 'to maintain.'

because mankind are not perfect even in one *thing*. 119. And, on account of imperfection in goodness, evil has crept on from them; (120) and also on account of imperfection, even in health, they become sick. 121. For the same reason they die, (122) because the cause of death is the struggling of two competing propensities within one nature. 123. There where two competing propensities exist within one nature, the occurrence of sickness and death is known.

124. If any one shall say that there are good and evil actions which, until they are done, do not exist, (125) then they *may* give this reply¹, (126) that the occurrence of an action apart from doing is as impossible as any propensity apart from a nature; and, as to the nature, (127) its² continuance and arrangement are then known thereby not to occur through its own self. 128. For when a man indulges in wrath, Vohûman³ is far from there; (129) and when Vohûman holds the position, wrath is not there. 130. When a man tells a lie, truth is far from there⁴; (131) and when he speaks true, falsehood has no position there, and that man is called truthful. 132. So also when sickness *has* come, health is not there; (133) and when health *has* come, sickness *has* gone.

¹ See § 95 n.

² Reading *adînasas*, 'then its thereby' (with a double pronominal suffix), which is the original Pahlavi indicated by Pâz. *ainâs* (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ The archangel 'good thought,' who is said to hold the position and vanquish 'evil thought,' while the angel *Srôsh* does the same as regards 'wrath' (see *Dînkard*, quoted in Dd. XCIV, 1 n; also Bd. XXX, 29).

⁴ Sans. adds 'and that man is called false,' which JE also inserts in Pâzand in the margin, but all other manuscripts omit.

134. Just as a substance which is not moving can exist, (135) but movement, except in a substance, cannot exist.

136. About this chapter, too, collected as a summary, (137) do you reverently¹ and discreetly observe and instruct thereon.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Other information about the existence of the competitor, similarly testified by the *Dînkard*² manuscript (nipîk), is here well noted for you. 2. For both this *which* is written above and that which is written *here* are all grown from the seed which the glorified Âtûr-pâdîyâvand sowed, (3) and *from* the original thanksgiving (spâs) of the supremely learned Âtûr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, himself.

4. The fourth³ subject, which is from the *Dînkard*, is about the existence of an opponent of the creatures and of an opponent earlier than the creatures, and is from the exposition of the good religion⁴.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. dâramaihâ (Sans. sūkshmatayâ) is a misreading of Pahl. garâmîkîhâ. It would more easily be a misreading of sharmakîhâ, 'modestly,' but this term seems rather less likely to be applied by the author to his readers.

² See Chap. IV, 106, 107 for the names in these §§ 1, 2.

³ Assuming that Pâz. ard ium (Sans. balish/ho me) is a misreading of Pahl. arbâûm. The first subject (see Chap. II, 1) consisted of the three questions of Mitrô-âyyâr discussed in Chaps. II-IV. The second subject, about the existence of God, is contained in Chaps. V, VI. And the third subject, about the existence of an evil spirit competing with the creator, is debated in Chaps. VII, VIII.

⁴ The third book of the *Dînkard*, which treats of a multitude of subjects 'from the exposition of the good religion,' does not appear

5. *That* is, a knowledge of the existence of an opponent of the creatures is obtainable from the innermost *recesses* of the body of man even to the outermost *objects* of which¹ sight is susceptible, (6) and beyond those, within the certain limits of analogy. 7. The innermost *recesses* of man are the innermost of life, (8) *and* are seen through complete observation, within the same limits.

9. This is, as ignorance is to erudition, (10) deceit to good disposition, (11) and falsehood to truth, (12) other defects of the capabilities which are the source of erudition, good disposition, and truth are the opponent, (13) and the cause of the wickedness of the soul. 14. Again, these irregularities of the rules of arrangement of the body, within the compass of the body, are the opponent, and the cause of the disintegration of the body. 15. Again, *as to* these among the emanations, cold is the opponent of heat, dryness is of moisture, *and* the other doers of mischief are *opponents* of the operations of existence.

16. Within time darkness is the opponent of light, stench of perfume, ugliness of handsomeness, unsavouriness of savouriness, poison of *its* antidote, noxious creatures and the wolf of the well-yielding cattle, *and* the vile felon (mar) of the good man. 17. Beyond time the brigand *planets* (gadûgân)² are the opponents of the work of the divine bestowers.

18. Beyond the knowledge obtainable of all these

to contain the materials for this chapter. The author is, therefore, probably alluding to one of the two earlier books which have not yet been discovered.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *andâ ne* (for *be*) *thûm-i vas* (Sans. *yâvat bîgam asya*) stands for Pahl. *vad barâtûm-î agas*.

² See Chap. IV, 10.

champions susceptible to sight, are those who are within the limits of analogy¹ and the certain information of multitudes, the demons who are the opponents of the sacred beings.

19. The existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures, and his coming to the creatures (20) after the creation of the creatures, *and* also to the creator, are presented comprehensibly through reasons which are suitable² *and* presentable, *and* through the provision of a remedy, a creation which is for a purpose. 21. This one statement (vâkâk) possesses five arguments (sâmân). 22. One is the *being* presented comprehensibly. 23. One is the *being* presented through reasons. 24. One is the reasons which are presentable *and* suitable that the creation existed. 25. One is the remedy appointed for the creation. 26. *And* one is the creation of the creatures of the creator for a purpose.

27. The existence of these five arguments is manifest through the creations *and* achievements themselves. 28. The presenting comprehensibly is wisely arranging the testimony of the effect³ of the creatures, (29) through the reasons presented, which are a declaration owing to the same sagacity. 30. The reason obtainable, that the creation existed, (31) with the arrangement of the creation so methodically, ought to arise from the suitable *state* of the

¹ Referring to the two kinds of evidence, direct, and indirect, mentioned in §§ 5, 6.

² So in § 24 and in Sans., though Pâz. has 'obtainable' here.

³ Assuming that the Pâz. awar dugâê of AK stands for Pahl. bar gôkâs (or gôkâsîh). MH19 has duvâê, and PB3, JE have dusâê, while Sans. means 'about the magnitude.'

creation ; (32) and the suitable design of the creation itself possesses the testimony, through *its* appearance.

33. The remedy appointed is a comprehensible *and* presentable demonstrator, (34) because it becomes a desire of knowledge and an appearance of the desire. 35. The *being* created for a purpose is manifest through the desire of activity of the creation, both severally and naturally.

36. The evidences of the existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures are many. 37. And one of them is the suitable *state* of the creation of the creatures, (38) because the limit of suitability is not well fitted for anything except necessity. (39) That *which* is *inferred* from suitability is necessity, from necessity haste, *and* from haste the existence of an opponent who is before the suitable work which is the creation.

40. The evidence of the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, after the creation of the creatures, is the formation of the means of the creator, for encountering an opponent, before the arrival of the opponent, (41) which are omnisciently a provision before creation by the creator. 42. And there is a demonstrator of *these* same means of the creatures that is prepared, which is the struggling opposed to the opponent through the arrangement of *their* nature. 43. One duty of the nature of the creatures is the subduing of so much vexation. 44. Their preparation, too, is like a contest that is forming an enemy opposing the opponent, (45) and their natural desire for duty is removing all haste.

CHAPTER X.

1. Another subject is about the deliberating of the deliberators on unity, from which even the preparation of the duality is manifested.

2. It should be known, that whoever wishes to understand a creator, except when he gives trouble to his own life, (3) should meditate reverently¹. 4. First, he fully understands his own body and soul, (5) that is, who produced *them*, out of what, and for what purpose? 6. Also, who is his accuser and adversary; (7) and who is his friend and helper? 8. Likewise, who instigates him to commit crime, (9) of what nature *is he*, (10) and how is it possible to escape him?

11. Then *he* is not able to understand him² *as* the creator through his nature and his coming to himself.

12. For when he bore the name of creator, then, with it, he brought these three creations³:—(13) creation, religion, and soul. 14. Because the name of creator is known from the occurrence of creation.

15. This *implies* that the creator of the creation created the creations for duty, (16) but does not release *them* from duty. 17. And the duty of the creatures is to understand *and* perform the will of the creator, (18) *and* to abstain from *what is* disliked *by him*. 19. To act by the will of the creator, and to abstain from *what is* disliked by him, is to preserve the soul. 20. The will of the creator is not under-

¹ See Chap. VIII, 137 n.

² His accuser and instigator.

³ All MSS. have 'he bore these three names;' but Nêr. has evidently misread sem, 'name,' instead of dâm, 'creature,' both words being written alike in Pahlavi.

stood, except from the religion of the creator. 21. *And* the religion is appointed by the creator free from doubt.

22. Now it is expedient to know that the sacred being appointed the religion for the understanding of his will, (23) and from the understanding of his will for the preservation of the soul are manifested the compassion and mercifulness of the sacred being.

24. From the preservativeness of the religion for the soul are manifested the grandeur and valuable-ness of the religion; (25) from the necessity of preserving the soul are manifested the defilement and delusion¹ of the soul; (26) *and* from the defilement and delusion of the soul is manifested a defiler and deluder of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind. 27. On the whole a corrupter of souls is manifest.

28. And now it is expedient for us to well recognise² and know, as to that defiler who is a corrupter of souls, of what nature *he is*. 29. Because, if the creation *and* achievement of the sacred being are said *to be* of a like nature, then how did the sacred being appoint the religion for the preservation of the soul? 30. That is not expedient for him—*if* a defiler and deluder of souls—to produce³ as his own creation and will⁴. 31. For if he be himself the creator, and be himself the defiler and corrupter of souls, *and* nothing occurs except by his will, (32)

¹ Pâz. vyâwānî (see Chap. III, 22 n).

² Assuming that Pâz. huzvârdan (Sans. *samsodhayitum*) is a misreading of Pahl. hû-zinhârdanō.

³ Sans. 'to announce.'

⁴ Because it (the religion) is opposed to his supposed work as a deluder.

then, when it is necessary for us to write of preservation from the sacred being¹, whom *shall* we make as a refuge²?

33. Now it is necessary *for* every intelligent person to understand *and* to know thus much, (34) that is, from whom it is necessary for us to flee and to abstain, (35) and with whom is the hope, and with whom the maintenance, of our protection. 36. The method for this acquisition is nothing else but to understand the sacred being in *his* nature, (37) because, as I wrote above³, *it* is not only to know *his* existence, but it is necessary to understand *his* nature and his will.

38. And I *have* observed, in the world, the sectarian belief of all maintainers of sects who hold [the two fundamental *doctrines*]⁴. 39. One is that which asserts that all the good and evil, which are in the world, are owing to the sacred being. 40. *And* one is that which asserts that all the good of the world, besides the hope of preserving the soul, is owing to the sacred being; (41) and the cause of all evil of the body, besides the risk of the soul, is owing to Aharman; (42) *and* all *things* have started from appointment *by* these two origins into various formations *and* various subdivisions.

43. Now I have been an enquirer everywhere, for understanding the sacred being, as written above⁵,

¹ As it would be, if he were the corrupter of souls.

² The exclamation of the wicked soul after death, derived from Yas. XLV, 1 (see Mkh. II, 159).

³ See Chap. V, 6-9.

⁴ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but occur in Sans. and the later MSS.

⁵ Chap. I, 36, 37.

fervent-minded in the investigation of his religion and will; (44) as likewise I have wandered, for the sake of investigation, to the region without and the land of the Hindûs, and *to* many different races. 45. Because, *as to* religion, I did not admire that which *was* in supremacy¹, (46) but *I* sought that which *was* more steadfast and more acceptable in wisdom and testimony. 47. I went also into association with many different races, (48) until a time (49) when, owing to the compassion of the sacred beings, and the strength, glory, and power of the good religion, I escaped from much gloomy depth and ill-solvable doubt.

50. By the united power of knowledge of the religion (51) and the well-reflecting writing of the wise, (52) the marvellous allegorical² writings of the learned Âtûr-pâdîyâvand³, (53) and by that writing which the glorified Rôshan⁴, son of Âtûr-frôbag, prepared—(54) for which he appointed the name of the Rôshan manuscript (nipîk)—(55) *and* likewise that *for* which the supremely learned *and* righteous Âtûr-frôbag⁵, son of Farukh-zâd, (56) who *was* the

¹ Probably a guarded allusion to Muhammadanism which it was then unsafe to disparage openly, as is evident from the rarity of its name in Pahlavi writings.

² Or 'the miracle-resembling.'

³ See Chap. IV, 106.

⁴ A commentator whose opinions are often quoted in Pahlavi writings (see Sls. I, 4 n). His father was probably the early editor of the Dînkard mentioned in §§ 55-57, though it is hazardous to rely upon a single name for identifying an individual. In that case he must have been a younger brother of the Zaratûst-î Âtûr-frôbagân who succeeded his father as 'leader of the good religion,' and revised the Dînkard, as mentioned in the last paragraphs of its third book.

⁵ See Chap. IV, 107.

leader of those of the good religion, (57) appointed the name of the *Dīnkard* manuscript—owing to *its* explaining the religion¹—(58) I am saved from the many doubts, delusions, deceits, and follies of sects, (59) and, especially, from those of the deceivers, the very great *and* very mighty, very evil-teaching *and* empty-skulled² Manicheans³, (60) whose devotion is witchcraft, *whose* religion is deceitfulness, and *whose* teaching is folly and intricate secret proceedings.

61. I have been deliberately confirmed by the power of wisdom and the strength of knowledge of the religion, (62) not through obstinate faith⁴, but by the pure revelation opposed to the demon⁵, which is the decision of *Aûharmazd* (63) that *was* taught by the creator *Aûharmazd* to the righteous Zaratûst⁶.

64. Zaratûst came alone, on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kaî Gustâsp⁷, (65) and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kaî Gustâsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words, through explanation of many doubts, and through presentation of the visible testimony of the

¹ The probable meaning of *dīnkard* is 'acts of the religion.' See also Chap. IV, 107 n.

² Reading *rat-mastarg*. For *rat Nêr*. has read *rad*, 'pontiff,' which is written in the same manner; his translation being Sans. guru, while his *Pâz. rad* has become *raê* in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but has again become *rad* in JE.

³ See Chap. XVI.

⁴ Assuming that *Pâz. sakht-vîrôdasnihâ* stands for Pahl. *sakht-virôysnîhâ*.

⁵ That is, the Vendîdâd.

⁶ See Mkh. I, 10.

⁷ See Mkh. XIII, 14, XXVII, 68–76.

archangels, *together* with many miracles. 66. And a greatness in power which is not the destiny of worldly existences was theirs who saw him of the vehement guardian spirit. 67. And Kaî Spend-dâd¹ and Zargar² and other *royal* sons (zâdak), instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke³, (68) while they even wandered to Arûm⁴ and the Hindûs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.

69. Owing to *progress* onwards it came in succession to the descendants of the divinities⁵, the rulers who *were* those of the Kayân race who *were* exalted ones. 70. *And* still onwards even until the achievement with melted metal pouring upon the chest of the glorified Âtûr-pâd⁶, son of Mâraspend, in the reign of that divinity (bagh) Shâhpûr, the king of kings who *was the son of* Aûharmazd⁷, in a controversy with apostates of different species of many kinds. 71. *He was* preserved from those most

¹ Misread Spudâkht by Nêr. He was a son of Kaî Gustâsp, and called Spentô-dâta in the Avesta, and Isfendiyâr in Persian.

² Av. Zairivairi, Pers. Zarîr, a brother of Kaî Gustâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

³ Literally 'for the neck,' assuming that Pâz. ô-ka ôi is an erroneous reading of Pahl. val kavarmân, as in Mkh. XXXIX, 30.

⁴ Asia Minor was so called from having been a portion of the Roman empire in Sasanian times.

⁵ Pâz. bayānā (Sans. mahat) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. bagânân, a term referring to the Sasanian kings who adopted the title of bagî, 'divinity,' in their inscriptions (see also § 70), and claimed to be descended from the old dynasty of Kayân kings.

⁶ The supreme high-priest and prime minister of king Shâhpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who underwent the ordeal of melted metal for the sake of proving the truth of the religion.

⁷ King Aûharmazd II (A.D. 300-309).

mighty apostates, who are called even by *the name of their desires*¹.

72. And the Arûmans², who have been, at various periods, termed untruthful³, *have* asked many ill-solvable questions of this religion; (73) *but there has* been no doubtfulness of any question that is explained by this religion, (74) and the learned of the country of Irân have always been sustainers of victory among them. 75. Not like other sects whose religion is secretly progressive and deceiving, delusively for the deceived, *and* undutifully among the customs and assemblages of the less-informed, unintelligent, and demon-natured whose information was nothing whatever of knowledge and understanding of wisdom. 76. Then, so far as the assemblages that are very secretly deceived and deluded by them, nobody is presented for detection (âskârâkîh); (77) *but* afterwards, owing to the capture of the many of little knowledge and unintelligent opinions who are deluded by them, it is discovered they are *provided* with much mutually afflicting speech, falsehood, *and* disconnection, which are their religion.

78. So that I here⁴ notice *some of their* much inconsistency and disconnection, for informing the judgment of new learners, (79) for the reason that when the writings of the learned ancients have specially minutely and reverently⁵ discoursed of

¹ That is, they are called âshmôg (Av. ashemaogha, 'perplexing righteousness').

² The Greeks of the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Pâz. anâst may be either 'irreverent,' or else stand for Pahl. arâst, 'untruthful.' Sans. has 'atheistical.'

⁴ In the next chapter.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'modestly' (see Chap. VIII, 137 n).

what is most astute in evil, to impel *one* to good knowledge, (80) you *should* observe with kind regards *what is* ordered.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Henceforth I write¹ of the inconsistency of their twaddle, and of just observations (2) you should estimate with wise regard.

3. First, *as to* the full consideration of that one original evolution (4) which they state thus: 'The sacred being is one, doing good works, wise, powerful, compassionate, *and* merciful, (5) so that good works *and* crime, truth *and* falsehood, life *and* death, good *and* evil are² owing to him³.'

6. Now do ye ask of them (7) thus: 'Is the sacred being always compassionate *and* showing mercy, doing good works *and* judicious, and does he know all *that* is, was, *and will* be; *and* is *he* advancing the desire of *one's* wishes in everything, even *in* this where judiciousness is interference, or when such is not so?

8. Because, if *he be* compassionate, doing good works, *and* showing mercy, why then are Aharman and the demons and all these evil faiths⁴ of hell admitted⁵

¹ Pâz. 'I have written.'

² Sans. and JE insert 'all.'

³ Most of this statement can be found in the Qur'ân in isolated texts, such as 'God there is no god but he . . . He knows the unseen and the visible; the mighty, the wise . . . verily God is forgiving, compassionate . . . It is God who created you . . . and then will make you die.' (Qur'ân LXIV, 13, 18, 14, XXX, 39; SBE. vol. ix.)

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. vîrôśaa (Sans. âmnâya) is a misreading of Pahl. virôyâk.

⁵ Tracing Pâz. awagad (Sans. avâkirat) to Av. aiwi+gata.

by him to his own creatures, through his own compassion, doing of good works, *and* showing of mercy? 9. If not known by him, where are that knowledge and omniscience of his? 10. If he did not wish to keep misery and evil away from the creatures, and to produce only happiness *for* every one, where are that judiciousness and interference of his? 11. If it were not possible that it should not be produced by him, for what is that omnipotence of his (12) which we¹ every one, as *it were*, observe *and* well consider?’

13. Whenever they say *that* every good and evil *has* arisen from the sacred being—except when they separate from him these four attributes (hûnar), requisite for divinity, which are omniscience, omnipotence, goodness, *and* mercifulness—(14) there is then no possibility of it. 15. When, indeed, they separate from him *only* one of these four attributes, even then *he* is not complete in divinity. 16. For if a sacred being be he *who is* omniscient, omnipotent, good, and merciful, then he who is not omniscient, *or* not omnipotent, *or* not good, *or* not merciful is not a sacred being.

17. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* a ruler, advancing desires in every person *and* thing, why are that country and empire of his own not so kept, without help, from every enemy and adversity *apart* from his own work, so that *there* would not be anything whatever of distress, oppression, injustice, and complaint for any one in his empire? 18. Since the

¹ So in Sanskrit; but, as the two Pâz. verbs end in -un, the original Pahlavi termination may have been -yên (3d pers. optative), and we might read ‘which every one may, as *it were*, observe.’

rule *and* empire of a man, *who is* ruler and emperor, are then commendable when *it* is possible for him so to protect *and* keep his own country *and* empire, through his own wisdom, that they *may* not assist his enemy to detract from his work, and to produce sin *and* harm. 19. Or, when his enemy covets *some* of his work, he is enabled to keep him away from his own thoughtful friends, *and* to make every one free from distress.

20. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* triumphant, victorious, and prevailing, (21) over whom are that triumph, victory, and prevailing of his? 22. Since triumph and victory are over enemies, a competitor exists. 23. It is not expedient¹ to become himself a competitor *and* enemy to his own; (24) while when there is no enemy *and* competitor of his, over whom does he become triumphant and victorious? 25. That *sort of* triumph and victory is not spoken about, (26) because even cattle and sheep, when they have no opponent and injurer, are victorious and triumphant over themselves.

27. Again, *observe* this, is a wise *being* contented with his own divinity and grandeur, or not? 28. If the wise *being* be contented, then he *has* become contented to produce an enemy and criminal, *and* to admit all *that is* devastating into a country, through his own knowledge and will, for the benefit of the

¹ K28 inserts *shâyad*, 'and possible,' and JE inserts *Pâz. tvã*, which has the same meaning; but these insertions have probably originated in a blunder of the writer of AK, who first wrote *Sans. saknoti*, the usual equivalent of *Pâz. shâyad*, but afterwards interlined *Sans. samyugyate* to correspond with *sazed*, 'it is expedient,' the word he had written in the *Pâz. text*.

country and creatures. 29. *But* why¹ is it expedient to seek a disposition of crime *and* evil, to become himself an enemy *and* curser as regards them, *and* to provide a hellish *existence*, becoming the misery of mankind?

30. Again, *observe* this, *as to* whatever he says, does he speak truly *and* credibly, or not? 31. If he speaks that truly *and* credibly which he states thus: 'I am a friend of good works and an enemy of crime,' (32) *and* always produces more crime *and* criminals than good works *and* doers of good works, (33) where is that truthful speaking of his?

34. Again, *observe* this, is his desire goodness, or vileness? 35. If his desire *be* vileness, whence is that divinity of his? 36. If his desire *be* goodness, then why are the vile and vileness more than the good and goodness?

37. Again, *observe* this, is he merciful, or not? 38. If he *be* not merciful, whence is that divinity of his? 39. If he *be* merciful, then why does he speak thus: 'The hearts, ears, *and* eyes of mankind are bent about by me, so that it is not possible for them to think, speak, *or* do *anything* but that which is wanted by me²; (40) *be* it what *has* made them great *and* noble, through *being* without want; (41) *or* *be* it what *has* admitted them to eternal hell, slain *and* exterminated by death of many kinds. 42. So that while those whom I force back become good *and* more active in good works, (43) yet still those who

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *ki*, 'what?' stands for *kim*. Sans. has 'how?' (Pâz. *kun*.)

² 'Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day' (Deut. xxix. 4).

are forced back do only a little¹, (44) *and* are much more criminal *and* more sinful than those who are forward.'

45. Again, *observe* this, that if, whatever he does, he does wisely and for a purpose, (46) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why *did* the first achievement which *was* prepared by him *become* servants to demoniacal disobedience, who are perverted thereby, among mankind, to wickedness *and* a hellish existence²?

47. If *it were* not known by him that they *would* become perverted, it was expedient (*sazîd*) for him to order the making of a trial of them, (48) because now many thousands *and* myriads who *are* prepared by him, so that they *may* serve him and exhilarate (*mastend*) his rule, have become in every mode disobedient *and* unhappily advised. 49. For with that scanty knowledge that mankind *possess*, which is not so prepared *and* organized as is the wish of mankind, (50) if even anything arises, that they construct *and* prepare, which does not so come on *and* become³ as is their wish, they do not stop again, a second *time*, for the preparation of that thing, *but* they refrain from it.

51. *As to* him, that omnipotent *and* omniscient ruler, of the abundant *and* innumerable things *he has* hitherto made and prepared not even one comes on *and* becomes such as is his wish, yet still he never refrains from the preparation *and* production of many new *things*. 52. Just as when *he was* the creator of

¹ Assuming that Pâz. khvazâr stands for khûgârak; but, as Sans. has 'injury,' the Pâzand may be a misreading of âzâr.

² Referring probably to the fall of man, detailed in §§ 61-77.

³ So in Sans. and JE, as in § 51; but AK and MH19 have 'go' here.

that *one* of his first angels whom, on account of affection, he prepared out of fire, *and for* several thousand years, (53) as they say, *they* always performed his worship; (54) at last *that one was* undone by one command that was given by him (the creator) thus: 'Offer homage to this first of mankind, who is prepared by me out of clay.' 55. And deliverance, as to *what* is not expedient to offer, *was* expressly mentioned by him. 56. Then *that one* acted scornfully *and* contemptibly as to his clay and curse and wrath; (57) and, *being* perverted to devilry and fiendishness, *he was* forced out of heaven, (58) *and was* given a life of millenniums *and* an eternal dominion, (59) so that *he said*, 'I *will* go *and* make my servants and worshippers astray *and* deluded¹.' 60. And *he was* made an injurer and adversary at his own will.

61. *At* last also that man, to whom he, the supreme angel, was ordered to offer homage with many worshippers, for the sake of affection and respect, (62) is appointed to the garden of paradise (vahist), (63)

¹ 'And we did create man from crackling clay of black mud wrought in form. And the ginns had we created before of smokeless fire. And when thy lord said to the angels, "Verily I am creating a mortal from crackling clay of black mud wrought into shape; and when I have fashioned it, and breathed into it of my spirit, then fall ye down before it adoring." And the angels adored all of them together, save Iblis, who refused to be among those who adored. . . . He said, "Then get thee forth." . . . Said he, "O my lord! respite me until the day when they shall be raised." He said, "Then, verily, thou art of the respited." . . . He said, "O my lord! for that thou hast seduced me I will surely make it seem seemly for them on earth, and I will surely seduce them all together, save such of thy servants amongst them as are sincere."' (Qur'ân XV, 26-40; SBE, vol. vi.)

so that he *may* cultivate *it* and eat all the fruit, (64) except *of* that one tree of which *it* is ordered thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*¹.' 65. And with them (mankind) the deceiver, who is the deluder prepared by him (the creator), (66) is let into the garden. 67. There are *some* who say *he is* a serpent², *and* there are *some* who say *he is* Aharman³. 68. And an inclination *for* eating *and* greediness is given by that same *one* himself to mankind. 69. Then, being deceived *by* that deluder *saying*: 'Eat of that tree'—(70) there are *some* who say *he spoke to* Adam—(71) they ate through that inclination for eating⁴.

72. After eating they became so imbued with knowledge that good and evil *were* understood and known by them⁵. 73. *Deprived* of that so-great respect and affection, through that one injunction which *was* forgotten by them—(74) and that forgetfulness *being* likewise owing to that cause—(75) they are forced out of the garden of paradise⁶—*he* with *his* wife—by grievous wrath and disrespect, (76) *and* are delivered into the hand of that enemy who is a deceiver and deluder; (77) so that he *has* propagated

¹ 'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it"' (Gen. ii. 15-17).

² 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made' (Gen. iii. 1).

³ 'That old serpent, called the Devil and Satan' (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2).

⁴ Compare Gen. iii. 1-6.

⁵ 'And the eyes of them both were opened' (Gen. iii. 7).

⁶ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

his own will among them, *and has fashioned it* upon them.

78. Now which *was* unjust, the unreasonable command, the after-wisdom, *or* the scanty knowledge that *was* more faulty and more mischievous than these? 79. Also this, that is, why *was* that garden not made by him fortified and strong, so that that deluder could not have gone into *it*?

80. Even now *he* (*the deceiver*) *has* made and makes multitudes of his (the creator's) servants *and* worshippers deluded; (81) and, for the same reason, multitudes of apostles *and* prophets (vakhshvarân) are appointed by him (the creator) for the worldly existence at various times, (82) so that, *as he says*: 'They *may* save my servants from the hand of that deluder, (83) *and* bring *them* into the true path and way¹.' 84. And even those worshippers of his, *in* every way through their own will, have slain *and* subdued (khvâft), by a wretched death, his own apostles², whose diligence had brought mankind into the proper path and doctrine.

85. That original deluder and misleader is allowed an eternal life. 86. *And*, even till now, his will is more triumphant *and* absolute than that of the sacred being, through deluding *and* misleading, (87) because those deluded *and* astray are much more numerous than those *in* the true path *and* undeluded.

88. Again, *observe* this, does he do whatever he

¹ 'For the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his people . . . but I (Samuel) will teach you the good and the right way' (1 Sam. xii. 22, 23).

² 'I will send them prophets and apostles, and *some* of them they shall slay and persecute' (Luke xi. 49).

does for a purpose, or not? 89. If he does *it* without a purpose, *he* is working foolishly; (90) and it is not proper to praise him who is working foolishly as a sagacious divinity. 91. If he does *it* for a purpose, (92) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why is the production of all these creatures which are even like demons, disobedient men *with* the opposing will of that contentious deluder, and innumerable unprofitable creatures?

93. Again, *observe* this, that, if he knows all *that* is, was, *and will* be, it was not expedient for him to produce, through his own knowledge and will, anything of that of which he *may be* sorry, and *which* remains opposing his will and command, (94) and becomes an adversary of his apostles *and* the doers of *his* will.

95. If they say that this adversary *was* produced good and virtuous from the beginning, *and* afterwards became an evil and a misleading of the creatures, (96) that *implies*, you should say, that, when he is all-powerful, the purpose *and* will of the adversary, in changing into an evil and a misleading of the creatures, are more successful and more powerful than those of the sacred being; (97) because the evil in *any* period is stronger than the good.

98. Again, *observe* this, that when a criminal *arises* wholly through his will¹, (99) and the minds of criminals are defiled by him himself, (100) and the seed of crime is sown by him himself, (101) when² *it* *has* grown who *has* maintained *its* origin? 102.

¹ The will of the adversary is probably meant (see § 95).

² So in Sans. and JE, but AK has 'so that.'

And by what power of adjudication is one executed *and* one rewarded¹?

103. Again, *observe* this, *was* this world made and created by him (the creator) for a purpose, for his own pleasure *and* for the sake of the comfort and happiness of mankind, or without a purpose, for his own discomfort and the hurry, trouble, pain, *and* death of mankind? 104. For if made by him without a purpose, *he was* acting foolishly; (105) a thing without a purpose *being* not acceptable by the wise. 106. If made by him for a purpose, and created by him for his own pleasure and the comfort and happiness of mankind, (107) why *was* it not made by him prosperous *and* full of happiness?

108. If his pleasure and happiness *arise* from the preparation of mankind and the creatures, what is the advantage from their slaughter and devastation? 109. If thoughts of crime are not given by him himself to mankind, who is he who gives thoughts of crime different from his command and will? 110. If *they* are given by him himself, and he now considers them a fault, what is that justice and arbitration of his owing to? 111. For when mankind, with little knowledge and little wisdom, even then, so far as they are able, do not let the lion and wolf *and* other noxious creatures in among their own young ones *and* pregnant females, (112) so long as they *can* destroy them, (113) why *has* the merciful sacred being now let² Aharman and the demons in upon his own creatures, (114) so that they have

¹ That is, why is the sinner punished while the adversary, who occasions the sin, remains unmolested and triumphant?

² AK has 'let' written above 'admitted.'

made them vile¹, defiled, wicked, *and* hellish? 115. If done for the sake of experiment, just as that which they assert, that evil *was* created by him for the sake of an experiment as regards the creatures, (116) why *was* it not understood by him before those men and creatures *existed*? 117. Because *he* whose custom² is experiment is not to be called omniscient.

118. The conclusion is this, that the sacred being, if *there* existed no opponent and adversary of his, was able to create all those creatures and creations of his free from misfortune; why did *he* not *so* create *them*? 119. Or was it not possible for him to wish *it*? 120. If it were not possible for him to wish *it*, *he* is not completely capable. 121. If it were possible for him not to wish *it*, *he* is not merciful. 122. If *it were* known by him that *he might say*: 'Something *or* some one *will* arise, from these creatures *and* creations which I create, that *will* not *be* according to my will,' (123) and ultimately he made *them*, (124) then to attach now all this wrath and cursing *and* casting away for punishment in hell, discontentedly to his own performance, is unreasonable.

125. Again, *observe* this, that if all the crime-meditating *and* crime-committing sin which mankind think *and* speak *and* do, as well as pain, sickness, poverty, *and* the punishment *and* misery of hell, cannot arise, except by the will and command of the

¹ Pâz. khôr, which Nêr. seems to have identified with Pers. kar, as his Sans. gives 'deaf.' It may, however, mean 'blind' (Pers. kûr), as in Chap. XII, 64, 70.

² The Sanskrit takes Pâz. dastûr in its more usual sense of 'high-priest.'

sacred being—(126) the will *and* power of the sacred being *being* eternal¹, (127) because his self-existence is also eternal—(128) the hopelessness of eternally saving any one whatever from misery and punishment is now certain. 129. For *it* is repeatedly declared that there is no learned teacher whatever who keeps one away from these mischievous evil desires, (130) if the worshipper *be even of* the same kind *as* those worshippers *and* high-priests who *have* issued to mankind this admonition: 'Commit no crime *and* sin.' 131. Because they wish to set aside the will *and* command of the sacred being². 132. *Observe* this, too, that, as both are his will, alike crime *and* alike good works, *it* is not manifest whether he approves the good works of doers of good works more, or the crimes of criminals.

133. Likewise *observe* this, those physicians who, on account of the hope of the soul, prepare the medicine of the sick, (134) and remove *and* dismiss their pain and disease, (135) so that merit is possessed by them (the physicians) owing to that practice; (136) yet they³ are prepared for the punishment of hell. 137. And those who, on account of affection *for* the soul, give something to poor, begging, suffering people, (138) and thereby scatter⁴ *and* dismiss their want *and* poverty, (139) so that merit is possessed by them (the charitable)

¹ Sans. has 'the will of the sacred being *being* powerful and eternal.'

² Without whose will and command the sin and evil cannot arise, as assumed in § 125.

³ The sick are probably meant, but the original text is ambiguous.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. hugârend stands for Pahl. aûkâlend.

owing to that practice ; (140) yet it becomes grievous sin for them¹, through anxiety. 141. If they say that those physicians *and* the remedies which they offer, *and* also those who give something *to* the poor *and* suffering, all *exist* by the will of the sacred being, (142) it is easier, more reasonable, *and* more adapted to divinity, when the sacred being is without an adversary *and* without an opponent, for him not to create that disease *and* poverty (143) than *that, as to* those that *he* himself is to make sick *and* poor, he *should have* commanded mankind thus: 'Ye shall make them healthy *and* free from want.' 144. If they say that his desire is this, that he *may* occasion the happiness of those physicians *and* givers by the recompense for it, (145) and make them proceed² to the eternal happiness of heaven (vahist); (146) you should observe, *as to* that, since he acts injudiciously *and* incapably when, on account of the existence of a complete desire for happiness *and* prosperity³ among others, *he* is an attainer of misery *for* multitudes of the innocent who are distressed, poor, necessitous, *and* sick, (147) this *may also be said*, that if *it be* not possible for him to occasion happiness and prosperity⁴ as regards one, except by the distress, pain, and vexation of some other, (148) that *shows that* his absolute power *and* freedom from opposition are not adapted for effectual operation. 149. If they say

¹ Probably the poor, but the original text is ambiguous.

² Assuming that Pâz. *gâminêd* stands for Pahl. *gâmînêd*. The old MS. AK ends with this section, and the remaining half of the extant text has been found only in modern copies, having been formerly separated from AK and lost

³ So in JE, but JJ has 'nobility,' and MH19 has 'pleasure.'

⁴ JJ has 'nobility.'

that he makes those sick *and* poor proceed to the eternal happiness of heaven in the spiritual *existence*, as a recompense for it, (150) that *implies*, if *it be* not possible, *or* not completely possible, for him to give the recompense in the spiritual *existence*, except through the misery of the worldly *one*, (151) also this, that—his production of distress in the worldly *existence arising* unquestionably *and* unreasonably, through *its* previous occurrence, (152) *and* the recompense of the spiritual *existence arising* doubtfully *and* incredibly after the production of the distress—(153) just as the previous distress is unreasonable, the after recompense *occurs* alike unreasonably *and* foolishly. 154. This also *may be said*, that no after nobility is obtained for previous distress without a cause.

155. Again, *observe* this, that the existence of one of these three doctrines is inevitable:—(156) Every single thing that is, *or* was, *or will* be in this world is all by his will, *or it is* not, (157) *or* there are *some* that are by his will *and* there are *some* that are not. 158. Because nothing whatever is found which is not good, *or* evil, *or* a mixture¹ of both.

159. If they say that all *things* are *by* his will, the good and evil are both his desire. 160. If good and evil are both his desire, *he* is not of perfect will; (161) *it is* not perfect even as to a single *thing*. 162. And he who is of imperfect will must be himself imperfect, (163) as is shown above².

164. If nothing *be by* his will, (165) on account of nothing being *by* the will there is no will. 166. He *in* whom there is no will is working constitutionally³,

¹ Assuming that Pâz. hamekhtaa stands for Pahl. âmîkhtak.

² Compare Chap. VIII, 108–116.

³ That is, 'instinctively.'

(167) and he who is working constitutionally is constituted *and* made.

168. If there be *some things* which are *by* his will, *and* there be *some* which are not *by* his will, (169) *and* nothing is found in the world which is not good and not evil, (170) *from* that *it* is known *that*, if the sacred being *be of* good will, *he* is not desirous of that evil of it, (171) and that which is evil is not by his will. 172. If his will *be* evil *he* is inevitably not desirous of that good of it, (173) *and* that which is good is not by his will. 174. If that which is good *be by* the will of the sacred being, *it* is known *that* that which is evil arose from another will. 175. If that which is evil *be by* his will, that which is good arose inevitably from another will. 176. *And* the inevitability *of* a rival *of* the will of the sacred being is manifest.

177. If *one* says the evil springs from mankind, (178) that *implies* the inevitability—since mankind is not perpetually a self-existence—*that* evil either arose before mankind, or after, (179) or it arose with mankind. 180. If they say it arose before mankind, (181) that *implies*—since, apart from the sacred being, *there* was no other creator and producer—(182) *that* either the sacred being produced that evil, or it produced its own existence itself, or it was itself eternal. 183. If they say it arose after mankind, (184) *as to* that, when human nature is likewise a production of the sacred being, (185) and the sacred being did not produce evil in the nature of mankind, (186) how has it sprung into action from them? 187. If the evil *was* set in action by them, apart from the will of the sacred being, (188) and a knowledge, as to *their* setting about it, existed *in*

the sacred being, (189) that *implies that* the sacred being is imperfect in his own will, (190) and mankind are victorious and triumphant in setting aside the will *and* command of the sacred being, and doing the evil competing *with* the will of the sacred being. 191. Also the power of the sacred being in his own will and his own servants is manifestly unprevailing. 192. If they say that he makes them proceed afterwards to the awful punishment of hell, (193) *as to that*¹, if the sacred being *be* a powerful doer, *and* not to allow the committal of crime, *but* to convey it away from their minds, *be* more advantageous *and* more adapted to the compassion of a sacred being than *if* he allowed the committal, (194) *yet he has* become helplessly contented with it, (195) *and*, afterwards, contentedly punishes his own creatures, (196) *then*, as to the one matter I am well considering, either incapability, or scanty knowledge, or scanty goodness is thereby manifested.

197. If they say that the sacred being produced and created evil for the reason that so mankind *may* fully understand the value of goodness, (198) *as to that* you should observe that, if evil *be* requisite and advantageous for understanding goodness, that evil exists *by* his good will. 199. *And* if evil exists *by* his good will, and is requisite *and* advantageous for him *of* whom they say that evil is not his wish, *it* is inconsistent.

200. *As to that* also which they say, that death, pain, *and* poverty *are* produced by him for the reason that so mankind *may* much better understand the value of life, health, and opulence, (201) *and* become more grateful unto the sacred being, (202) *as to that*

¹ So in MH19 and Sans., but JE omits 'that.'

you should observe that *it* is as *it were* acting unreasonably, in the mode of him who gives poison to mankind for the sake of increasing the value *and* price of an antidote, (203) so that he *may* sell the antidote dearer *and* more costly. 204. To what is this intermeddling action owing, that, for the sake of an understanding of the value of the goodness of other *things*, he allows pain, death, *and* misery in some one else?

205. Again, *as to* that which a multitude of them say, that the sacred being is a ruler over every creature and creation, (206) because his creations are all his own. 207. *And* he acts about them as is desirable for him, because it is desirable for him, *and he* is not a causer of distress. 208. Since distress is that which they inflict upon anything that is not their own, (209) then he who, all things *being* his own, acts about them as is desirable for him, is not a causer of distress¹. 210. *As to* that you should know that, if, on account of sovereignty, he who occasions distress is not to be called a causer of distress, (211) that is *as though* even he who is a sovereign *and* tells a lie is speaking truthfully, (212) and he who, on account of sovereignty, commits crime, sin, theft, *and* plunder is not to be called a sinner. 213. Such as that which the glorified Rôshan², son of Âtûr-frôbag, related as a parable (ângunî-aîtak), (214) that they saw a man who was defiling an ass, (215) when they enquired of him

¹ Compare Rom. ix. 20, 21 : ' Shall the thing formed say to him that formed *it*, "Why hast thou made me thus?" Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?'

² See Chap. X, 53.

thus: 'Why dost thou commit this execrable action?' 216. And he spoke thus, in excuse: 'The ass is my own.'

217. Again, you should ask this of them, (218) that is: 'Is the sacred being a friend, or an enemy, to these creatures and creations which are made by him?' 219. If *he be* a friend of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to desire *and* to produce the evil *and* misery of the creatures; (220) *yet*, as regards the devastation and misery of his own achievements, *he has* never even become tired of them. 221. If *he be* an enemy of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to create *and* produce, through his own competent knowledge, that thing which is his enemy *and* disablement¹, and struggles against his will.

222. This, too, you should ask, (223) that is: 'Is the sacred being always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity², (224) or an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress? 225. Or is there a time when *he is* a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (226) and is there a time when *he is* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress?'

227. If *he be* always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (228) that *implies that* there are not, in his country *and* sovereignty, *any* oppression, distress, and complaint; (229) and his affection *for* the creatures and the affection of the creatures for him are pure. 230. Owing to the

¹ Assuming that Pâz. apadvâh stands for Pahl. apatûgih; the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

² Reading âvâdîh-kar instead of Pâz. âzâdîgar, 'producing freedom, or nobility,' which two words are alike in Pahlavi writing.

same reason *he is* merciful as regards his own creatures, (231) and his creatures are recounting *his* praise, utterers of thanksgivings *and* pure friends towards him. 232. His title of divinity, moreover, is worthily his own.

233. If *he be* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress, (234) that *implies that he is* himself a pure¹ enemy to the creatures, and his creatures are also *of* a like nature towards him. 235. Owing to the same reason *he is* an injurer, destroyer, *and* deluder of the creatures, (236) and his creatures are complainers of him, strugglers concerning him, *and* pure enemies. 237. His title of divinity, moreover, is the equivalent of an unworthy name; (238) and, even on account of his eternity, the creatures are hopeless of becoming free from the risk of distress and misery for an unlimited time.

239. If there be a time when *he is* a good sovereign, well-understanding, *and* occasioning prosperity, and there be a time when *he is* turned away from this; (240) that *implies that* his affection for the creatures is mingled. 241. From a mingled affection *arises* mingled action, (242) *and* from mingled action a mingled individuality is also manifested. 243. And his creatures also are mingled friends to him. 244. Of *one's* associates *there is* none who, if a friend, is not one's enemy, no praiser who is not complaining of one, no glorifier even who is not scorning one; a character of this description is manifest among all creatures.

245. Again, *observe* this, that since all things which are in the world are not outside of these two terms,

¹ The word *avêzak*, 'pure,' is here used idiomatically for 'mere,' precisely as 'pure' is often used in English.

good and evil, (246) that *implies*, if good and evil are both said *to arise* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, (247) *that* the troublesome Aharman is unreasonably defamed; *that, being* innocent *and* without an original evolution, he never was, nor *will* be, evil and headstrong¹. 248. That which is mentioned in scripture (nīpīk)², that Aharman became headstrong, and was put out of heaven by them, is unreasonable, (249) because even that headstrongness *and* disobedience *were* likewise through the will of the sacred being.

250. If even it be said *that* the good *arises* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, *and* the evil from mankind, still Aharman is without an original evolution *and* innocent, and curses *and* scorn for him are unreasonable. 251. If all this misery and evil *be* sent down, not from a different nature, but from the individuality and individual nature of the sacred being himself, (252) that *implies that* the sacred being is an enemy *and* adversary to his own tendencies (rûn).

253. *Observe* this, too, that to speak of the existence of criminality apart from a nature of crime is very deluding; (254) *and* as it is deluding to imagine a nature of crime that is good, *is it* more deluding to imagine Aharman—who is the origin *and* original evolution of every crime—*apart* from the creation and achievement of the sacred being?

255. The conclusion is this, that if *at* first there be anything which is not within the will of the sacred being, provided everything be through the will of the sacred being, no one whatever is a sinner; (256)

¹ Literally 'with averted head.'

² Probably referring to the Qur'ân XV, 26-40 (see § 59 n).

and the apostle¹ and religion *were* appointed without a purpose. 257. If it be expedient to ruin any one for sinfulness, it is more expedient to ruin him who is the original doer, maintainer, and creator of every evil and crime. 258. And if it be said *that* evil and crime *arise* from Aharman or mankind, that *implies*, as they are likewise created and produced *by* the sacred being, *that* he is the source of them; in like manner, he who is the cause of the origin of evil (259) is worse than evil.

260. This, too, you should observe, that sects (kêshân) of every kind assert this *maxim*, handed down by their own high-priests, when *it* is mentioned and prescribed by them to their own congregation (ram), that is: 'Perform good works *and* abstain from crime.' 261. On account of delusion they do not consider this, that is, from where and what origin ought the crime to arise, about which *it* is thus commanded: 'Ye shall not commit *it*, *and* I *will* cast *him* who commits *it* into eternal hell.' 262. So that, if *that* same *be* owing to the sacred being, it would be easier for him not to produce it, than, after *its* production, *to have* brought *it* to notice and commanded *us* to abstain from it. 263. So far, indeed, I do not understand any advantage and motive *in* the production and creation of evil.

264. Again, in their scriptures, he speaks inconsistently about good works and crime (265) thus: 'Good works and crime are both owing to me. 266. Neither demons, nor wizards, are unrestricted in causing the ruin of any one. 267. No one *has* accepted the religion *and* done good works, and no one *has* walked in infidelity *and* committed crime, except through my will.'

¹ Zarâtûst.

268. In the same scripture he adduces many *things* which *one has* to connect, and inflicts curses on the creatures, (269) thus: 'Why do mankind desire *and* commit that crime which I design for them?' 270. It occurs concerning the will and work of his own hand, and *yet* he frightens them with punishment in body and soul. 271. *In* another place he speaks thus: 'I myself am the deluder of mankind, for if it should be my will they *would* then be shown the true path by me, but *it is* my will that they go to hell¹.' 272. And *in* another place he speaks thus: 'Man himself is the causer of crime.'

273. In these three modes the sacred being gives evidence of different kinds about his own creatures. 274. One is this, that *he* himself is Aharman²; (275) one is this, that he is himself the deluder of the creatures³; (276) *and*, in the other, he makes his own creatures confederates involved with Aharman in deluding⁴; so that *he implies*: 'There are *instances* when I occasion *it*, *and* there are *instances* when Aharman *does*.'

277. Through that *which* he states, that mankind themselves occasion crime, they are made by him confederates with Aharman; *he* himself *being* at a distance from the crime. 278. For if mankind commit crime owing to their own nature and their own delusion, that *implies that* the sacred being, with

¹ Texts to this effect are numerous in the Qur'ân, such as 'whom he pleases does God lead astray, and whom he pleases he places on the right way . . . God leads the wrong-doers astray; for God does what he will . . . in hell they shall broil' (Qur'ân VI, 39, XIV, 32, 34; SBE, vol. vi).

² As deduced from the passage quoted in § 269.

³ As stated in the passage quoted in § 271.

⁴ As implied in the passage quoted in § 272.

Aharman, is far from the criminality, (279) because *it is as it were* not owing to the sacred being, nor yet owing to Aharman.

280. Again, you should ask of those whom they call Mû tazalîk¹ (281) thus: 'Is *it* the will of the sacred being *for* all mankind to abstain from crime through *their own* free will², to escape from hell, and to make *them* proceed to heaven, or not?' 282. If *one* says that *it is* not, (283) that *implies that* an³ opinion is formed by him as to the little goodness of the sacred being *and* the evil of his will; (284) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence. 285. If *one* says that *it is* his will, (286) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the good will of the sacred being; (287) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence.

288. *Ask* this, too, that is: 'If *it be* his will, is *he* capable of performing *it*, or not?' 289. If *one* says that *he is* not, (290) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the incapability of the sacred being as regards that will of his; (291) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty. 292. If *one* says that *he is* capable of performing *his* will, (293) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to *his*

¹ Which is doubtless the original Pahlavi form of Pâz. muth-zarî. It is an adjective, meaning 'seceding, schismatic,' derived from Ar. mu'htazil, and applied specially to Muhammadan schismatics.

² Assuming that Pâz. âwâd-kâmî stands for Pahl. âzâd-kâmîh, which would be identical with the former word in Pahlavi writing.

³ JE has 'no' in Pâz. but not in Sans., which negative is evidently a modern blunder.

capability for that will of his; (294) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty.

295. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'When *he* is capable of performing his will, does he perform *it*, or not?'

296. If *one* says that he performs *it*, (297) that *implies that* the abstaining from sin, escaping from hell, and bringing to heaven¹ would be manifested unto all mankind; (298) *but* this is that which is not manifest by his existence, and is falsifying even his own revelation (dīnô).

299. If *one* says that *he* is capable of performing his will, but does not perform *it*, (300) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the unmercifulness of the sacred being, *his* enmity to mankind, and the inconstancy of his will.

301. For if he performs *it*, *it* is no harm to him himself and is an advantage *to* mankind; his own will is also continuous thereby. 302. *But* if he does not perform *it*, *it* is no advantage to him himself and is harm *to* mankind; his own will is also discontinuous thereby.

303. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'Does he not perform *it* through will, or without will?'

304. If *one* says that he does not perform *it* through will, (305) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him that the sacred being is good-willed, *but* has no will to do good; (306) *and* this is even to consider *him* faulty through inconsistency. 307. If *one* says that *he* is without will, *and* therefore does not perform *it*, (308) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the weakness of the sacred being in his own self, or the existence of an injurer of his will.

309. The conclusion is this, that, *with* a manager

¹ JJ has 'saving from hell *and* escaping to heaven.'

of this worldly *existence* who may be without an opponent, without competition, and perfect in sagacity, goodness, and capability, *there* should not be all these unworthy actions, trouble and misery, pain and vexation, especially of mankind and the other creatures. 310. Because, when a manager, without an opponent, is perfect in sagacity, he knows means for evil not to occur and also remedies for carrying off evil. 311. When *he* is perfect in goodness and merciful, *he has* no wish for the occurrence of evil at first, *but* a wish for *its* extinction. 312. When *he* is perfect in capability, *he* is capable of not really becoming equally the origin of evil.

313. Now, as in the worldly *existence*, whose manager is the sacred being, the existence of evil is unquestionably visible, then thus much is not separable from this, either where the manager is *provided* with an opponent, or is without an opponent:—314. If he does not know means for evil not to occur, and remedies for carrying off evil, the imperfect sagacity of the sacred being is thereby¹ manifested. 315. Or the evil exists *with* his good will, *and* the imperfect goodness of his will is manifested. 316. Or *he* is not capable of not *allowing* the occurrence of evil, and of carrying *it* off, *and* the imperfect capability of the sacred being is manifested. 317. And when *he* is imperfect even *in* one—in sagacity, or goodness, or capability—*it* is not fitting to glorify *and* worship *him* as the divine existence who is almighty, all-good, *and* all-wise.

318. This, too, you should know, that since any existing thing, which is acting, is *provided* with a will, *but its* nature *has* not become unrestricted, (319) that

¹ Reading *agas* instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and by it.'

shows that, if the original existence of the creator *be* divinity, and his nature *be* light *and* beauty, fragrance and purity, goodness and sagacity, then such *things* as darkness and ugliness, stench *and* pollution, vileness *and* ignorance—the demoniacal nature itself—ought to *be* far from him. 320. If his original existence *be* anything demoniacal, and his nature *be* darkness *or* stench, ugliness *or* pollution, vileness *or* ignorance, then the nature of divinity remains strange to him.

321. If there *be any* one by whom indecision about all this is insinuated into his own self, that *implies that*, owing to his indecision about it, there is no discrimination *in* him as to goodness, amid his own evil. 322. Now, moreover, the hope of the hopeful is absorbed, (323) for even he who goes to heaven through doing good works is, even there, in evil and misery, (324) because there is no distinct discrimination of good from evil, even there, (325) if there *be* the goodness which is devoid of evil, *and* there *be* also the evil which is devoid of goodness, represented *as* really of the same origin. 326. This is known, that the difference of good and evil is owing to difference of nature. 327. When the two origins of their difference and distinction from the other of different nature are manifest, that hope of the hopeful is just, (328) and sagacity is their passport (parvânak).

329. This, too, you should know, that every statement which is not unconfused by its own limits is unenquiring (apad-khvâh)¹. 330. Likewise this, that the limit of divinity is specially sagacity. 331. *And* also this, that² the limit of sagacity is only³

¹ Sans. has 'undesirable.'

² JJ and Sans. omit these four words.

³ Literally 'one.'

advantageous action. 332. Advantageous action is not doing injury; (333) *and* the modes of doing injury are three. 334. One is that which, *being* no advantage to oneself, is the injury of another also. 335. [One is that which, *being* no advantage to another¹], is the injury of oneself also. 336. *And* one is that which is the injury of oneself and the injury of another also. 337. And from the creation of Aharman and the demons *there* is no advantage *to* a wisely-acting sacred being himself, *and there is* injury of others also; (338) the non-advancement of even his own will, owing to his own work, is always manifested thereby.

339. This, too, *you should know*, that if the will of the sacred being *be* goodness, (340) his will is also eternal. 341. And he should *be* capable of a suitable will, (342) so that, from the beginning even to the end, all the goodness *and* virtue of the will of the sacred being would have proceeded in the world. 343. Now *it* is manifest that vileness and vice always proceed much more. 344. Therefore *the cause* is one of these, either they always proceed through the will of the sacred being, or without *his* will. 345. If they always proceed through some will of the sacred being, *it* is evident that his will is also for vileness as well as for goodness, (346) or *he* is inefficient and changeable in will. 347. Since a will does not change, unless owing to a cause, or unless owing to a changer, (348) that *implies* one of these two, either *it* is through some cause, or there exists some other *being with* him as a changer of his will. 349. If they always proceed not through the will of the sacred being, (350) *from* that *it* is evident that the

¹ The words in brackets are omitted, both in Pâz. and Sans., by JE and JJ, the only two MSS. available.

sacred being is suffering in his own will, and his will is not perfect, (351) or there exists some diminisher of it who is a possessor *of* will.

352. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being commanded Adam thus : 'Thou shalt not eat of this one tree which is in paradise (vahist)¹, (353) you should ask of them (354) thus : 'Was the command which the sacred being gave to Adam, thus : "You shall not eat of this tree," good or evil ?' 355. If the command were good *it* is evident that the tree was evil, (356) *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to create anything that is evil. 357. If the tree were good the command was evil, *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to give an evil command. 358. If the tree were good, and the command as to not eating *were* given by him, it is not ² adapted to the goodness and mercifulness of the sacred being to allot a benefit *away* from his own innocent servants.

359. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being brings every one whom he wills unto faith and the true way, and, as the recompense, he makes him proceed to the happy progress which is eternal ; (360) *and* him whom he does not will he leaves in irreligion and ignorance of the sacred being, and, for that reason, he casts him into hell and eternal misery³ ; (361) you should ask of them (362) thus : 'Is he good whose desire and will are for the religion and faith of the sacred being and the true way, or he whose desire and will are for going astray, irreligion, and ignorance of the sacred being ?' 363. If *one* says that he is good whose desire and will

¹ See § 64.

² Reading Pâz. *ne* instead of Pâz. *be*, 'quite,' as the Sanskrit has a negative participle.

³ See § 271.

are for the religion of the sacred being and the true way, (364) now *as to* that man about whom this is the will of the sacred being, that he *shall* leave him in irreligion, going astray, and ignorance of the sacred being, *and to whom* an apostle, or *some* other person who is a friend, recites the revelation (dînô) of the sacred being and the true way, (365) *does* that *show that* the sacred being is thereby better and more beneficial to him, or are that apostle *and* that person *so*? 366. If *one* says that the will of the sacred being about him¹ is good, it is thereby asserted by him, that not understanding the sacred being, not accepting the religion, and going astray are good; *but* this is not acceptable [and not to be taught²], on account of error. 367. If *one* says that his coming to the true religion and understanding the sacred being are thereby better and more beneficial, (368) it is thereby obviously asserted by one that the apostle and person are thereby better to him than the sacred being. 369. Because a person *through* whom the true way and an understanding of the sacred being are wanted among mankind, and his will is *bent* upon it, is much better than he who is a sacred being (370) *by* whose will backsliding (avâz-râsîh), misunderstanding, and irreligion *exist* among them; *and* the sacred being is much worse than that person.

371. *Observe* this, too, that if the criminal thought and criminal action of man are by the will of the sacred being, that already *implies* that the sacred being produced criminal thought, and sowed crime

¹ The man mentioned in § 364.

² The words in brackets have no equivalent in the Pâzand text, but are indicated by âsvâdyañka in Sans.

in his mind, (372) and Aharman merely invites and instigates him to the committal of crime; that *shows that* the criminal thought *traced to* the sacred being and also his desire for it are more violent and worse than the invitation of Aharman. 373. When, too, his listening to *what proceeds* from Aharman, *as to* the committal of crime, is likewise due to the criminal thought which the sacred being produced, and *so also is* his desire for it, *it* is already obvious that the sacred being is much worse and more sinful than Aharman.

374. As regards these statements, which are enumerated by us, (375) one of these two *opinions* must arise, (376) either that all are true or that all are false, (377) or there are *some* which are true and there are *some* which are false. 378. If all *be* true, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is false, *or* something *of* the two, truth and falsehood. 379. If all *be* false, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is true, *or* something *of* the two together¹. 380. If there be *some* that are true and there be *some* that are false, (381) then of those which are true—*derived* from the nature and nucleus (nâf) of truth—(382) and of those which are false—*derived* from the nature and nucleus and original evolution of falsehood—(383) the origins are two, one from which *arises* truth, *and* one *from* which *arises* falsehood.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Again, about the inconsistency of their assertions *there* are several statements from the Dinkard²

¹ Sans. has 'something mingled twofold.'

² See Chap. IV, 107. As the inconsistent statements which

manuscript, (2) *as to* that which they say, that the sacred being is around everything, *but* nothing is within him; (3) and within everything, *but* nothing is around him. 4. *That he is* above everything, *but* nothing is below him; (5) and below everything, *but* nothing is above him. 6. *That* he sits upon a throne, *but* is possessing no *resting*-place; (7) and is inside heaven, *but* is possessing no whereabouts. 8. *That* he does not exist in any place, and *yet* he does exist *there*. 9. *That* he exists everywhere, and *yet* his place does not exist. 10. Also *that* everything of his becomes *fit* for his own by his own will, (11) *his* original evolution *being both* malice and good; (12) and *he is* eternally unforgiving and compassionate, (13) preparing distress and not distressing. 14. Likewise *that* he *has* commanded him who is incapable of performing *or* neglecting the divine command, (15) and he *has* created him who is innocent for hell, not the distresser. 16. *That he is* aware of the hellish existence of mankind, owing to wickedness, and his will is for it; (17) and *he is* good-willed, or it *has* become not his will. 18. *That* he *has* produced a remedy, and is not himself distressing; (19) or no remedy, but want of remedy, is produced by him, *and yet he is* not possessing an opponent. 20. *That he is* wanting experience, and *yet* omniscient; (21) neglecting commands, and *yet*

follow in the text are not to be found in the portion of the Dînkard known to be extant, they were probably contained in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered. Chap. 132 of the third book (130 in Dastûr Peshotan's translation, pp. 176-178) is the nearest approach to our text in style, but not in matter. It is 'about him who is in all *and* over all, over and not lower than anything *nor* through anything, that is, even owing to management *he is* over all, and all is manageable by him.'

they are themselves his will; (22) and he who neglects, and provides a restricted evolution¹, is yet a good sovereign. 23. Also that his commands are all continuous, (24) and yet the setting aside of his commands is obtainable. 25. And that there is some of his will which is not continuous, (26) and neglect of his will is not an injurer of the will. 27. Likewise that he has commanded that which is not his will, (28) and the command which is not inconsistent with his will and also the command which is inconsistent with his will are both proper. 29. Also that his good will is not a discontinuous will, (30) and as to his evil will, which makes evil things, that is judicious. 31. And many other inconsistencies which are in the assertions of various sects.

32. If it be not possible for an orderly (*padmânîk*) religion to exist, without rescue from these inconsistent assertions of many kinds, (33) they then² say this of it, that *to* the supposers of two original evolutions³ the work of the sacred being is weak and unresisting; (34) and they say *it* is not as *it were* adapted to the grandeur of the sacred being.

35. Upon this subject, too, there are *some matters*, which I *shall* clearly state, *that* should be dictated and known. 36. That is, does he⁴ make divine things weaker and more unresisting, (37) where *it is he* who says that *the sacred being's* own achievements,

¹ Reading *bandak-gastîh* instead of *Pâz. bandayastî*; compare Chap. IV, 73 n.

² Reading *adînas*, 'then of it,' for *Pâz. ainâ*, as in Chap. IV, 81.

³ That is, those who hold the orthodox Mazda-worshipper's opinion, that the producer of evil is independent of the producer of good, so long as the former continues to exist.

⁴ The believer in a single original evolution without any independent producer of evil. Connect §§ 36, 37 with §§ 52, 53.

which *were* created by him, have all lapsed into *being* intolerant of command *and* deaf to admonition, (38) till even the most tender-bodied creatures struggle against his will? 39. And so *they have* slain or impaled those many prophets (vakhshvarân) *and* apostles (pêtkhambarân) of his, who are appointed by him; (40) *and* there are *some* who *have* acted scornfully, contemptibly, and irreverently. 41. This, too, is where *he has* not only not protected his own dominion from the vile *creatures* which *were* created by him himself, but *he has* himself afflicted his own dominion also; (42) and he himself destroys his own productions without a reason, (43) and himself renders his own creations useless. 44. Through his own culpability he himself destroys his own innocent servants. 45. He himself makes his own peculiar friends weak, needy, sinful, and deluded. 46. And *his* wrath, *inflicted* upon a single innocent servant, which is like Aharman's¹, makes his own innumerable creatures unobservant *and* deluded. 47. For a sin that is limited, which is owing to his own actions, he puts the innocent to unlimited punishment². 48. The door of forgiveness is finally shut up, (49) and he is not satiated with the pain, distress, and misery of his own creatures, (50) *but* maintains *them* perpetually in action and excitement. 51. And *yet* he is not able to insist upon the commands which he

¹ Aharman being supposed to be the producer of the demon of wrath, who is one of his most powerful auxiliaries.

² Sans. has 'he puts another unlimited punishment upon the innocent;' Nêr. having read hanô, 'another,' instead of avô, 'to,' which two words are written alike in Pahlavi. As the author's interpretation of his opponent's argument assumes that everything, including sin, is produced by the sacred being, he naturally concludes that the sinners themselves are innocent.

gives *in* the beginning, middle, *or* end. 52. Or is it he¹ who says that that *one* is the sacred being who is perpetually a ruler, all-knowing and almighty; (53) whose dominion and knowledge and power are perpetual *and* for unlimited time? 54. Owing to him, too, is the happiness of any goodness; (55) his actions also are for a purpose, *his* commands are advantageous, (56) *he is* compassionate and forgiving as regards his own servants, (57) and is an abundant bestower of recompense, too, *on* that servant who is a carrier *off* of victory. 58. As to him who is a sinner, who, on account of his own sinfulness, becomes captive *in* the hands of the enemy², *he is* forgiving upon atonement *for* the sinfulness and cleansing from iniquity and pollution. 59. *In* the end *he* is no leaver of any good creature captive in the hands of enemies³, (60) and is their protector, maintainer, and cherisher, in body and life, amid *their* contest and struggle with enemies. 61. *He is* a complete defender of his own empire from opponents of a different nature, (62) and his champions and troops become victorious in the struggle and contest. 63. *And* in the end *he is* a bringer of victory *to* his own creatures, as regards every iniquity.

64. When it is observed *as* to light, knowledge, sight, life, health, *and* other divine creations, that *they* are fully resistant and prevailing over darkness,

¹ The believer in two original evolutions, good and evil; the producer of the latter being independent of the producer of the former for a limited period of existence. This producer of evil is not clearly described here, but is mentioned in §§ 58-61, 72 as an enemy and opponent. §§ 52, 53 are to be read in connection with §§ 36-38.

² The spiritual enemy, Aharman.

³ Compare Chap. IV, 100.

ignorance, blindness, death, sickness, *and* other demoniacal peculiarities—(65) because this is known, that light is the putting aside of all darkness, (66) knowledge is victorious over ignorance, (67) and life is powerful¹ and increasing over death, (68) for, owing to the powerfulness and increase of life, the incalculable progress of the creatures arises from two persons, (69) and multitudes are confident about it; (70) so also sight and health are manifestly as much victorious and powerful over blindness and sickness—(71) *such being observed*, it is also expedient to observe this, that is, what does the opposing fiend want, *and* about what do the troops of the sacred being struggle?

72. That opponent wants this *that he speaks of* thus: 'I *will* make this earth and sky and the creatures which are luminaries² extinct, (73) or I *will* bring *them* into *my* possession, *and will* pervert *them* from their own nature³, (74) so that the sacred being shall not be able to occasion the resurrection and the renovation *of the universe*, and to restore his own creatures.'

75. The troops of the sacred being struggle about this, that the opponent shall not attain to *his* will through *his* desire. 76. *Observe* this, too, that the troops of Aûharmazd *have been* valiant in struggling and successful in will *ever* since the original creation.

77. From this *it* is manifest, when it happens *that* this earth and sky are formed, (78) that it *would be* possible for him to make all creatures and creations extinct; but *he* is incapable of making even one of the most tender-bodied creatures of the sacred being

¹ Assuming that Pâz. a va zmand stands for Pahl. aog-hômand.

² Sans. has 'of the luminaries.'

³ Compare Bd. I, 14.

extinct. 79. Because, if even, by reason of death, the body be separated from life, *it* is not extinction and change of nature from its own self, but decay¹ of peculiarities and a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty². 80. Then each one of the qualities of one's body *and* life is to subsist again, in its own nature, for other duties, as is revealed. 81. And the existence of these creatures and creation, fully continuously *and* perpetually active, is advantageously manifest during a suitable period.

82. Thus far is considered complete upon this subject.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Again, about the inconsistency and faulty statements of the first scripture³, (2) which they call holy (âzâd)—(3) and as to it they are, *in* every way, unanimous that the sacred being wrote *it* with his own hand, *and* gave *it* to Moses (Mûshâê)—(4) so that, as *it* is full of delusion, I *will* here publish, for your information, a story⁴ out of all *its* stupidity and of much that is in it.

5. It states, in the beginning *of* the scripture, (6) that *there* first arose earth, without form and void⁵,

¹ Assuming that Pâz. nyârasni is a misreading of Pahl. ni-hârisnô.

² Compare Chap. IV, 87.

³ The Old Testament.

⁴ Pâz. nihang-e (Pahl. nisang-1, Av. ni + sangha) appears to mean 'a tale, tract, or essay,' and is connected with farhang, 'learning.' Sans. has 'somewhat, a little.'

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. âv khûn u tân (which Nêr. seems to have understood as âv-i khûn-vatân, 'water containing blood') is a misreading of Pahl. afâm va tahân. Nêr. may have been thinking of Mkh. IX, 8.

darkness, and black water; (7) and the breathing¹ of the sacred being ever yearns² over the face of that black water³. 8. Afterwards the sacred being spoke thus: 'Let *there* be light,' (9) and *there* was light⁴. 10. And stooping he considered that light below him, (11) and the light *was* transmitted by him to the day, and the darkness to the night⁵. 12. In six days this world and sky *and* earth *were* also created by him, (13) for during the seventh day he was reposing (khaspân) and comfortable⁶. 14. Through that same mystery (râz) even now the Jews are enjoying repose *on* the Sabbath day⁷.

15. This, too, *is stated*, that Adam and his wife Eve (Havâê) *were* created by him, (16) *and* put into a garden of paradise (vahist); (17) so that Adam

¹ Reading vâ-yâ, 'air, breath,' instead of Pâz. vakhsh, 'growth, expanse;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi. Sans. has 'eyes.'

² Reading nîyâzêd instead of Pâz. nyâved. Sans. has 'looks.'

³ 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Gen. i. 1, 2).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let there be light:" and there was light' (Gen. i. 3).

⁵ 'And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night' (Gen. i. 4, 5).

⁶ 'And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. . . . And he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made' (Gen. i. 31; ii. 1, 2).

⁷ 'But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the Lord thy God: *in* *it* thou shalt not do any work. . . . For *in* six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it' (Ex. xx. 10, 11).

should perform cultivation in that garden, and should keep watch¹. 18. The Lord², who is the sacred being himself, commanded Adam (19) thus: 'Eat of every tree which is in this garden, except of that tree of knowledge; (20) because when you eat thereof you die³.' 21. Afterwards a serpent *was* also put by him into the garden; (22) *and* that serpent deceived Eve *and* spoke thus: '*Let* us eat of the gathering from this tree, *and let* us give it to Adam⁴.' 23. And she acted accordingly, (24) and Adam likewise ate⁵. 25. And *his* knowledge became such that good *was* distinguished by him from evil, and they did not die⁶. 26. He also saw and knew that he was naked, (27) *and* became concealed under the trees; (28) he likewise covered over his own body *with* leaves of trees, on account of the shame of nakedness⁷. 29. Afterwards the Lord went to the

¹ 'So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. . . . And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it' (Gen. i. 27; ii. 15).

² Pâz. âdînô is evidently a misreading of the Pahlavi form of Heb. adonâi, 'Lord.'

³ 'And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die"' (Gen. ii. 16, 17).

⁴ 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, . . . "ye shall not surely die"' (Gen. iii. 1, 4).

⁵ 'She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat' (Gen. iii. 6).

⁶ "'For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil'" (Gen. iii. 5).

⁷ 'And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked: and they sewed fig leaves together, and made

garden, *and* called Adam by name thus: 'Where art thou¹?' 30. Adam replied thus: 'Here I am, under the trees, for this reason, because I am naked².' 31. The Lord indulged *in* wrath, (32) *and* spoke thus: 'Who could have informed *thee* that thou art naked?' 33. Mayest thou not ever yet³ *have* eaten of that tree of knowledge, *of* which I said that you shall not eat⁴?' 34. Adam spoke thus: 'I have *been* deceived *by* this woman, who *was* given to me by thee, and I ate⁵.' 35. And the Lord enquired of Eve thus: 'Why *was* it so done by thee?' 36. Eve spoke thus: 'I have *been* deceived *by* this serpent⁶.' 37. And Adam and Eve and the serpent are, all three, forced out of the garden of paradise by him with a curse⁷. 38. And he spoke to Adam thus: 'Thy eating shall be through the scraping off of sweat⁸

themselves aprons . . . and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, amongst the trees of the garden' (Gen. iii. 7, 8).

¹ 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. . . . And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, "Where *art* thou?"' (Gen. iii. 8, 9).

² 'And he said, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself"' (Gen. iii. 10).

³ Assuming that Pâz. agarat stands for Pahl. akvariĕat; see § 139.

⁴ 'And he said, "Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?"' (Gen. iii. 11).

⁵ 'And the man said, "The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 12).

⁶ 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, "What *is* this *that* thou hast done?" And the woman said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 13).

⁷ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

⁸ Sans. has 'through the spreading of sleep.'

and the panting of the nostrils, (39) until the end of thy life; (40) and thy land shall grow all bodily refuse and dung¹. 41. He also spoke to Eve thus: 'Thy pregnancy shall be in pain and uneasy, and thy bringing forth in grievous hastening².' 42. And he spoke to the serpent thus: 'Thou shalt be accursed from amid the quadrupeds and wild animals of the plain and mountain; (43) for thee also *there* shall be no feet, (44) and thy movement shall be on *thy* belly, and *thy* food dust. 45. And betwixt thy offspring, with *those of* the woman, *there* shall be such hatred and conversion to enmity that they *will* wound the head of that offspring³.'

46. This, too, they say, that this worldly *existence*, with whatever is in everything, was made and produced by him for mankind; (47) and man *was* made by him predominant over all creatures and creations, wet and dry⁴.

48. Now I *will* tell *you* a story (nisang-i) about

¹ 'And unto Adam he said, "... cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life: thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; ... in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground"' (Gen. iii. 17-19).

² 'Unto the woman he said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"' (Gen. iii. 16).

³ 'And the Lord God said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"' (Gen. iii. 14, 15).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth"' (Gen. i. 26).

the contents of their twaddle and the faultiness of their statements, (49) that is, where and with what limits did that earth without form and void¹, the darkness, the sacred being and his breathing², and the black water arise? 50. Or *of* what description was the sacred being himself? 51. *It is* manifest that he was not light, (52) because, when the light was seen by him, (53) stooping he considered *it*³, for the reason that he had not seen it *before*. 54. If they say that he was dark, that manifestly *implies* that the origin of darkness is uttering⁴ a word *and* there is light. 55. If they say that he was not dark, but light, (56) why, when the light *was* seen by him, did he admire *and* consider it, though he was light himself? 57. And if they say that he was neither light nor dark, (58) it is necessary for such to specify that third *state* which is not light and not dark.

59. Then *as to* him whose position and abode were in darkness and black water, and light was never seen by him, how was it possible for him to look *at* that light? 60. And what *was* his divinity owing to? 61. Because even now *it* is not possible for any one who remains in darkness to look *at* the light. 62. *Observe* also this, that if his origin and abode were darkness, how was it possible for him to remain opposite the light? 63. Because this is known, that *it* is not possible *for* darkness to remain opposite the light, since *the latter* puts it aside harmless.

64. Again, *I ask* this, that is, was that earth, which

¹ See § 6 n.

² See § 7 n.

³ See § 10. The scripture merely says that 'God saw the light, that *it was* good;' but this difference does not really affect the author's argument as to the previous non-existence of light.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. frâi is a misreading of Pahl. parâs.

was without form and void, limited or unlimited? 65. If it were limited, what was there outside of it? 66. If it were unlimited, whither did that unlimitedness of it go, (67) when, as we see, this earth and worldly *existence* are not those of the first existence?

68. *As to* that which the Lord spoke, (69) that is: 'Let *there* be light,' and it was *so*, (70) it is thereupon appropriate to understand that the Lord *existed* before the *time* that the light arose; (71) *and* when he was wishing to make the light, and he gave the command for it to arise, he then considered mentally *in* what way the light is of good appearance or evil appearance. 72. And if the light, through its own nature, reached into the knowledge and consideration of the Lord, it is evident that the light was existing alike within the knowledge and mind of the Lord, (73) and alike outside of him. 74. For it is not possible to know and obtain anything, unless *it be* a manifestation of an existence. 75. If the light was existing is it¹, on that account, a creation of the Lord? 76. And if they say that the light was not, through its own nature, within *his* knowledge, that light *was* demanded by him, who did not know of what nature *it was*, very unwisely. 77. Or how is it possible to consider in the mind that which one *has* never even thought of *or* known?

78. And *observe* this, too, that that command for the arising of light *was* given *either* to something or to nothing, (79) because this is certain, that it is necessary to give a command to a performer of commands. 80. If *it were* given by him to something existing, which *was* light, that *implies that* the light

¹ Or, perhaps, 'it is.'

itself existed. 81. And if the command *were* given by him to something not existing, then how did the something not existing hear the command of the Lord? 82. Or how did it know that the will of the Lord *was* thus, that 'I *should* become light?' 83. Because the command of the Lord is not heard *by what* does not exist, in the same manner as though *it were* not given by him. 84. Since it is not possible *for* the non-existent even to think in any way, (85) *it was* that which is appointed non-existent, so that it does not exist, but *yet* exists¹, that was really before the sight of the sage²; by which *it was* known *in* what manner the Lord is demanding that it *shall* arise³, *and* in the manner which *was* demanded by him it arose.

86. If they say that the light arose from the word of the Lord, which *was* spoken by him thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*—(87) that *being* when the Lord and his belongings (khûdîh) were dark, and light had really never *been* seen by him—in what way is it possible *for* that light to arise from *his* word? 88. Because this is known, that speaking is the progeny of thinking. 89. If they say that his word became light, that is very marvellous, because then light is the fruit of darkness, and the source of darkness is thereby the essence of light;

¹ That is something produced as a nonentity which, being produced as nothing, is considered to be something different from nothing at all, which is not produced. Something analogous to the prototypes of the creatures, which 'remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies' (Bd. I, 8).

² Who wrote the account of the creation in the book of Genesis.

³ Literally 'that I *shall* arise.'

or *else it is* this, that the light was concealed in the darkness.

90. As I *have* said¹, it is evident that it is of no use to give a command, except *to* a performer of commands, (91) so that it should be *that* the light existed, *and* then the command was expedient *and* given.

92. Again, I *ask* this, *as to* these creatures and creations, sky *and* earth of his, since *they were* prepared and produced by him in six days, (93) *and* the seventh he reposed (khaspîd) therefrom², (94) then, when this world *was* not produced by him from anything, but merely arose by his command, 'thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*, (95) to what *was* that delay of his of six days owing? 96. For when his trouble is merely as much as to say 'thou shalt arise,' the existence of that delay of six days is very ill-seeming. 97. It is also not suitable for trouble to arise for him therefrom. 98. If it be possible to make the non-existent exist, and *he be* capable *of it*, it is possible to produce *it* even a long time back. 99. And if *he be* incapable of producing except in the period of a day, it is not fitting to speak of his producing it from nothing.

100. And, again, I *ask* this, that is, when the number of the days should be known from the sun, whence then is the number of the day, besides the names of the days, known before the creation of the sun? 101. For they say that the sun *was* produced by him *on* the fourth day, which is itself Wednesday³.

¹ In § 79.

² See §§ 12, 13.

³ Pâz. kihâr sumbad, Sans. katuhsanaishkarîya. 'And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the

102. *I also ask* this, to what *was it* owing that it was necessary for him to make *himself* comfortable and reposing *on* the seventh day? 103. When the delay and trouble in his creation and production of the world was *merely* so much as *that* he spoke thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' (104) how are those days accounted *for* by him, so that it was necessary to make him reposing whose trouble is recounted? 105. For if 'thou shalt arise' *were* spoken by him at once, that is his trouble, and he ought to become comfortable immediately.

106. Again *I ask* this, that is, for what purpose and cause is Adam produced by him, *together* with Eve¹, (107) so that while they practise his will², the purpose of it is not so presented by him that they shall not turn *away* from the performance of his desire? 108. For when it is known by him, before the fact, that they *will* not be listening *to* his command, and *yet they* are finally produced by him, that *shows that* for him now to become exhausted, and to indulge in wrath about them, is unreasonable, (109) because *it* is evident that the Lord himself was not fully proceeding *with that* which is desirable for his own will, and is manifestly an opponent and adversary to his own will. 110. If they are not understood by him before the fact, and it is not even known by him that they *will* not listen *to* his command, then he is ignorant and badly informed. 111. If they say that his will itself was for non-performance, why then is the command for performance given by him? 112. Also what is the sin in not performing

lesser light to rule the night. . . . And the evening and the morning were the fourth day' (Gen. i. 16, 19).

¹ See § 15.

² The command mentioned in §§ 19, 20.

it, and how goes (113) a horse whom they yoke with *another* in confinement (lag) and hurry on with a whip (tâzânak)¹. 114. From this statement signs and tokens of deceivers are manifested, (115) whose will and command are inconsistent *and* unadapted, one to the other.

116. And if his will and desire were this, that they *shall* not turn *away* from his will, (117) still their power and desire for turning *away* from his will are much stronger and more resistant than those which he *gave* for not turning. 118. If the will for their turning *away* from his will, and also the knowledge of it, were his, and the command for not turning *away* were given by him, how was it still possible *for* the distressed Adam *to act* so that they *should* not turn *away*? 119. Also, the origin and maintenance of his will ought not to exist, (120) because by turning *away* from his command *one* merely falsifies (drûged) it as a command, *while* by not turning *away* it becomes a falsification of both *his* will and knowledge.

121. Again, *I ask* this, that is, on what account and for what advantage *was* that garden, prepared by him, produced²? 122. And *as to* the tree of knowledge itself, about which he commanded thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*,' and also *as to* the injunction for not eating *of it*, which *was* issued by him, why was it necessary for him to make them?

123. *It* is also evident, from his injunction and

¹ Illustrating the inconsistency of determining or permitting that anything (such as the abstaining from fruit, or the trotting of a horse) shall not be done, and yet urging its performance by whip or command.

² See §§ 16, 17.

command, that scanty knowledge and ignorance are more loved by him, (124) and *his* desire for them is more than *for* knowledge and wisdom. 125. And *that* even his advantage from ignorance was more, (126) because while the tree of knowledge was not tasted by them they were ignorant, and not disobedient and without benefit unto him, (127) *but* just as their knowledge arose they became disobedient unto him. 128. *There* was also no anxiety for him from their ignorance, *but* just as their knowledge arose (129) he became exhausted and wrathful about them, (130) and, forced out of paradise by him, with grievous discomfort and disgrace, they are cast¹ to the earth. (131) The sum total is this, that the cause of this birth of man's knowledge, in the worldly *existence*, was owing to the serpent and deceit.

132. They also say this, that things of every kind *were* created for mankind—on account of which *it* is evident that even that tree *was* created by him for mankind—(133) and man *was* made by him predominant over every creature and creation². 134. If that be so, why *were they* now to incline *their* desires *away* from that tree which was their own?

135. From this *following* statement this, too, is evident, that knowledge was not really originating with him, (136) because if he came forth to the garden³ and raised his voice, and called Adam by name thus: 'Where art thou,' *it is* just as though he were unaware of the place where he existed; (137) *and* if he had been unanswered by him, *he would have* been unaware of the place where Adam existed. 138. If it were not owing to his (agas)

¹ Or 'admitted.'

² See §§ 46, 47.

³ See § 29.

outcry, too, before seeing *him*, *he would have* been unaware that he *had* eaten of that tree, or not; *and of this also*, that is, *by whom and how it was done*, who ate and who deceived. 139. If he were aware, why *had he* to make that enquiry of him, 'mayest thou not ever yet *have* eaten of that tree, of which I commanded that you shall not eat¹?' 140. And at first, when he came forth, he was not exhausted, *but* afterwards, when he knew that *they had* eaten, he became exhausted about them and was wrathful.

141. His scanty knowledge is also *evident* from this, when he created the serpent, which *was* itself his adversary, and put *it* into the garden with them²; (142) or *else* why *was* not the garden made so fortified by him, that the serpent, and also other enemies, should thereby not go into it?

143. Even his falsity is also evident from this, when he spoke thus: 'When you eat of this tree you die³;' and they *have* eaten and are not dead, but have become really intelligent, (144) and good is well recognised from evil by them.

145. *I also ask* this, that is, how is his knowledge inconsistent *and* competing with *his* will and command? 146. For if *it were* willed by him to eat of that tree, and the command for not eating *were* given by him, the knowledge about it was that *the fruit would be* eaten. 147. Now *it* is evident that the will, knowledge, and command are all three inconsistent, one towards the other.

148. This, too, *is evident*, that, though Adam committed sin, the curse which *was* inflicted by Him (the Lord)⁴ reaches unlawfully over people of every kind

¹ See § 33.² See § 21.³ See § 20.⁴ See §§ 37-41.

at various periods, (149) *and* I consider *it*, in every way, a senseless, ignorant, and foolish statement.

150. On this subject, on account of tediousness, thus much is considered complete.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. My desire is also that I write a story (*nisang-1*) out of the accompanying inconsistency and full delusion of the same scripture, (2) that is full of every iniquity and demonism; and I *will* disclose a summary of one *part* out of a thousand of *what is* declared thereby, (3) *so as* to notice the commands therein.

4. First, this is what he says about his own nature, (5) that is, 'I am the Lord, seeking vengeance (6) and retaliating vengeance¹, (7) and I retaliate vengeance sevenfold upon the children², (8) and *one* does not forget my original vengeance.' (9). Another place states that, '*having* acquired³ wrath and grievous thoughts, (10) his lips are also full of indignation⁴, (11) *his* tongue is like a blazing fire, (12) and *his* breath (*vâyâ*) is like a river of rapid water (*arvand nâk*)⁵. 13. His voice, too, as though for causing

¹ 'To me *belongeth* vengeance, and recompence' (Deut. xxxii. 35). Or, as it is quoted in Rom. xii. 19, 'Vengeance *is* mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'

² 'Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold' (Gen. iv. 15).

³ Perhaps *ayâftak* is a misreading of *âshuftak*, 'distracted *by*.'

⁴ Literally 'venom.'

⁵ 'Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning *with* his anger, and the burden *thereof* is heavy; his lips are full of

weeping, is more resembling the shouting of a demon¹, (14) and his seat is in the gloom², the dew, and the cloud³. 15. His charger, also, is the drying (khûskâk) wind⁴, (16) and from the motion of his feet is the arising of a whirlwind of dust⁵. 17. When he walks the arising of fire is behind him⁶.

18. And, elsewhere, he speaks about his own wrathfulness, (19) thus: 'I have been forty years in wrath about the Israelites⁷,' (20) and he said that the Israelites are defiled in heart⁸.

21. Elsewhere he speaks thus: 'Who is blind⁹,

indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire: and his breath, as an overflowing stream, shall reach to the midst of the neck' (Is. xxx. 27, 28).

¹ 'And the Lord shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and shall show the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of *his* anger, and *with* the flame of a devouring fire, *with* scattering, and tempest, and hailstones' (Is. xxx. 30).

² Assuming that Pâz. gûam (Pers. gum, 'invisible') is a misreading of Pahl. tom, 'gloom,' as the Sanskrit is dhûmalatvam, 'smokiness.'

³ 'He made darkness his secret place: his pavilion round about him *were* dark waters *and* thick clouds of the skies' (Ps. xviii. 11). 'Clouds and darkness *are* round about him' (Ps. xcvi. 2).

⁴ 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind' (Ps. civ. 3).

⁵ 'The Lord *hath* his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds *are* the dust of his feet' (Na. i. 3).

⁶ 'For, behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire' (Is. lxvi. 15).

⁷ Pâz. Asarâsarâ is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Asrâyîlân.

⁸ 'Forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation, and said, "It *is* a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways;" unto whom I sware in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest' (Ps. xcv. 10, 11).

⁹ Sans. has 'whoever is needy,' both here and in § 23.

unless *it be* my servant? 22. Who is deaf¹, but the messenger (firistak) I am appointing? 23. Who is blind like the king²? *And it is* declared that their king is the Lord himself³.

24. Elsewhere it also says this, that the worshippers (parastakân) of his fire are defiled⁴. 25. Also this, that his deeds bring blinding smoke, (26) *and his* fighting is the shedding of blood⁵. 27. And this, that is, 'I pour forth mankind one upon the other, (28) *and* I sit upon the sky, over their limbs.' 29. Likewise this, that, in one night, a hundred *and* sixty thousand *were* slain by him, through a wretched death, out of the champions and troops of the Mâ-zendarâns⁶. 30. And, *on* another occasion, he slew six hundred thousand men, besides women and young children, out of the Israelites in the wilderness; (31) only two men escaped⁷.

¹ Sans. has 'whoever is prosperous.'

² 'Who *is* blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger *that* I sent? who *is* blind as *he that is* perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant?' (Is. xlii. 19).

³ 'The Lord *is* our king' (Is. xxxiii. 22).

⁴ 'About five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. Then he said unto me, "Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here?"' (Eze. viii. 16, 17).

⁵ 'And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai' (Jos. viii. 21).

⁶ 'Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they *were* all dead corpses' (Is. xxxvii. 36).

⁷ 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot, *that were* men, beside

32. Again, it shows that his final result is all regret, (33) just as this which it states, that he became among the despondent (*zardakân*), and he spoke thus: 'I am repentant as to the making of men on the earth¹.'

34. This, too, it states, that he sits upon a throne which four angels hold upon *their* wings, from each one of whom a fiery river always proceeds, owing to the load of *his* weight². 35. Now, when he is a spirit, not formed with a body, why then are those four distressed by him, who *have* to sustain with toil the grievous load of that easy *thing*?

36. Again, *it states* this, that every day he prepares, with his own hand, ninety thousand worshippers, and they always worship him until the night time, and then he dismisses them, through a fiery river, to hell³. 37. When trouble and injustice of this description are seen, how is it

children' (Ex. xii. 37). 'Doubtless ye shall not come into the land *concerning* which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. . . . But *as for* you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness' (Num. xiv. 30, 32).

¹ 'And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth' (Gen. vi. 6).

² 'Also out of the midst thereof *came* the likeness of four living creatures. . . . Their wings *were* joined one to another. . . . As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance *was* like burning coals of fire, *and* like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures. . . . And under the firmament *were* their wings straight, the one toward the other. . . . And above the firmament that *was* over their heads *was* the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne *was* the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it' (Eze. i. 5, 9, 13, 23, 26). 'A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him' (Dan. vii. 10).

³ This statement may possibly be quoted from the Talmud.

expedient *for* worldly beings to exist in duty, good works, and good deeds? 38. When he casts distressed worshippers who are reverent, listening to commands, *and* pure in action, together with others *who are* sinners, into eternal hell, (39) *it is* like even that which another congregation¹ asserts, that the sacred being, *at* the day of the resurrection, gives the sun and moon, together with others *who are* sinners, to hell for the reason that there are people who *have* offered homage to them.

40. Another place also states this, that when the eyes of the aged (masâtval)² Abraham, who *was* the friend of the Lord, were afflicted, the Lord himself came enquiring for him; (41) and he sat *on* his cushion and asked for peace³. 42. And Abraham called Isaac⁴, who *was* his dearest son⁵, in secret, *and* spoke (43) thus: 'Go to paradise (vahist), *and* bring wine that is light and pure.' 44. *And* he went and brought it. 45. And Abraham made many entreaties to the Lord (46) thus: 'Taste one time⁶ wine in my abode.' 47. *And* the Lord spoke thus:

¹ Probably the Christians, and referring to such texts as 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come' (Acts ii. 20).

² Nêr. reads this word as a title, Mehâdar, of Abraham. It is, however, the Huzvâris of dâd-mas (for dâd-i mas, 'great age'), and appears to be a hybrid form, the first syllable being Irânian and the latter portion Semitic.

³ Upon his host; the usual Oriental salutation.

⁴ Nêr. has read Âsînak, which indicates a Pahlavi form that might be read Aîsôk, and points to Syr. 'Îs'hoq as the original of this form of Isaac.

⁵ Sans. has 'his whole-blood brother's son.'

⁶ Assuming that Pâz. shê stands for Pahl. gâs-i, both here and in § 49. Nêr. seems to have understood it as Ar. say, 'somewhat.'

'I *will* not taste *it*, because *it* is not from paradise, and is not pure.' 48. Then Abraham gave assurance thus: 'The wine is pure from paradise, and Isaac, who is my son, brought *it*.' 49. Thereupon the Lord, *on account of* his freedom from doubt in Isaac, and the assurance *given* by Abraham, tasted the wine one time. 50. Afterwards, when he wished to go, *he was* not allowed until one of them *had* sworn *to* the other by a serious oath¹.

51. Observe this twaddle full of delusion; not even a single *detail* is adapted to a sacred being. 52. In what way *was* his coming in bodily form to the abode of Abraham and eating bread, of which not even a single *detail* is adapted to him? 53. This, too, is evident from it, that the suffering of Abraham was not² from the Lord, but from another producer. 54. And even the faultiness³ which *was* owing to his want of understanding of knowledge was such, that the purity of the wine and whence *it came* were not known by him. 55. His falsity is also *seen in* this, when he spoke of not drinking the wine, and *at last* drank *it*. 56. Afterwards he is confessing that it is genuine *and* pure. 57. Now, how is he worthy of worship, as a divinity that is all-knowing *and* almighty, whose nature is this?

58. And another place states that *there* was one of the sick who, with his own wife and child, *was*

¹ This tale is perhaps to be sought in the Talmud.

² Reading lâ instead of râî. By reading the latter Nêr. has 'the suffering, which *was* for Abraham, was from the Lord,' which is inconsistent with the context.

³ Assuming that Pâz. bavānî (Sans. vaikalyam) stands for Pahl. zîfânîh, which seems more probable than supposing it to be a miswriting of Pâz. dewānagî, 'folly.'

particularly *one* that was suffering, poor, *and* without a stipend. 59. *At* all times he was very diligent and active in prayer and fasting and the worship of the sacred being. 60. And one day, in prayer, he secretly begged a favour thus: 'Give me any enjoyment that is in daily food (*rôzîh*), (61) that it may be easier for me to live.'

62. And an angel came down unto him *and* spoke thus: 'The sacred being has not allotted thee, through the constellations¹, more daily food than this, (63) *and* it is not possible to allot anew; (64) but, as a recompense for worship *and* prayer, a throne whose four feet are of jewels is appointed for thee in heaven (*va hist*) by me, (65) *and*, if it be necessary, I *will* give unto thee one foot of that throne.'

66. That exalter of the apostles enquired of his own wife, (67) *and* the unfortunate *one* spoke thus: '*It is* better for us to be content with the scanty daily food and bad living in the worldly *existence*, (68) than if our throne, among *our* companions in heaven, *had* three feet; (69) but if it may occur to thee then appoint us a day's food by another mode.'

70. *At* the second coming of that angel he spoke thus: 'But if I dissipate the *celestial* sphere, and produce the sky *and* earth anew, and construct and produce the motion of the stars anew, *still* thenceforth *it* is not clear whether thy destiny *will* fall out good or bad².'

71. From this statement *it* is, therefore, manifest that he is not himself the appointer of daily food and supreme, (72) distribution is not by his will,

¹ Of the zodiac (see Mkh. XII, 5, 6, 8).

² This tale is probably from the same source as the last.

he is not able to alter destiny, (73) and the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, the sun and moon and stars, is not within the compass of his knowledge, will, and command. 74. And also this, that the throne, as to which *it was* announced (nivî-kînîd) thus: 'I *will* give *it* in heaven,' is not of his formation and creation.

75. And *in* another place he speaks about his own twaddle (76) thus: 'I *have* slain, *in* one day¹, an assemblage (ram) of sinners, as well as innumerable innocents.' 77. And when the angels talked much of the unreasonable performance, he then spoke of it thus: 'I am the Lord, the ruler of wills, (78) superintending, unrivalled, and doing *my own* will, and no one assists *or* is to utter a murmur (drenġisnǝ) about me².'

79. Especially abundant is the twaddle that is completely delusive, which *has* seemed to me tedious to write. 80. Whoever would investigate the backward opinions of these statements, should be, for that purpose of his, a high-priest speaking candidly (âzâd), (81) until he becomes aware of the nature of the same scripture, and *of* the truth of that which is stated by me.

82. Now if he *be* a sacred being, of whom these are signs and tokens, that *implies that* truth is far from him, (83) forgiveness strange to him, (84) and knowledge is not bestowed upon him. 85. Because this itself is the fiend who is leader of the hell which

¹ Assuming that Pâz. zumaê is a corruption of gumê (see Chap. IV, 101 n) and stands for Huz. yôm-î. But it may mean 'the whole of.'

² This seems to be quoted from the same source as the two preceding tales.

is the den (*grêstak*) of the gloomy race, (86) whom the devilish defiled *ones and* evil *people* glorify by the name of the Lord, and offer *him* homage.

87. About this subject is here complete.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Another *thing* I publish is a feeble story (*ni-sang*) about the inconsistency, unbounded statements, and incoherent disputations of Christian (*Tarsâk*) believers.

2. Since, inasmuch as all three¹ are from the one origin of Judaism—(3) that *implying that*, when *anything* is said within the one, it is for them mutually helping their own delusion of every kind—(4) you should know whence the original sect of Christianity came forth. 5. That in the town of Jerusalem² *there* was a woman of the same Jews who was known for incapacity³, (6) *and* pregnancy became manifest in her⁴. 7. When asked by them thus: ‘Whence is this pregnancy of thine?’ (8) she said in reply thus: ‘The angel Gabriel⁵ came unto me, and he spoke thus: “Thou art pregnant by the pure wind (holy spirit)⁶.”’

¹ The three defects mentioned in § 1.

² Nêr. reads Hurûsarm for Pahl. Âûrûsalem.

³ Sans. has ‘misconduct,’ but this is more than Pahl. dûsâzakîh seems to imply.

⁴ ‘Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost’ (Mat. i. 18).

⁵ Pahl. Gêprîl is misread Sparagar by Nêr. These two names would be written alike in Pahlavi.

⁶ ‘The angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph . . . and the angel

9. *As to* that, you should observe thus: 'Who, apart from that woman, saw the angel Gabriel? *And* on what account is it expedient to consider that woman truthful?' 10. If they say that, on account of the spiritual state of that angel, no one is able to see *him*, (11) that *implies*—if the cause of not seeing that angel be *his* spiritual nature—that the sight of that woman also, for the same reason, is not unrestricted. 12. If they say that the sacred being made *him* visible to that woman, and on account of the worthiness of that woman, (13) no other person *being* made worthy, (14) *observe* this, where is the evidence that the woman spoke truthfully? 15. Or, if that woman were conspicuous to *any* one for truth, it is fitting for him to demonstrate that also to other persons, so that, through that evidence, she might be more fully considered as very truthful by them. 16. *But* now the showing of him (the angel), to that woman only, is not considered *by* any one as true. 17. Now you should also observe *that* the origin of their religion *has* all come forth from this testimony of a woman, which *was* given by her about her own *condition*.

18. *Observe*, again, that if they say the Messiah arose from the pure wind of the sacred being, that *implies*—if the only wind that is pure *and* from the sacred being be that one—that the other wind, which is distinct from that, is not *from* the sacred being and not pure, (19) *and* another producer is manifested inevitably. 20. If the wind be all from

answered and said unto her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 26, 27, 35).

the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 21. If only that one wind be pure, the other wind is polluted and not sacred. 22. As there is no producer whatever except the sacred being, that pollution and impurity of the other wind are likewise from the sacred being. 23. And if the other wind be that of the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 24. Now, that one *being* considered as purity, why was the other polluted?

25. Again, *observe* this, that, if the Messiah were the son of the sacred being for the reason that the sacred being is the father of all, through productiveness, creativeness, and cherishing, (26) that Messiah, through sonship to the sacred being, is not otherwise than the meaner creatures which the sacred being produced and created. 27. If he were born through the means of male and female, (28) that *implies*—if birth through male and female be suitable unto the sacred being—*that* it is also *so* unto the archangels *and* spirits; *in* like manner, on account of the existence of birth¹, the occurrence of death also is suitable. 29. Thus, about the arising of *that* same sacred being *there* is no doubt, (30) because there where birth of that kind *exists*, eating, drinking, *and* even death are certain.

31. And there are *some* even who say that the Messiah is the sacred being himself. 32. Now this is very strange, when the mighty sacred being, the maintainer *and* cherisher of the two existences, became of human nature, *and* went into the womb of a woman who *was* a Jew. 33. To leave the lordly throne, the sky *and* earth, the *celestial* sphere

¹ The Pâz. of JE interpolates the words 'from a mother.'

and other similar *objects* of *his* management and protection, he fell (aûpast), for concealment, into a polluted and straitened¹ place, (34) and, finally, delivered his own body to scourging, execution on the tree (dâr-kardîh), and the hands of enemies, (35) while, apart from death, much brutality and lawlessness *were* arranged by them.

36. If they speak of his *having* been inside the womb of a woman for the reason that the sacred being exists *in* every place, (37) that *implies that being* inside the womb of a woman, through existence *in* every place, is not more antagonistic than *being in any* very polluted and very fetid place; (38) and, along with that, that the faultiness of speaking of all places *as having* been the property of the sacred being is manifold, (39) because, if *they were so, in* like manner the speaking of anything whatever that is devoid of the existence of the sacred being is strange².

40. Again, *as to* that which they say, that death and execution on the tree *were* accepted by him, as a yoke³, for the sake of demonstrating the resurrection to mankind, (41) that *implies*—if it were not possible for him to demonstrate the resurrection to mankind, except through that disgrace⁴ and death and brutal treatment of himself—that that omnipotence of his is not effectual. 42. Or, when no opponent and adversary whatever of his arose, why

¹ Assuming that Pâz. u vadang stands for Pahl. va tang.

² Assuming that Pâz. vâhar (Sans. anrita) stands for Pahl. nâhâr.

³ See Chap. X, 67 n.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. rasûnâî stands for Pahl. rûsvâîh. Sans. has 'binding with cords.'

are they not made without doubt of that sort of clear knowledge which is *imparted* by seeing the resurrection, so that *there* would not have been a necessity for this mode of demonstrating it brutally, disgracefully¹, distressingly, *and* through the will of *his* enemies. 43. If that death *were* accepted by him, as a yoke of a new description, through his own will, (44) that *implies that* now his outcry of woe and curses for the executioners², *and his* considering those Jews as *it were* wrathfully are unreasonable. 45. *He ought*, indeed, not to cause curses and *imprecations of* woe upon them, but it is fitting for them to be worthy of recompense through that deed.

46. Again, *as to* this which they state, that the father and son and pure wind are three names which are not separate one from the other³, (47) nor is one foremost, (48) *and* this, too, that, though a son, *he* is not less than the father, *but in* every knowledge equal *to* the father⁴, why now is *one* to call him by a different name? 49. If it be proper *for* three to be one, that *implies that* it is certainly possible *for* three to be nine and *for* nine to be

¹ Sans. 'by binding with cords.'

² 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! . . . behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and *some* of them ye shall kill and crucify; and *some* of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute *them* from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth. . . . All these things shall come upon this generation' (Mat. xxiii. 29, 34-36).

³ 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one' (1 John v. 7).

⁴ 'And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another' (Athanasian Creed).

three; (50) *and* it is possible to speak of other numbers, in this sequence, unlimitedly.

51. *Observe* this, too, that if a son *be* not less than a father, that father also is not greater than the son. 52. That is possible if the father is said *to be* from the son, or the son not from the father. 53. And this is certain, that it is possible *for* every one *originating* from *any* one to be less than him from¹ whom he is, who is the essential origin² of himself; (54) if *he be so* in *point of* time, *and* likewise if *so* in *point of* relationship. 55. If the son *be* not less than the father, that *implies that* the maker is not before the *thing* made, nor yet is greater; (56) both must be original evolutions, (57) and the creation is not less than the creator, nor the creator greater than the creation, (58) however he *may be* said *to be* unlimited.

59. *Observe* this, too, that if the son *be* equal to the father in all knowledge, that father also is as ignorant as the son who was unaware of his own death and execution on the tree³, (60) until *he was* slain by their capturing *him* and causing *his* wretched death, brutal treatment, *and* disgrace⁴. 61. He did not know about it because they enquired of him thus: 'When is the day of resurrection?' And he answered thus: 'Of this no one is aware but the father⁵.' 62. Just as when the son is formed (tâstîk)

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*.

² Literally 'the maternal source.'

³ This is at variance with Mat. xxvi. 2 :—'Ye know that after two days is *the feast of* the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified.' But the author explains in § 61 that he is thinking of another instance of want of knowledge.

⁴ Sans. has 'binding.'

⁵ 'Tell us, when shall these things be? . . . Of that day and

as *it were* ignorant, the father *must be* as *it were* just the same.

63. *Observe* this, too, that all the creatures and creation, *and* even his own adversary, being created and produced by him out of nothing, the executioners of his son are themselves deluded *by him*.

64. *And* if the sacred being himself created the executioners of his son, *and* even his own adversary, without a purpose *and* without a cause, (65) and the son *was* slain by them altogether with his knowledge, (66) that *implies that* it is now possible to be without doubt that the slayer of his son was he himself, (67) if he knew that when he produces¹ a son they *will* then slay him, and *in* the end he produced *him* foolishly and unwisely. 68. If he did not know *it*, *he* is deficient in knowledge.

69. Again, *observe* this, that, if the sacred being created these creatures and creation out of nothing, and created and produced even his adversary similarly out of nothing, that *implies that* their nature ought to be one. 70. Now, why is not the adversary preserved *in* the *same* manner as the other creatures?

71. Another *point* is about the inconsistency of the statements *derived* from the scriptures of their high-priest², (72) and that which he says that no *one* falls, nor anything from a tree, and no outcry arises in a district³, nor two birds fight together

that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mark xiii. 4, 32).

¹ Literally 'I produce.'

² In § 91 Paul is called 'their high-priest,' but the term may be here applied to any other writer of the Christian scriptures.

³ So in Sans., but the Pâz. of JE has merely 'no district arises.'

without the command of the father¹, (73) which is a demonstration² of these statements, that the original evolution is single and all *things* are by his will.

74. Now for what purpose *was* the Messiah appointed, who is his son; and which way is the demonstration, through that, of his (the father's) *being* unwilling; (75) when all is *by* his will, and nothing whatever is said *about* his *being* unwilling?

76. Even this is *evident* from the same explanation, that the Jews slew the Messiah, who is his son, through the will of the father.

77. Again, he speaks inconsistently about the free will (âzâd-kâmîh) of the faithful, (78) that mankind are produced by him *with* free will. 79. Thus the iniquity of the sin which mankind commit is freely willed, (80) and the freedom of will *was* produced by him himself for mankind. 81. That *implies that* it is fitting to consider him likewise a sinner who is the original cause of sin. 82. If mankind commit sin and crime by their own free will through the will of the sacred being, (83) through what free will and sin are the sin and crime of the lion, serpent, wolf, *and* scorpion—the stinging *and* slaying noxious creatures—which are the natural actions that ever proceed from them?

84. So, also, who *has* maintained the origin of the deadly poison which is in the Bêsh *herb*³ and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will? 85. If they say that those poisons

¹ Compare Mat. x. 29, 30 :—‘Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.’

² Literally ‘demonstrator.’

³ A poisonous plant, Napellus Moysis (see Bd. XIV, 22, XXVII, 1).

are advantageous *and* suitable in many medicines which are removers of the disease of the sick, (86) it should be asked of them thus: 'Who produced the disease itself and the harm that *arises* from it, and what is the necessity of it, (87) that, afterwards, medicine and deadly poison *were* created by him for it, and were necessary?' 88. Or, *as to* that disease, 'it would be more expedient if he had produced an antidotal (anôsh) medicine for carrying *it* away than a medicine of poison.' 89. Also this, that is, 'from what origin is the term itself "doing harm," and against whom is the advantageousness necessary?' 90. On this subject it is possible to speak abundantly for a summary compiled.

91. Another *instance* is from the words of Paul (Pâvarôs), who *was* their high-priest—(92) that *one* who was afflictive with¹ them at their own beginning²—even this, they say, (93) is thus: 'Not the good works which I desire, but the iniquity (94) which I do not desire, I do³. 95. And *it* is not I *that* do *so*, but that which is collected within me, does *it*, (96) because I always see that *it* is striving with me day and night⁴.'

97. Again, they say, from the words of the

¹ Reading hanbêshin, but it may be 'well-afflicting to' if we read hô-bêshin.

² 'As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed *them* to prison. . . . Saul who also *is called* Paul' (Acts viii. 3 ; xiii. 9).

³ 'For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do' (Rom. vii. 19).

⁴ 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. . . . I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members' (Rom. vii. 20, 23).

Messiah, that the original evolution *from* the sacred being is light and goodness; (98) evil and darkness are separate from him¹. 99. Also this, that is, 'just as a shepherd who provides protection for his hundred sheep, (100) *and* the wolves carry *off* one from him, (101) goes after that one which the wolves carried *off* until he leads it back to the flock, (102) and leaves the ninety-nine of them in the wilderness (dast)², (103) even so I am come to take care of the defiled, not for the just, (104) because *it* is needless to bring him who is just into the *right* way³.' 105. That *implies*, if the original evolution *be* one, and his will *be* wholly *that* no one whatever of it *shall be* astray and defiled, (106) *that* even the wolf's slaying the sheep is likewise his will, (107) and the wolf itself *was* also created by him.

108. The word of the Messiah is specially inconsistently a demonstrator as regards the two original evolutions. 109. As they say this is one of *those* same statements of the Messiah, that there is another original evolution, 'an enemy of my father, *and* I am of that sacred being doing good works⁴.' 110. From this statement *it* is evident that his own father separates from that enemy, *and* acts differently.

¹ 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 John i. 5).

² 'What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?' (Luke xv. 4).

³ 'For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost' (Mat. xviii. 11). 'They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance' (Luke v. 31, 32).

⁴ 'He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man: the field is the world: the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked *one*: the enemy that sowed them is the devil' (Mat. xiii. 37-39).

111. This, too, *he says*, that is, 'I am produced by the sacred being for truth and through truth'¹; (112) and Aharman, the iniquitous, came for my death (*vadardanō*), (113) and I am desired by him to deceive in many ways². 114. Now, if the original evolution *be* one, and there be nothing competing with it, why *was* Aharman so powerful that he desired to delude the son of the sacred being? 115. If the sacred being himself created that iniquitous *one*, then the producing of that delusion by the *latter was* with the knowledge and will of the *former* himself, (116) and the deluder of the son *was* in like manner himself.

117. This, too, it says, that, when the Jews stood disputing against *him*, he spoke to the Jews thus: 'You are from that which is a lower *region*, and I am from an upper *region*; (118) you are of this country, I am not of it'³. 119. And he also said this, that is, 'I know that you are of the seed of Abraham, *and* he⁴ who had slain mankind from aforetime (120) *has* wished to slay even me. 121. I do that which is seen of my father, *and* you do that which is seen by you as to your own father'⁵. 122. This,

¹ 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us . . . full of grace and truth' (John i. 14).

² See the account of the temptation of Jesus in Mat. iv. 3-10.

³ 'And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world' (John viii. 23).

⁴ The iniquitous one of § 125, whom he calls their father, the devil.

⁵ 'I know that ye are Abraham's seed: but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you. I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father' (John viii. 37, 38).

too, *he said*, 'If the sacred being be that father of yours, he would be a friend of me *for your sake*, (123) because I have sprung from the sacred being; I have not come of my own will; (124) I am appointed *by* that sacred being doing good works¹. Why do you not hear those words of mine? 125. Only because you are from the iniquitous *one* it is not possible for you to hear them, (126) and you wish to do the will of your own father. 127. By him truth is not spoken; whatever he speaks he tells a lie of it, therefore you are false yourselves *together* with your father. 128. *As for* me, who speak the truth, you do not believe it of me². 129. And he who is from the sacred being hears the words of the sacred being, but you, because you are not from the sacred being, do not hear my words³.' 130. By all these sayings it is demonstrated by him that there are two original evolutions, 'one by which I am produced, *and* one by which the Jews *are*,' (131) and that *latter* is not his doer of good works, but is called by him the iniquitous *one*.

132. And this, too, *was* said by him, that 'not

¹ 'If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me' (John viii. 42).

² 'Why do ye not understand my speech? *even* because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of *your* father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell *you* the truth, ye believe me not' (John viii. 43-45).

³ 'He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear *them* not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47).

unrestricted (atang) is the tree of merit (kirfak) to produce the fruit of offensiveness (bazak), nor yet that of offensiveness *as to* the fruit of merit¹. 133. This, too, *he said*, that 'he either makes the whole tree with fruit of merit, or the whole tree with fruit of offensiveness², (134) for every tree becomes manifest by *its* fruit, if *it be of* merit and if *it be of* offensiveness³.' 135. And the whole tree *was* mentioned by him, not half the tree. 136. Now, how is it suitable *for* half a tree *to be* light and half dark, (137) half merit and half offensiveness, (138) half truth and half falsehood? 139. When these remain both competing together, (140) they cannot become one tree.

141. And, again, a Jewish *sect was* called by him 'the hill-serpent of the Jews⁴,' (142) and he spoke thus: 'How is *it* possible for you to do good works when you are Jewish evil-doers⁵?' 143. And *it was* not his own father he called an evil-doer⁶.

¹ 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither *can* a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Mat. vii. 18).

² 'Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit' (Mat. vii. 17).

³ 'For every tree is known by his own fruit: for of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes' (Luke vi. 44).

⁴ 'But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? . . . Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?' (Mat. iii. 7; xxiii. 33).

⁵ 'O generation of vipers! how can ye, being evil, speak good things?' (Mat. xii. 34).

⁶ As he would have implied if he considered him the father of those Jews. The author is still arguing that the New Testament really confirms the existence of two creators.

144. This, too, he says, that 'every tree which the father *has* not sown should be dug *up*, and should be cast into the fire¹.' 145. Wherefore it is fitting to understand from these words that there is a tree, which the father *has* not sown, *that* it is necessary to dig *up* and cast away.

146. Again, *he says* this, that 'I am come to my own, and I am not received *by* my own².' 147. Wherefore it is fitting to understand that *what is* his own and *what is* not his own are two *things*.

148. This, too, he says, that is, 'Our father, that *art* in the sky, let thy empire arise! And may it be thy will *that* shall take place on earth as in the sky! 149. Also give us daily bread! And do not bring us to a cause of doubt³!' 150. From these words *it* is evident that his will is not so unalloyed (*avêzak*) on earth as in the sky. 151. Also this, that the cause of the doubt of mankind is not owing to the sacred being.

152. And this, too, *was* said by him at first, that 'I am not come for the *purpose* that I *may* destroy the law of Moses (*Mûshâê*), (153) but I am come for the *purpose* that I *may* make *it* altogether more complete⁴.' 154. And *yet* all his sayings and

¹ 'Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. . . . Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up' (Mat. iii. 10; xv. 13):

² 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not' (John i. 11).

³ 'Our Father which art in heaven. . . . Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as *it is* in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. . . . And lead us not into temptation' (Mat. vi. 9-11, 13).

⁴ 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mat. v. 17).

commands were those that are dissipaters and afflictive for the rules and laws of Moses.

155. Upon this subject, however, as far as here is complete.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Again, about the delusion of Mânî, one out of the thousands *and* myriads is written; (2) for I am not unrestrained (anatang) as to writing more fully of the delusion, twaddle, and deceit of Mânî and the Mânîchaeans, (3) and much trouble and long-continued daily work is necessary for me therein.

4. Now you Mazda-worshippers of Zaratûst should know that the original statement of Mânî *was* about the unlimitedness of the original evolutions, (5) the intermediate *one* about *their* mingling, (6) and the final *one* about the distinction of light from dark, (7) that which is much more like unto want of distinction¹.

8. Again, *he states* this, that the worldly existence is a bodily formation of rudiments of Aharman; (9) the bodily formation *being* a production of Aharman. 10. And a repetition of that *statement* is this, that the sky is from the skin, (11) the earth from the flesh, (12) the mountains from the

¹ Except the belief in the two original existences (whose main characteristics are, respectively, light and darkness) the account of Mânî's doctrines, given in the Fihrist of Muhammad bin Is'hâq (see Flügel's Mânî seine Lehre und seine Schriften), appears to contain none of the details mentioned in this chapter.

bones, (13) and the trees from the hair of the demon Kunt¹. 14. The rain is the seed of the Mâzendarâns² who are bound on the *celestial* sphere. 15. Mankind are two-legged demons, and animals four-legged. 16. And Kunt¹ is the commander of the army of Aharman, (17) who, to be liberated by³ his nails from the divinity Aûharmazd *in* the first conflict, swallowed the light; (18) and, in the second conflict, the demon Kunt¹ *was* captured by them, *together* with many demons. 19. And it is *in* binding the demon Kunt¹ on the *celestial* sphere *he* is killed, (20) *and* these magnificent creatures are preserved from him and formed.

21. And the sun *and* moon are arranged in supremacy *in* the outer sky; (22) so that, as regards that light which the demons swallowed, they filter and excite⁴ *it*, little *by* little, through the exciting and filtering of the sun and moon. 23. Then Aharman knew, through foresight, that they *would* rapidly filter and release this light through the exciting of the sun and moon. 24. *And*, for the purpose of not rapidly releasing the light from the darkness, he prepared this lesser world which, like mankind, cattle, *and* the other living creatures, is a wholly-copied similitude of the greater world

¹ So read by Nêr. in Pâz. and Kûnî in Sans. But there is little doubt that he is the demon Kunda or Kundi of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138, whose Pahlavi name is Kûnd in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 138, and Kûndak in Bd. XXVIII, 42, in which latter he is said to be 'the steed of wizards.' Kûndak is written like Kûnîk in Pahl., and this latter becomes Kunt¹ in Pâz.

² Who are called demons (see Mkh. XXVII, 20, 40).

³ Sans. has 'having scratched *it* with.'

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. âharâminend stands for Pahl. a-âramînend, 'they do not leave at rest.'

with the other bodily creations¹. 25. He confined life and light in the body, and made *them* prisoners; (26) so that, while that light which is excited by the sun and moon is again exhausted through the cohabitation and birth of living creatures, (27) *their* release would become more tardy.

28. And the rain was the seed of the Mâzendarâns (29) for the reason *that* when the Mâzendarâns are bound on the *celestial* sphere², (30) whose light is swallowed by them, (31) and, in order to pass *it* from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time³, the twelve glorious *ones*⁴ show the daughters of Time *to* the household-attending male Mâzendarâns, (32) so that while the lust of those Mâzendarâns, from seeing them, is well suited to them, (33) and seed is discharged from them, (34) the light which is within the seed is poured *on* to the earth. 35. Trees, shrubs, *and* grain have grown therefrom, (36) and the light which is within the Mâzendarâns is discharged in the seed. 37. That which is within the earth is discharged from the earth as the cause of the trees.

38. Again, about the difference of nature of life and body, this *is stated*, that the life is confined and imprisoned within the body. 39. *And* as the producer and maintainer of the bodily formations of all material existences is Aharman, (40) for the same reason it is not expedient to occasion birth *and* to propagate lineage—(41) because it is co-operating

¹ The spiritual world and its inhabitants.

² As stated in § 14.

³ Personified as Zurvân.

⁴ The signs of the zodiac, the celestial leaders appointed by Aûharmazd (see Mkh. VIII, 18).

with Aharman in the maintenance of mankind and cattle, and *in* causing the exhaustion of the life and light within *their* bodies—nor yet to cultivate trees and grain.

42. Again, inconsistently, they also say this, (43) that the destroyer of the creatures is always Aharman; (44) *and*, for the same reason, it is not expedient to kill any creature whatever, (45) because it (killing) is the work of Aharman.

46. Again, *they say* this, that, as the world is maintained by Aharman, *and in* the end the sacred being is triumphant (47) through the departure of lives from bodies, (48) this worldly existence is dissipated in the end, (49) *and* is not arranged anew; (50) nor does *there* occur a restoration of the dead *and* a future existence.

51. Again, *they say* this, that those two original evolutions are perpetually remaining, *and* existed as contiguously as sun and shadow, (52) and no demarcation¹ and open space existed between them.

53. Now I speak first about the impossibility of the occurrence of any existing thing *that is* unlimited, (54) except only those which I call unlimited, *that is*, empty space and time. 55. Those, indeed, which are for existence within *them*—*that is* beings *and* things in locality and time—are seen *to be* limited.

56. This, too, *I say*, that, if unity and duality be spoken *of* about them, *it is* owing to this, because unity, except through the perpetual encompassing of something, does not then exist therein. 57. For the one is this, namely, not two; (58) *and* the two

¹ Reading nisânîh; Nêr. has Pâz. nisâmî (for nisîmî), Sans. âsanatvam, 'resting-place.'

are these, namely, the original *one and* the one that is the difference of *this* one from the other (59) which is not called two. 60. When the one is not understood, except through the whole compassing of unity, (61) and duality cannot occur, except through the separation of unit *from* unit, (62) the one is that one in the unity, and is steadfast in unity. 63. One and two are in the pedigree (tôkhmak) of quantity *and* numerousness; (64) and quantity, numerousness, aggregation, and separation, which, as I *have* said, cannot occur without limitation, (65) are clear even to medium understandings.

66. Again, *I say* this, the unlimited is that which is not compassed by the understanding. 67. When it is not possible to compass by any understanding, *it* is inevitable *that* it was not possible to compass in the understanding of the sacred being. 68. It is itself the peculiarity of the sacred being, *and* even that of the gloomy original evolution is not wholly compassed within the understanding. 69. To speak *of* him whose own peculiarity is not compassed within his own understanding *as* all-good and all-seeing is strange¹, (70) because it describes a whole aggregate, (71) and an aggregate is called a whole on account of encompassment *on* all sides. 72. *But what* is encompassed *on* all sides is inevitably limitedness. 73. Is it fitting to account that *as* a sacred being when aware, from all its own encompassment, *that* it is limited? 74. *And* if unlimited *it* is unaware *of it*. 75. The first knowledge of a sage is owing to his well-arranging² comprehension of his own pecu-

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² Assuming that Pâz. *vas hvazîrasni* stands for Pahl. *agas*

liarity, nature, and quantity; (76) *and* to speak of *him* who was unaware of all his own peculiarity, nature, and quantity, *and* yet wise about another nature and quantity, is strange¹.

77. This, too, *I say*, that as the unlimited, on account of non-encompassment, is not compassed by the understanding, (78) that *implies* this, that all its peculiarity *may be* wise, or there *may be* some that is ignorant; all *may be* light, or there *may be* some that is dark; all *may be* alive, or there *may be* some that is dead; and *one* is unaware of it.

79. Again, *I say* this, that the light and the life which I obtain here are an allotment that exists owing to the selfsame Time², or *they are* not. 80. If *they be* an allotment that exists owing to a peculiarity of Time, that *implies that men* should well recognise this, that anything owing to whose allotment it is possible to ordain them must be provided with allotments. 81. *As to what is* provided with allotments, except when united it is then not possible *even* for it, (82) and *as to what is* united, except through the uniter bywhom that united *thing* is united it does not then determine it. 83. And when the allotment made is seen *to be* limited, the origin from which the allotment is *in* like manner made is doubtless a limited existence. 84. As regards that, since they say that all allotment of a result is a giver of evidence *as to its* origin, (85) that *implies*, when I obtain an allotment made *and* limited, *that* an origin even of that, except when made and united

hû-âzîrisn; the latter word can scarcely have been hû-âzîrisnîh, 'good arrangement.'

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² See § 31.

from allotments *and* limited, is then not possible to exist.

86. This, too, *I say*, that the unlimited is not bestowed, (87) because an allotment is bestowed from an aggregate, (88) and aggregation is an evidence as to limitation, (89) as I *have* shown above¹. 90. So that *as to* the existence *and* nature of the origin, except by the likeness and similitude of the result, I do not then attain to them. 91. Whatever is obtained in the result (92) is certain to exist *in* like manner in the origin. 93. That *implies* likewise from *this* explanation, when the formation and limitation are obtainable in the result, *that* the origin also, from which the result *arises*, is without doubt as to limitation.

94. Again, *I say* this, that the unlimited is that which *has* an undisturbed position and an unbounded² individuality, (95) and there is no other position *or* resting-place for it disturbed *apart* from it. 96. That *implies*, when two original evolutions are said *to be* unlimited and of unbounded (asâmân) individuality, *that* the skies *and* earths, the rudimentary bodily formations, growths, *and* lives, the luminaries, divinities, *and* archangels, *and* the many congregations (hambarisnân) whose different names are owing to the difference of each one *of those two* from the other, cannot be limited. 97. What produced all those within them, and where *is it*, (98) when the two original evolutions have been eternally *in* an undisturbed position? 99.

¹ See § 64.

² Assuming that Pâz. avamân stands for Pahl. avîmand, as it is translated by Sans. amaryâda; otherwise it might be agûmân, 'undoubted.'

Unless that individuality of theirs, which is unlimited, *be* made limited, how is it possible *for* a place to exist for all these *things that* are *and* were *and will* be made? 100. If a nature that is always unlimited can become limited, that certainly *implies that* it could even become nothing; (101) *and* that which they say about the unchangeableness of a nature is strange¹.

102. This, too, you should understand, that the unlimited becomes that which *has* disturbed it, which *was* not appointed by it *at* first; (103) nothing different from it can exist separate from it. 104. Apart from the boundary of unlimitedness it is not understood, (105) or, stupidly, *one* does not know that thing, that is, of what *it is* he always speaks and contends and bandies words about, *and* thereby deludes those with a trifle of the trifles of knowledge into *some* way *and* whither. 106. If he uncritically² says even this of it, that its individuality is unlimited, and its knowledge also, *being* unlimited, knows through unlimited knowledge that it is unlimited, (107) that is a strange *thing* which is two-fold strange³. 108. One is this, that of knowledge, except about things acquired by knowledge and compassed within knowledge, (109) nothing whatever is understood until complete, except that which is wholly compassed within knowledge and acquired, (110) which knowledge of anything arises through entire understanding of the thing. 111. *And* entire

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² The first part of this word is a blank in JE, as if copied from an original that was illegible here. JJ has *aḥvaraiddihā*.

³ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

understanding of anything arises through entire compass of the thing within knowledge¹.

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¹ The most complete MSS., yet discovered, break off at this point, without concluding the subject. It is quite uncertain how much of the work is lost, but, supposing that all existing MSS. are descended from AK, supposing that that MS. was originally complete,¹ and supposing that it was divided into two equal portions (the latter of which is now lost) in consequence of some division of family property, we might then conclude, if all these assumptions were correct, that very little of the work is missing, because the portion of AK still extant extends no further than Chap. XI, 145, which is very little beyond the middle of the extant text.



SAD DAR,
OR
THE HUNDRED SUBJECTS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into dars, 'chapters or subjects,' is indicated in the original manuscripts; but for that of the sections the translator is responsible, as the subdivisions of the alternating Persian-Gugarâti text are often at variance with its meaning.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. All Arabic words are quoted in parentheses on their first occurrence in the text. And the spelling of names approximates more closely to modern Persian than to the older Pahlavi.

8. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

B29 (written A. D. 1679) in a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

J15 (undated) Persian, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay. It has been only occasionally consulted for this translation.

La (dated A. D. 1575) Persian, in Avesta writing, alternating with Gugarâti, No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library at London; upon the text of which this translation is based.

Lp (undated) Persian, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the same library.

SAD DAR.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *In* the name of Hôrmazd, the lord, the greatest *and* wise¹, the all-ruling, all knowing, *and* almighty.

2. This is a book (kitâb), about the proper and improper, which is extracted from the good *and* pure² religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 3. What is expedient (vâgib) is this, for every one to know *and* keep this in practice. 4. And it is not desirable that he become independent ('hâlî) of this *for* a single hour (sâ'hat). 5. Because, when *one* becomes independent, the sin for each one may become abundant; *and* when *it is* brought into practice the reward becomes abundant.

6. On this occasion (vaqt) I, a servant of the religion—like the môbad Erân-shâh³, son (bin) of

¹ It is possible to translate the original (which is the same as in Sg. I, 1) as follows:—'The name of Hôrmazd is "the lord, the greatest wise *one*,"' as though these epithets were the meaning of Hôrmazd, which is not far from the truth; but this would not be a probable form for an invocation. Lp and B29 have a different invocation.

² Lp, B29, J15 omit '*and* pure.'

³ This is the name of the writer who composed the Sad Dar Nâhm, or metrical Sad Dar, in A. D. 1495. He calls himself, however, a son of Malik-shâh in the introduction to his verses (see Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, Oxon, 1700, p. 433); and in his postscript he mentions Mard-shah as his own name, which Dastûr Jâmâspji understands to mean Shah-mard, in the introduction to his Gugarâti translation of the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl, or long-metre Sad Dar (2nd ed., Bombay, 1881). The date

Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, *son of Mâraspend*¹—*have* sent a reward to their souls, unto every one who reads and is bound by duty². 7. Thus much (în qadar), which *has* come written, is a good work they know, whosoever are superior; *but* it is not possible for every one inferior to know of this. 8. If it were more (ziyâdat) it is proper, but if (immâ) less than this it is not proper to know³; while, *in* gratitude *for* the benefits (sukr-i ni'hmat) of the sacred being, they become increasing in action, and the sacred being, the most high (ta'hâlâi)⁴, makes benefits occur on the spot on that account.

of composition of this long-metre Sad Dar is A. D. 1531, according to Dastûr Jâmâspji, and its authors state that they compiled it from the Sad Dar Nâṭṭr, or prose Sad Dar, which was composed by three celebrated Dastûrs near the time of the Arab conquest. The names in our text are found here only in La, which is either the original, or an early copy, of a version of the prose Sad Dar compiled by Râma, son of Kanhaksha, in which the Persian is written in Avesta letters, and alternates with an old Gugarâti translation composed by his son Padama. This version was prepared A. D. 1575, and the occurrence of the name of Erân-shâh, who lived only eighty years earlier, indicates that this part of the introduction was probably written by the editor Râma, and not copied from the original prose Sad Dar. In Lp 'the môbad Erân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr,' is mentioned at the end of the work.

¹ The last two names are introduced merely to show that Erân-shâh traced his ancestry back either to the celebrated Âtûr-pâd Mâraspend, prime minister of Shâpûr II (A. D. 309-379), or to another priest of the same name who lived about A. D. 900 (see Bd. XXXIII, 11); but very many intermediate names have been omitted in this genealogy.

² J15 omits the whole of § 6, and Lp, B29 have merely 'and a reward is sent to their souls, &c.,' to be read in connection with § 5.

³ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that no hesitation arises' instead of 'to know.'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet.

9. And, secondly, the kindness (*luţf*) and generosity (*karm*) of the sacred being, the most high¹, are manifest from this, that he created us with each member (*âlat*) complete (*tamâm*), and did not keep anything from the maternal *nature*. 10. And whatever was necessary for use he gave us. 11. At the head, likewise, he appointed a master, which is² the wisdom for the purpose that they *may* keep these members in action.

12. May the peace of the sacred being, the most high, be on the souls of those acquainted with the religion of the pure Zaratust, the Spitamân, and of those *who are* pure and virtuous. 13. For the souls of those persons it is desirable that every duty they perform they *shall* perform through the authority (*dastûrî*) of the wisdom of the high-priests³.

CHAPTER I.

1. The first subject is this, that it is necessary that they become steadfast in the religion, and do not introduce any hesitation (*sakk*) and doubt into the heart. 2. And *that* they make a statement (*‘haqîqat*) with confidence (*i’hti qâd*), that the good religion, the true and perfect, *which* the Lord sent into the world (*‘halq*), is that which Zaratust has brought; which is this I hold⁴.

3. Every time⁵ that mankind are like this, and do

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet. ² J15 has ‘who possessed.’

³ For §§ 12, 13 Lp, B29, J15 have merely the following:—‘And peace is possible for that person who does every duty that he performs, through the authority of the high-priests.’

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these five words.

⁵ Lp, B29 have ‘for every time.’

not introduce any hesitation *and* doubt into the heart, of every duty *and* good work that *others* have done, from the days of Zaratusht until these days, and of whatever *one* does after this until the resurrection, *there* is a share¹ *for* that person. 4. When the soul, on the fourth night², arrives at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn³ make up its account ('hisâb) and reckoning. 5. And, if the good works it has done *be* deficient *in* quantity, of every duty *and* good work that those of the good religion have done *in* the earth of seven regions they appoint it a like portion (naîb), till the good works become more in weight⁴; and the soul arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

6. For it is declared in revelation, that of the duty⁵ *and* good work which they perform in doubt—that is (ya'hnî), they entertain a suspicion like this, that 'I do not know that this faith, which I possess, is better *in comparison* with other faiths'—no merit whatever comes to their souls. 7. Therefore, the first (avval) thing is to become steadfast in the religion; and this is the chief of all good works.

CHAPTER II.

1. The second subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort (gahd), so that they *may* not

¹ Lp, B29 have 'an equal share.'

² The older books say at dawn on the fourth day (see Mkh. II, 115).

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

⁴ Lp adds, in the margin, 'by one filament of the hair of the eyelashes;' but this phrase seems to have been taken from Chap. II, 3.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'of every duty.'

commit any sin. 2. If even a trifling sin occurs it is not desirable to assume that this small quantity does not possess harm hereafter.

3. For it is said in revelation, that if such *be* the quantity of sin that the sin is one filament of the hair¹ of the eyelashes more in weight than the good works are, that person arrives in hell. 4. And if such a quantity of good works be in excess, he arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

5. Therefore, even if a sin be trifling it is not desirable to commit *it*; and it is requisite to refrain, so that they *may* not commit *it*, and *may* become without doubt as to the religion.

CHAPTER III.

1. The third subject is this, that it is necessary *for* man that he be continuously employed (*mas-ghûl*) on his own work, and then the work becomes his own.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every one who hereafter becomes employed² *on* his own work, if in the midst of that work any trouble and discomfort happen to him, obtains in that *other* world twelve recompenses³ for every single *instance*. 3. If he becomes employed *on* iniquity (*fasâd*), and in the midst of that work any trouble and harm happen to him, he so⁴ obtains in that *other* world only torment (*'huqûbat*) and punishment.

4. Similarly (*mathalâm*), if any one be himself going, employed on his own work, and a robber falls

¹ Compare Mkh. II, 121.

² B29 has 'hereafter may be.'

³ La omits 'recompenses.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'so.'

upon him on the road, and carries off his property (qumâs), or he be slain¹, they give him back in that *other* world four *things* for each one² of whatever they have carried off. 5. If he be slain he becomes righteous, any sin that he has committed goes clean *away* from him, *and* they convey him to heaven. 6. But (ammâ) if he becomes faulty (bâtîl) in any duty, and a robber falls upon him on the road³, and carries off his wealth (mâl), or he be slain, when he descends to that *other* world⁴ all the property that *other* carried off from him becomes just as *though it were* his who has carried it off from that person⁵; and, besides, *there* occur, as a substitute ('hivaḡ) *for* that property, the punishment and torment they give him. 7. *And* if he be slain it is just as *though* he who has carried it off from that person *were one* who had innocently slain that person who arrives in hell as retribution (mukâfât) for sin.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable for any one that he *should* become hopeless of the pity (ra'hmat) and forgiveness of Hôrmazd, and fix *his* heart outwardly⁶ on this, that our sin is excessive *and it is* not possible to arrive in heaven. 2. Because it happens that a small quantity of duty *and* good work is performed, *and* it may be that for that

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'or they shall slay him anywhere.'

² Lp, B29 omit the rest of this sentence.

³ Lp, B29 omit 'on the road.'

⁴ That is, to hell.

⁵ That is, the person robbed loses all claim to his property, on account of his neglect of duty.

⁶ Lp, B29 omit 'outwardly.'

quantity Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, *may* have pity on him *and may* make *him* arrive in heaven.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that one time when Zaratusht was in conversation *with* the sacred being, the most high, he saw a man whose whole² body was in hell, and one foot—the right *one*³—was outside of hell. 4. Zaratusht enquired of the sacred being, the most high⁴, thus : ‘ What person has this man been ? ’ 5. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply (*gavâb*) thus : ‘ He has been a king, and possessed the sovereignty of thirty-three towns, and was conducting that sovereignty many years. 6. And he never did any virtuous action, but was committing much oppression, lawlessness, and violence (*tâhulm*). 7. By chance (*qaṣṣârâ*) he was one day going on the chase, *and* arrived out at a place (*maûṣa’h*) *and* saw a goat *that* was tied. 8. A morsel of hay *was* placed very far *off*, and that goat was hungry. 9. Owing to this the goat was trying to eat the hay, but did not reach the hay. 10. This the king saw, *and* kicked *his* foot at that hay *and* cast *it* in front of the goat. 11. Now, in recompense for that, that one foot of his is outside of hell, and the remaining (*bâqî*) limbs⁵ are in hell.’

12. Therefore, although a sin has happened to any one, it is not necessary *for him*⁶ to become hopeless. 13. And whoever has the power (*tâqat*)

¹ The Spend Nask (see Sls. XII, 29). The story is also told in AV. XXXII.

² Lp, B29 omit ‘ whole.’

³ Lp, B29 have ‘ and his right foot.’

⁴ Lp, B29 omit this epithet.

⁵ Lp has ‘ the rest,’ and B29 has ‘ the whole body.’

⁶ Lp, B29 have ‘ *for* the same.’

is to endeavour to perform good works, so that *there* may be an atonement for the sin thereby; because the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, is kind to every one.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fifth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion that they make a thorough effort, so that they celebrate the ritual and become Navazûd¹.

2. For in our religion there is no good work more ample than this. 3. And it is declared in revelation, that, although much duty and good work be performed, it is not possible to attain to the supreme heaven (garôdmân)², except *on* that one occasion when the Navazûd ceremony is performed, or they have celebrated a Gêti-kharîd³. 4. And *on* any occasion ('hâl), if they are not able to perform *it* with their own hands, it is requisite to order *it*; *and* then it is inevitably necessary that the celebration of⁴ the Gêti-kharîd should be *in* the same manner as they *would* have performed *it* with their own hands.

¹ Apparently 'newly born' (see Sls. XIII, 2 n), a term applied to one who has been duly initiated. After preparatory performances of the Bareshnûm purification and the ordinary ceremonial, the ceremonies are carried on four days longer by two priests. The first day's ceremony is that of the Nônâbar, the second is the Srôsh yast, the third is the Sîrôzah, and the fourth is the Visparad (see Vigirkard-î Dînik, ed. Peshotan, p. 147).

² Ordinary good works, when in excess of the sins, are a passport only to the ordinary heaven (vahist).

³ Literally 'purchased *in* the worldly *existence*' (see § 11). A ceremony somewhat resembling the Navazûdî (see Bd. XXX, 28 n), but celebrated either late in life, or after death.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'that they celebrate.'

5. Man and woman are both¹ equal in this good work; therefore², it is not proper to neglect this duty, for it is the chief of all the good works of the religion. 6. Because it is declared in revelation, that on the day that they are performing the *Navazûd ceremony*, or are celebrating a *Gêti-kharîd* on his account, three times the soul of that person arrives at heaven, and they show it a place therein, and offer it a profuse greeting (*nîthâr*)³.

7. The explanation (*tafsîr*) of the *Gâhs*⁴ is this, that a *Gâh*—that is, that his own place—becomes visible to him⁵ in heaven that day.

8. And if *one* does not perform a *Navazûd ceremony*, or does not order the celebration of a *Gêti-kharîd*, it is the same as when a poor (*gharîb*) man makes *for*⁶ a town, and does not obtain a spot where he *may* alight *in* that place. 9. Although it is his own town he is in this trouble. 10. Therefore, it is not possible to bring to hand a place in heaven through any good work, except by the performance of the *Navazûd ceremony*, or *by* ordering the celebration of a *Gêti-kharîd*.

11. And a *Gêti-kharîd* is this, that heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'both.'

² Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'certainly.'

³ Lp, B29, J15 add 'and, afterwards they bring the *Gêti*,' and Lp continues thus: 'the meaning is adduced in *Pâzand*.'

⁴ This explains 'the heavenly *Gâhs*' of Bd. XXX, 28. The *Sad Darband-i Hush* (as quoted in B29, fol. 458 b) says that it is stated in revelation 'that the day when one celebrates the *Gêti-kharîd* of any one, the soul of that person seizes upon the heavenly *Gâhs* three times in that one day, *and* is conveyed to heaven and the supreme heaven.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'is brought into sight.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'arrives at.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sixth subject is this, that of the many good works there are those which, when they accomplish *them*, obtain great ('*hathîm*) rewards; *and* if *one* does not perform *them* severe punishment seizes upon *one* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge¹. 2. One is *the celebration* of the season festivals²; the second is keeping *the days* of the guardian spirits³; the third is *attending* to the souls of fathers, mothers, *and* other relations⁴; the fourth is *reciting* the Khûrshêd Nyâyis⁵ three times every day; the fifth is *reciting* the Mâh Nyâyis⁶ three times every month, once when it becomes new, once when it becomes full, and once when it becomes slender⁷; *and* the sixth is celebrating the Rapithwin⁸ ceremony once every year. 3. If not able to celebrate *them* oneself, it is requisite to order *them*, so that they *may* celebrate them every single time⁹.

4. These six good works are things indispensable unto every one. 5. When any one of *them* is not *performed*—be it that which, if omitted at its own time¹⁰, it is not possible to accomplish, or if it be that one time *one* omits an occasion, *and* another time¹¹ they accomplish twice as much—*one should* consider¹² that as an advantage, *which* occurs in retri-

¹ See Sls. XII, 31.

² See Mkh. IV; 5 n.

³ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

⁴ See Chap. XIII.

⁵ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. XCV).

⁶ The salutation of the moon.

⁷ In Gugarâti 'on the last day.'

⁸ The mid-day period.

⁹ Lp, B29 have 'celebrate them on his account.'

¹⁰ B29 inserts 'or if it be that which, one time omitted.'

¹¹ B29 has merely 'if another time.'

¹² Lp, B29 have '*one* does not consider;' the copyists having

bution for it, or *as* atonement for the transgression. 6. Because they call the transgression of each of these six a bridge-sin; that is, every one *through* whom a transgression of these may have arisen they keep back, at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till punishment for it happens to him, and no good work is possible¹ in this place, which is torment and punishment for him².

7. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, that they *may* be performed each one at its own time, so that they *may* obtain a recompense, *and* not a severe punishment.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The seventh subject is this, that, when a sneeze ('ha'tsat) comes forth from any one, it is requisite to recite one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ and one Ashem-vohû⁴.

2. Because there is a fiend in our bodies, and she is an adversary who is connected with mankind, and strives so that she *may* make misfortune ('hillat) and sickness predominant (mustaûlî) over mankind. 3 And in our bodies there is a fire which they call a disposition—in Arabic they say *tabî'hat*—and they call *it* the sneezing instinct (*gharîzî*).

4. *It* is connected with that fiend, *and* they wage warfare, and it keeps her away from the body of man. 5. Then, as the fire becomes successful over

failed to notice that retribution and atonement are advantageous in this case, because they save the soul from punishment.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'no good work resides.'

² Lp, B29 have 'which will liberate him from torment and punishment.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n, Sls. XII, 32.

⁴ A formula in praise of righteousness, which begins with these two Avesta words, and is in constant use (see Bd. XX, 2).

that fiend, *and* puts her to flight (hazîmat), a sneeze comes because that fiend comes out.

6. Afterwards, because it is necessary, they recite these *inward* prayers¹ and perform the benediction (âfrîn) of the fire, so that it may remain *for* a long period while thou art keeping² this fiend defeated. 7. When another person hears the sneeze, it is likewise requisite for him to utter the said prayers, and to accomplish the benediction of that spirit³.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The eighth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the religion by rule (dastûr), and to practise obedience to the commands of the high-priests; *and* every duty that *people* perform they *should* perform by their authority.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, if they accomplish as many good works as the leaves of the trees, *or* the sand-grains of the desert, *or* the drops (qatrah) of rain, which they do not perform by command of the high-priests, *or* to their satisfaction, no merit whatever attains to their souls, and *for* the good works they have done they obtain sin *as* a recompense. 3. While *such a one* is living it is not proper to call him righteous, and when he dies he does not attain to heaven, and not a single archangel comes⁴ near him. 4. He does not make his escape from the hands of the demons and Aharman, and he

¹ The formulas are muttered as a spell.

² B29 has 'it is making.'

³ In some parts of Europe it is still the custom to invoke a blessing, by means of some formula, on hearing a sneeze.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'goes.'

does not obtain a release from hell. 5. Because duties *and* good works¹ attain to the soul *on* those occasions when they perform *them* with the authority of the high-priests and those acquainted with the religion, and *when* they give them one-tenth of those good works².

CHAPTER IX.

1. The ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise abstinence from committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse³. 2. For this is the chief of all sins *in* the religion: there is no worse sin than this in the good religion, and it is proper to call those *who commit it* worthy of death in reality.

3. If any one comes forth to them, and shall see them in the act, *and* is working with an axe⁴, it is requisite *for him* to cut *off* the heads or to rip up the bellies of both, *and* it is no sin for him. 4. *But* it is not proper to kill any person without the authority of high-priests and kings, except on account of committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse.

5. For it says in revelation that unnatural intercourse is on a par with Aharman, with Afrâsiyâb⁵, with Dahâk⁵, with Tûr-i Brâdar-vakhsh⁶ who slew

¹ That is, the merit of performing them.

² The principles of blind submission of the laity to the priesthood, and complete abnegation of private judgment, which pervade the whole of the Sad Dar, are especially conspicuous in this chapter. They are the ideas prevalent in the darkest ages of the religion, which have now nearly disappeared with the spread of true knowledge as in other faiths.

³ *Ghulâmbâragî u mûâgarî*.

⁴ B29, J15 have 'takes a look,' and J15 adds 'he shall kill *them*.'

⁵ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

⁶ One of five brothers of the Karap tribe (see Byt. II, 3, Dd. LXXII, 8).

Zaratust, with Malkôs¹ who will arise, with the serpent Sruvar which existed in the days of Sâm Narîmân², and as many sins as are theirs. 6. And Aharman, the evil *one*, becomes more joyful, owing to this practice, than owing to the other sins *which* have made high-priests necessary³; for the soul itself of that person becomes extinct.

7. And when they commit *the sin* with women, it is just the same as that with men.

CHAPTER X.

1. The tenth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all those of the good religion, women and men, every one who attains to fifteen years, to wear the *sacred thread-girdle*⁴. 2. Because the *sacred thread-girdle* is to be a girding of the loins and to preserve obedience (*tâ'hat*) to the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified (*'hazza va galla*)!

3. The first person who set the wearing of this *sacred thread-girdle* in view was Jamshêd⁵. 4. And it may be the whole (*gumlah*) of the demons and fiends who are made extinct by the glory of wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*.

5. Every one who *has* tied the *sacred thread-girdle round* the waist is out of the department of Aharman, and is established in the department of

¹ See Mkh. XXVII, 28 n.

² Sâmâ and Naremanzu are two titles of the hero Keresâspa who slew the serpent Sruvara (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-371). In the Shâhnâmah he is called Sâm, son of Narîmân.

³ J15 has '*which* the high priests have made manifest.'

⁴ See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n. A modification of the age is recommended in Chap. XLVI.

⁵ Av. Yima khshaêta (see Mkh. XXVII, 24 n).

Hôrmazd. 6. And also, while he keeps the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, *there* is a share *for* him of all those duties and good works which they perform in the earth of seven regions. 7. It is like that *which occurs* when they are performing hamâ zôr and hamâ ashô¹, and have put *on* this *sacred thread-girdle* on that account, *or* when, similarly, some one in Kasmîr, or Erân-veg, or Kangdez, or the enclosure formed by Jam², performs a good work, *and* we are not able to perform *it* with hamâ zôr, then they and we, *who* wear the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, are mutually connected and equally meritorious, one *with* the other. 8. As no good work attains to him *who* does not wear a *sacred thread-girdle*—excepting that which he performs himself—it is therefore necessary that any one of mankind *should* not put *it*³ away from the waist on any occasion, so that the associated good works of those of the good religion *may* attain to him.

9. And those four knots⁴, *with* which they tie *it* on, are on this account, that it *may* give four attestations.

¹ These words form part of a benedictory formula which concludes certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407, 409), and the recital of them implies that the ceremony, which is a good work, has been fully and satisfactorily completed. If this good work be in excess of what is wanted to balance its performer's sins, it can be imputed to any other member of the good religion who may be in want of it, provided he wears the girdle. The MSS. have hamã for hamâ.

² These four localities are considered to be isolated from the seven regions to some extent (see Bd. XXIX, 4), probably implying that they were supposed to contain Mazda-worshippers independent of Iranian rule, or that their position had become unknown. (See also Mkh. XXVII, 27-31, 58, 62, XLIV, 17-35, LXII, 13-19.)

³ Lp, B29 have 'that mankind *should* not put the girdle.'

⁴ That is, two double knots, one before and the other behind (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 386, 387).

10. The first knot is that which preserves¹ constancy (qarâr), and gives attestation as to the existence, unity, purity, and matchlessness of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious. 11. The second knot is that which gives attestation *that it is* the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers which is the word of the sacred being. 12. The third knot is that which gives attestation as to the apostleship and mission (rasûlî) in the just ('haqq) Zaratusht, the Spitamân. 13. The fourth knot is that which adduces more pleasantly, gives assurance (iqrâr), and openly accepts that I *should* think of good, speak of good, and do good. 14. And from the whole I become established; and the pure, good² religion is this, that I persist in those *views*.

15. And, again, when the archangels came meeting Zaratusht they likewise wore the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist; and the distinctive *characteristic* (farq) amid the laws of the sacred being is the wearing of the *sacred thread-girdle*. 16. It is incumbent both on woman and on man, *and* it is altogether (albattah) improper when they do not wear *it*.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The eleventh subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the fire-place³ properly, and to keep watch⁴, so that *the fire shall* not die out, and *that* nothing polluted and impure *shall* attain to the fire; and it is necessary to make a menstruous woman avoid *being* within three steps of *it*.

¹ Altered into 'brings' by a later hand in La, and so written in Lp, B29.

² Lp, B29 omit 'good.'

³ Or, perhaps, 'the house-fire.'

⁴ B29 omits these four words.

2. Because every time that they maintain a fire properly, which is within a dwelling, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions becomes pleased with those persons, and, when they ask a favour, or beg a necessity ('hâgat), it becomes quickly operative. 3. And every time that *one* does not maintain *it* properly, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions receives injury from that person, and the necessity he begs does not become operative. 4. If any one does not maintain the fire-place properly, if he gives a hundred dinârs¹ to the fire Gusasp² *there* is no acceptance *of it*, and that sin does not depart from him.

5. For it is declared in revelation³, that the creator Hôrmazd has given sovereignty in heaven to Ardi-bahist⁴, the archangel, and has spoken thus: '*As to every one with whom thou art not pleased, do not let him escape into heaven.*' 6. And this is also declared in revelation, that, every time that they do not maintain the fire properly, pregnancy becomes scarcer for the women, fewer male children are born, and honour ('hurmat) in the vicinity of the king becomes less for the men, and *there* is no approbation (qabûl) of *their* words.

7. *For* every single fire which dies out in a dwelling a loss of three dirhams and two dângs⁵ falls

¹ The dinâr is a gold coin which, if it contained a dirham weight of gold, and if the dirham were 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n), was equal to about half-a-sovereign.

² One of the three most sacred fires (see Bd. XVII, 7).

³ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.'

⁴ Av. asha vahista, 'perfect rectitude,' who is supposed to protect fire (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 12).

⁵ That is, three dirhams and a half in silver, or nearly one rupee and a quarter.

on the property of that person, or it becomes the loss of this dwelling, or it does not reach him from the place whence wealth comes to him.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The twelfth subject is this, that, when any one dies, an order is necessary¹ *that* how much soever scantier² clothing they are able to make a beginning *of*, the better they act. 2. Beside (illâ)³ something become old *and* washed, anything new is not proper for *the purpose* that they *may* let it go upon a dead body.

3. For in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁴ it asserts that, if they *shall* pass on to a dead body as much as a woman's spindle makes for a single thread, with the exception of that which is unavoidable, for every single thread a black snake hangs, in that *other* world, on to the liver of that person who has made a beginning of the clothing. 4. Likewise, that dead *person* becomes his antagonist ('hazm), and hangs similarly⁵ upon *his* skirt, and speaks thus: 'This clothing, which thou hast put on my body, devours *me*, *having* become worms and noxious creatures. 5. *My* name *was* put upon a sacred cake⁶, the fourth *day*, with a Yast, so that *there*

¹ B29 has 'it is necessary to utter two orders.'

² Lp, B29 have 'older.' Compare Sls. XII, 4.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that is.'

⁴ Pahl. Vend. V, 170-177, where, however, the penalty here mentioned is not now extant.

⁵ Lp, B29 omit 'similarly.'

⁶ Referring to the cake consecrated to the righteous guardian spirit on the fourth day after death (see Chap. LXXXVII, 2, Sls. III, 32 n, XVII, 5 n).

might be alike a benefit therefrom for my soul, and it might be alike unnecessary for thee to bear this torment ('haḍḥâb).'⁶ 6. Owing to that, many sorrows come to that person, and he has no advantage from it. 7. Therefore, it is necessary to act *with* caution (i'htiyât), so that, how much soever the clothing be scantier¹, they *may* make a beginning *of it*.

8. And as many as shall be able to walk after the bier (tâbût) and corpse shall walk. 9. Because every step that they go after a corpse is a good work of three hundred stîrs²; *and* every stîr is four dirhams, in such manner that three hundred stîrs are a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams³. 10. For every single step *there* is thus much good work.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The thirteenth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the souls of fathers, mothers, and relations properly. 2. And, when any day of theirs⁴ occurs, it is necessary to make an endeavour, so that they *may* accomplish the ceremonial (yazîsn), the sacred feast (myazd), *the consecration of* the sacred cakes (drôn), and the benedictions (âfrîngân).

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, every time that any day of theirs occurs, they will bring with

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'older.'

² An amount which would counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâ-pûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ B29 omits these fourteen words.

⁴ That is, on the monthly and annual anniversaries of their deaths, when ceremonies are requisite (see Sls. XVII, 5 n). Compare Chap. XXXVII.

themselves 9999 guardian spirits of the righteous, like that *case* when any one goes home himself, and brings people (qaûm) in hospitality. 4. And, when they utter¹ *the consecration* of the sacred cakes and sacred feast and the benedictions, those people become joyful and utter blessings on that house and master of the house, and on the house-mistress and any persons who are in that house.

5. But if they do not celebrate the sacred feast, *the consecration* of the sacred cakes, the ceremonial, and the benedictions, *the spirits* will remain for them *in* that place from dawn as long as the period of a day, and are maintaining a hope that 'perhaps they *will* have us *in* remembrance.' 6. Then, if they do not bring them² *into* remembrance, the souls turn upwards from that place, go very quickly on high, and will say, 'O creator Hôrmazd! they do not know that we are such as we are³, *and that* it is necessary for them⁴ to come into this world, and in this world they will not give any one acquittal. 7. For them there is need of the good works in *consecrating* the sacred cakes and *celebrating* the sacred feast and benedictions; there is no need of them for such as we. 8. Yet (va lîkin), if they would have maintained a place *for*⁵ the duty of those days, we should have turned away from them misfortunes of various kinds; but, as they have not maintained⁶ observance of us *in* the day's duty, we are not able to come in friendship *to* this house.'

¹ B29 has 'celebrate.'

² Literally 'us.' Lp, B29 omit this and the next two words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that just like us are they.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'for them.'

⁵ B29 has 'maintained observance of us *in*.'

⁶ B29 inserts 'proper.'

9. Thus much they say, and turn *away* in anger, and go away from that place.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The fourteenth subject is this, that, when the nails *are pared* according to custom (ba-'hilâl)¹, it is necessary that they put *the parings* into a paper.

2. And it is further necessary to take the Srôsh-bâz² *inwardly*, and *to utter* three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs³.

3. And for the speaking *of this*—to say with each Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴—the Avesta is this:—Paiti tê, meregha Ashô-zusta! imau srvaû vaêdhayêmi, imau srvaû âwaêdhayêmi; imause tê srvaû, meregha Ashô-zusta! hyâre arstayaskâ, kareyayaskâ, thanvarekâ, ishavaskâ erezifyô-parena, asnakâ fradakhshanya paiti daêvô-Mâzainyân⁵; ashâ vohû mananghâ yâ sruyê pare magaonô⁶. 4. Afterwards, *one* completes the Bâz in the manner that *it was taken inwardly*.

5. At those two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, *with which one* completes the Bâz, at each one, he makes lines ('hatthâ) in a little dust in the midst of the nail-

¹ B29 has 'when the nails and a toothpick ('hilâl) *are pared*;' and the Gugarâti translator takes 'hilâl in the same sense.

² A particular form of prayer.

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ B29 omits these eleven words.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 26-28:—'Unto thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! do I announce these nails, do I introduce these nails' (or, according to the Pahlavi, 'do I make known these nails, these nails do I make *thee* known to'); 'may these nails be such for thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! as spears and knives, bows, falcon-feathered arrows, and sling-stones against the demon Mâzainyas.'

⁶ Yas. XXXIII, 7b:—'Through the righteous good thought, by which I am heard before the mighty *one*.'

parings. 6. And, if he does not know this Bâz¹, on uttering the Srôsh-bâz and those three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *he is* to furrow three lines, with the nail-cutter², around the nail-*parings*, and then *he is* to complete the Bâz with those Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, and to put the dust, with the end of the nail-cutter, into the midst of the nail-*parings*, and carry *them* to a desert spot. 7. It is necessary that he *should* carry a hole down through four finger-breadths of earth, and, having placed the nail-*parings* in that spot, he puts the soil overhead.

8. For Hôrmazd, the good and propitious, has created a bird which they call Ashô-zust³, and they call *it* the bird of Bahman⁴. 9. They also call it the owl, and it eats nails.

10. It is altogether necessary that they do not leave *them* unbroken, for they *would* come into use as weapons (silâ'h) of wizards⁵. 11. And they have also said that, if they fall in the midst of food, *there* is danger of pulmonary consumption.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fifteenth subject is this, when *one* sees anything that is welcome to the eyes, it is requisite to say 'in the name of the sacred being.' 2. Because, if they do not say 'in the name of the sacred being,' and an injury happens to that

¹ The formula quoted in § 3.

² B29 omits these four words.

³ See Bd. XIX, 19, 20.

⁴ The archangel Vohûman (see Bd. I, 23, 26 n). His bird is the cock according to Sls. X, 9.

⁵ See Sls. XII, 6.

thing, or a disaster occurs, *one* becomes a sinner; so far is notorious (ma'hlûm).

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sixteenth subject is this, that, when a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that *there may* be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch *over it*. 2. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp *for* three nights *and* days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends *may* not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate *for* those three days.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, when Zaratusht, the Spitamân, became separate from *his* mother, every night, *for* three nights, a demon came on, with a hundred and fifty *other* demons, so that they *might* effect the slaughter (halâk) of Zaratusht, *and*, when they had beheld the light of the fire, they had fled away, and had not been able to do any damage and harm.

4. During forty days it is not proper that they *should* leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant *should* put *her* foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast *her* eyes upon a hill, *for* it² is bad for *her* menstruation.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.' This is quoted probably from the Spend Nask (see Sls. X, 4, XII, 11).

² B29 has 'which they have said.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The seventeenth subject is this, that when they cut a toothpick ('*hîlâl*), or a splinter which they wish to apply to the root of the teeth, it is necessary that they retain no bark. 2. For if a small quantity of bark be on it when they apply *it* to the teeth, and they cast *it* away, if a pregnant woman puts *her* foot upon it, the danger of that may be that the child comes to harm¹.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The eighteenth subject is this, that it is necessary for mankind to make an endeavour, so that they *may* espouse a wife in *their* youth and beget a child. 2. And for women, in like manner, it is necessary that *there* should be a longing (*raghbat*) for espousing a husband.

3. Because it is declared in revelation², *that* every duty and good work a child performs becomes the father's and mother's, just like those which they have performed with their own hands. 4. The meaning (*ma'hî*) of *pûr* ('a son') is that which signifies *pûl* ('a bridge')³, for by this bridge they arrive at that *other* world. 5. If *there* be no child for any one they call *him one with* a severed bridge, that is, the

¹ Owing to her fear of having stepped on dead matter (see Sls. X, 20, XII, 13).

² In the Spend, Nihâdûm, and Dâmdâd Nasks (see Sls. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ This fanciful explanation must be derived from a Pahlavi source, as it is only in that language that the two words are written precisely alike.

way for him *to* that *other* world is severed, and he is not able to attain to that world. 6. At the head of the *Kinvad* bridge he shall remain; although he has performed much duty and good works he is not able to make a passage over the *Kinvad* bridge, and they do not make up his account and reckoning. 7. And every archangel that comes forward *to* that place first asks these words, that is, 'Hast thou brought thy own substitute visibly into the world, or not?' 8. When he has not brought *it*, they will pass over him, and his soul will remain, *in* that place¹, full of anguish and grief (*gham*).

9. A similitude (*miTHâl*) of it is like that which *happens when* any one may be in a wilderness, and *there* may be fear of wild animals and creatures, and near to him may be his own town, *but* a river of water is in front², and it is not possible to make a passage over that river, *as* a bridge is fallen in, and he is not able to arrive at that town, *but* he is always upon the bank (*sart*) *speaking* thus³: 'Would that the bridge would become perfect!'

10. The duty as to children⁴ is in this aggregate⁵. 11. Therefore, the creator Hôrmazd *has* granted unto men that, if *there* be any one to whom sickness from heaven may occur, and *there* be no provision of a child for him, he *has* commanded him that he *should* make some one a son of his own, as⁶ a friend of *his* soul, and *should* receive a child, because every duty *can be* delegated. 12. That person is in place of a

¹ Lp, B29 add 'on the bridge.'

² La omits these eight words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'always in regret ('hasrat) thus.'

⁴ Lp has 'as to the command.'

⁵ Lp has 'manner,' and J15 has 'endeavour.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'some one through his own affection.'

child, and every duty and good work that he performs shall be just like that *which* is performed by one's own hand.

13. And, finally, if any one departs from the world (*dunyâ*)¹ and possesses no adopted child, it is incumbent on the priests and high-priests and his relations to appoint his adopted son, and it is necessary to bring some one in sight on that account, so that his soul *may* spring away from the torment of hell. 14. Because, every time that his relations do not pay attention *to this*, when they proceed to that *other* world, the soul of that person hangs about them and speaks thus : ' I left with you something that I had collected and borne trouble for in many years, and you seized upon *it*, and put *it* into your own expenditure (*harg*), and did not seek for² mercy (*safqat*) on my soul. 15. *In* the same manner as I have remained, delayed (*maûqûf*) *in* this place, I *will* not let you pass ; so that you *will* make no passage over the *Kinvað* bridge till the sacred being takes my rights away from you.' 16. Then the angel Rashn and the angel Mihir³ make up their reckoning, *and, as to* whatever those persons have seized upon from the *other's* property⁴, for every single *dînâr* the account makes four, and they take away the equivalent. 17. And, *as in* that world *there* are no gold and silver, they take away from their souls the good works that they have done, and they give *them* to the soul of this *other*. 18. Still, while *others* do not appoint the adopted son, they are not able to pass over the *Kinvað* bridge, nor to arrive at their own station.

¹ La omits these nine words.

² B29 has 'bring.'

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119. ⁴ Lp, J15 insert 'and have expended.'

19. There is no duty whatever more incumbent on relations than this duty, and every time that they appoint an adopted son *for* any one it is just as though they have made the deceased alive; and there are no limit ('hadd) and end (nihâyat) of their good works.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The nineteenth subject is this, that the performance of agriculture is like that when some one is performing the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and it is necessary to maintain much respect *for* agriculturists; it is also necessary to keep trouble and strife far from them.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that, *as to* every one who replants a shrub, while that shrub *or* tree exists at the place, every good work that every one, who eats of that shrub, does in that *state of* repletion becomes the agriculturist's, just like those which are done by his own hand. 3. If any one orders *it*, just as that good work occurs¹ much new repose (râ'hat) and comfort reach his soul². 4. *As to* corn and grain ('hubûb) and whatever they sow, it is just like this³, because, *as regards* every one who eats wheat, barley, and other grains, and performs duty *and* good works, they become *those* of the sower of⁴ those grains, just as those which are performed by his own hand. 5. Because, for the life of mankind a crop was necessary, the creation of a

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is performed.' ² Lp, B29 add 'therefrom.'

³ B29 adds 'way.'

⁴ La omits the rest of this chapter, as well as the words 'they become,' by mistake.

creator¹ after the sacred being, the most high², owing to the work of the agriculturist. 6. For every one who eats anything dies, therefore, *as regards* that person by whose work the life of mankind is established, it is necessary to consider him valuable and precious.

CHAPTER XX.

1. The twentieth subject is this, that it is incumbent on those of the good religion that they continually give something to the worthy to eat, on account (*gihat*) of that which it says in revelation³ thus: 'When thou givest things to some one that he *may* eat, every duty and good work that he performs in that *state of* repletion become *those* of that person, who has given that bread or food to him, just like those which he has performed with his own hand.' 2. And if he commits a sin, he who may have given food to him is innocent. 3. But it is necessary that he be of the good religion and worthy; they *should* give something to *one of* a different religion only in case of extreme necessity (*ḡarûrat*), lest it become as a sin.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twenty-first subject is this, that, when they eat bread, it is necessary that *one should* recite

¹ B29, J15 omit these five words.

² J15 has 'after its creation *by* the sacred being, the creator.' The alteration of this sentence, in B29 and J15, seems due to their writers' reluctance to attribute the power of creating, even figuratively, to the mere producer of a crop.

³ In the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 23, XII, 16).

the Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê¹ and three Ashem-vohûs², especially (ba-'hâ;atam) in the benediction-ceremonies (âfrîngân).

2. For it is declared in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, that, when they wish to celebrate the sacred feast (myazd) and benediction-ceremonies, it is necessary that all persons who are seated at the feast *should* take up the *inward* prayer.

3. For each man an angel is stationed, on the right-hand *side*, and two angels for the priests. 4. *But* when they eat chatteringly, *or* relate the news ('hadîrî)³, the angels depart from them, and a demon seizes on the place of each angel⁴.

5. And in former times the custom ('hâdat) of the people would have been in this manner, that, if any one should have come to the door in the middle of the feast, that person whose Âfrîngân-precinct it might have been, *or* whoever should have gone to the expense of that Âfrîngân, would have had words with that *intruding* person⁵, and would have also spoken thus: 'As thou hast brought my feast to harm, give me back whatever has been the cost⁶.'

6. And *in* one place in revelation *it is* declared

¹ Yas. V, 1, 2, of which these are the first three words. This, with the three Ashem-vohûs, constitutes the inward prayer, or grace, before eating (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ By which they commit the sin of breaking the protective spell of the inward prayer.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'a demon is (B29 stands) in place of the angel.'

⁵ B29 has 'would have spoken to that person who had uttered words, would have taken *something* away from him.' Lp merely adds 'would have taken *something*' to the words in the text.

⁶ B29 has only, 'As it is my feast, give *it* back.' The interruption having destroyed the merit of the ceremony.

that from eating chatteringly itself is the sin, for¹ every one who is chattering during the eating of bread is just like him who is smiting and harassing the angels of the spiritual *existences*.

7. Therefore, if *there* be any one who is not able to consecrate a sacred cake², it is necessary to eat bread with the *inward* prayer of Hôrmazd, that is, the archangels. 8. And, if he does not altogether know *it*, he recites the Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê³ and three Ashem-vohûs, and eats up the bread. 9. Afterwards he makes *his* mouth clean, and, four Ashem-vohûs and two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *being* spoken out⁴, *he is* then to utter words.

10. For, every time that this custom (qâ'hidat) is carried *on* in a place, through the first Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has propitiated the sacred being, the good *and* propitious; through the second Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Srôsh, the righteous⁶; through the third Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Khurdâd *and* Ameredâd⁷, the archangels; and through the fourth Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that whatever the creator Hôrmazd has created becomes revered and propitiated. 11. And with each mouthful (luqmah) that is eaten, while the *inward* prayer subsists, they

¹ B29 has 'from eating chatteringly is so much sin that.'

² See Mkh. XVI, 17 n.

³ See § 1 n.

⁴ These formulas begin the grace after eating, and, being uttered aloud, break the spell of the inward prayer now no longer necessary; after them the eaters are at liberty to speak.

⁵ B29 omits these two words.

⁶ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

⁷ See Horvadađ and Amerôdađ (Mkh. II, 34).

proclaim a blessing *for* Khurdâd and Ameredâd, the archangels. 12. *But*, if it be eaten without the *inward* prayer, as demons are *in* that place¹, they say, 'Thou mightest have eaten the poison of a serpent.' 13. Therefore, take notice as to which is the better of these two.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-second subject is this, that the performance of *Gâdangôî*² ('intercession') is like that when some one is occasioning the ceremonial of the sacred beings. 2. Therefore, it should be expedient that it be continuous, *and that*³ they perform *Gâdangôî* as regards the priests and high-priests and the worthy.

3. For, in the commentary of the *Hâdôkht Nask*, it says that every one who performs *Gâdangôî*, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them, is as much without dishonesty (*'hiyânat*), towards them⁴, as he who may

¹ See § 4.

² The original Pahlavi of this word can be read either *dâdō-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the law,' or *yêdatō-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the sacred being;' in either case it implies 'pleading for the proper observance of religious duties,' especially the duty of supporting the priesthood and the poor, and it is for such purposes that the 'intercession' with those possessing property must be understood as being exercised. As the traditional mode of reading Pahl. *yêdatō* is *gâtan*, or *gâdan*, it is evident that the Pâzand inventors of the word in the text must have understood the Pahlavi in the latter of the two meanings mentioned above.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'that continuously.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these two words. But the meaning of *La* seems to be that he who bestows charity out of the contributions of others, without mentioning the contributors, does not act dishonestly towards the recipients.

have given to them out of his own property. 4. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take¹ account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to restrain a tethered *animal* from misbehaviour, and to keep watch *over* one's own *creatures*, especially *at* the time when they have eaten meat.

2. Therefore, if they have eaten meat *and* they commit an assault, every offence that the animal ('haivân) commits may be that person's whose meat may be eaten. 3. For example, if a horse lashes *out* a kick (lakad) at any one, the offence may be that person's whose food may be eaten and caused the offence.

4. Therefore it is necessary to make an endeavour that they *shall* commit no offence whatever, especially at a time when they have eaten meat.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-fourth subject is this, that when an infant is born from *its* mother it is necessary that they give *it* the consecrated Hô-m-juice², on this account, that understanding ('haql), wisdom, and

¹ Lp, B29 have 'the spirits take.'

² See Mkh. LVII, 28 n, Sls. X, 16.

knowledge *may* more abundantly get to it, and the want (ablat) of them *may* come more scantily upon it¹.

2. If, at that time, they do not perform the consecration, they *should* take forth a little Hô-m for it², and recite³ a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴, and put a trifle of water into it, and make Hô-m-juice of that, and give it to the infant, and afterwards⁵ milk.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fifth subject is this, that any agreement and promise (qa'ûl) they make with any one it is necessary so far to perform and bring to pass.

2. Although many things *may* go⁶ to harm by means (sabab) of it, it is not desirable to perform that agreement with duplicity.

3. Because, in our religion, they call this a Mihir-drug ('breach of promise'), *and* in revelation it decrees, *as to* any one *who* commits a Mihir-drug, that the way *to* heaven becomes closed for him, and that person himself goes discomforted out of this world, so that a warning ('halâmat) becomes quite manifest unto him.

4. And a Mihir-drug is attached⁷ *in* such a manner that, *if* fortune (tâli'h) may have befallen any one⁸

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² B29 adds 'in the Hô-m-mortar.'

³ B29 adds 'and utter.'

⁴ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁵ Lp, B29 insert 'they are to give.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'come.'

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'understood,' and another copy in B29 has 'considered.'

⁸ Who has broken his promise.

happily, or an insufficient quantity of his life ('humr) may have remained, the Mihir-drug extends to his children without opposition ('hilâf). 5. And every household that becomes extinct, or race whose issue fails, or *any* of the great misfortunes that happen to mankind—from which misfortune *one* obtains release with difficulty—may all be owing to the *fact* that they have committed a Mihir-drug.

6. If *committed by oneself*, it is declared, *in* one place in revelation, that the glorified Zaratust, the Spitamân, enquired of Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, thus: 'Of any of the sins that mankind commit which is the worst?' 7. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, decreed thus: 'No sin whatever is worse than this, that two persons make a covenant with one another *in* such a manner that no one whatever is between them, except me who am Hôrmazd; *and*, afterwards one of those two persons deviates *from it*, and says, "I have no knowledge ('habar) *of it*," and no one whatever is a witness, for that *other* person, except me.' 8. No sin whatever is worse than that, and that person himself *will* not go out of this world until retribution overtakes him, and in that *other* world his punishment is more severe than all; *so* that person becomes unfortunate *in* both worlds. 9. And it is the same *if* this covenant *be* with a righteous *person* or a wicked *one*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-sixth subject is this, that the wise and the ancients say that when a man becomes fifteen years *of age* it is necessary that he takes

one of the angels¹ as his own protection², *that* he takes one of the wise as his own sage, and *that* he takes one of the high-priests and officiating priests as his own high-priest. 2. So that, if, any time, a bereavement (âstânah) approaches, he *may* beg a favour from the archangels³, in order that it *may* furnish⁴ an escape *from that* bereavement. 3. And⁵, any time any affair comes forward, and he *has*⁶ to have opinion (râî) *and* advice (masvarat), he holds a consultation with that sage, while the sage tells him *his* opinion (tadbîr). 4. And, if any *question as to* proper and improper comes forward, he speaks with that high-priest, so that he *may* tell him *in* reply.

5. When the instructions of these three persons are brought to pass, carrying *out* the commands of the sacred being is accomplished. 6. Especially the instructions of the high-priests, because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being; and the high-priests possess so much dignity (martabat) *in* the presence of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, that they are quite able to forgive *any* trivial one of the sins of mankind⁷, and Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, quickly⁸ forgives that sin for the high-priest. 7.

¹ La, Lp have 'ancients,' but this seems inconsistent with § 2.

² La has 'ancestor,' having read ba-niyâh instead of panâh.

³ Lp, B29, J15 add 'and they *may* provide health of body and safety.'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 have 'that they *may* furnish him.'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert 'if.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'it is necessary.'

⁷ B29 has 'to forgive one-third of the sins which mankind commit.'

⁸ Lp has 'likewise.'

Therefore, carrying *out* the commands of the high-priests becomes¹ incumbent on every one; and the fulfilment of this maxim is *better* than *that of* a whole assemblage of maxims.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-seventh subject is this, that is, if any affair comes forward, that they *should* thoroughly understand² whether it be a good work, or a sin.

2. In that manner it becomes better that they make an evasion on the spot³, until a time *when* they make *it* known with accuracy⁴ that that affair is a sin or a reward. 3. If they perform any affair without knowing *this*, although it be a good work, it becomes a sin for them.

4. For it is declared in revelation, that, except that which they enquire of the high-priests, no affair whatever is proper to perform. 5. Whatever wisdom *there be* for any one from his own head is only one; then, *as* two wisdoms are more than one⁵, it therefore makes *it* expedient to enquire of the high-priests.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-eighth subject is this, that, when they teach the Avesta, it is *in* like manner neces-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is.'

² Lp has 'that they *should* be told,' and B29 has 'that *one should* realise.'

³ See Sls. X, 25, 27.

⁴ Lp adds 'and truly,' and B29 has 'make known *that* it is false or true.'

⁵ Lp, B29 omit these eight words.

sary that they teach *it* properly and truly, *and* recite *it* with deliberation and composure (sâkinî). 2. And it is necessary *for* those who are taught to recite *it* connectedly, and to keep *it* ever *in* remembrance.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being *has* decreed thus: '*As to* every one who puts the Avesta away from *his* memory, I *will* put his soul as far from heaven as the width of the earth¹.'

4. And in the commentary of the Avesta it is related *that*, in former times, *as to* any one who had been taught the Avesta and had put *it* away from *his* memory, until the time he had again made *it* easy, they would have given him bread like that which they give to the dogs. 5. *And in* another place I have read that they would have given bread to him *on* the point of a spear.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The twenty-ninth subject is this, that, when they provide any munificence (sa'hâvat) *or* liberality, it is necessary that they provide *it for* the worthy; and *one is* to consider thus: 'Is this person, to whom I am giving this thing, worthy or not?'

2. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* not give to the unworthy. 3. For in revelation, as regards² that person who provides any munificence for the unworthy, they call *it* a vain work *and* a gift without advantage; and day by day *it is*³

¹ Compare Chap. XCVIII, 3.

² Lp, B29 have 'for in the good religion it is declared.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it increases.'

the punishment *and* torment of that person. 4. And, whatever they give to the unworthy, they have made that thing extinct.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The thirtieth subject is this, that it is not proper to pour *away* water at night, especially from the northern side (*gânib*) which would be the worst¹.

2. Therefore, if it become a necessity in the end (*ba-'hatam*)², it is requisite to recite one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*³, and, *when* they make a light ready (*'hâjir*)⁴, to pour *away* the water gently.

3. *In* like manner it is not proper to swallow water at night, because it is a sin. 4. *But*, if a necessity arises, it is necessary to make a light ready, and *one* first eats some morsels of food (*ta'hâm*) so that the sin may be less.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirty-first subject is this, that, every time they eat bread, it is necessary to withhold three morsels from their own bodies, and to give *them* to a dog. 2. And it is not desirable to beat a dog. 3. For, of the poor no one whatever is poorer than

¹ Lp has 'side it would be,' to which B29 adds 'bold.' The reason of the impropriety is that the demons are supposed to come from the north, and anything thrown out northwards might be of use to them (see Sls. X, 7, XII, 18, 19).

² B29 has 'necessity to pour.' ³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these seven words. Both the recitation and light are supposed to frighten away any demons.

a dog, *and* it is necessary to give a tethered *animal* bread, because the good work is great.

4. And in revelation it is declared in this manner, that, if a dog is asleep upon the road, it is not proper that they put a foot violently on the ground, so that he becomes awake. 5. And, in former times, an allowance (*râtib*) of bread would have been made every day for the sake of the dogs, three times in summer *and* twice in winter, on this account, that *one* wishes *them* to come to the assistance of his soul at the *Kinvad* bridge.

6. In the worldly *existence* they are the guard of men and cattle. 7. If *there* had not been a dog they would not have been able to keep a single sheep. 8. Every time that he barks, just as his bark goes forth, the demons and fiends run away from the place.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-second subject is this, that, when a hen utters a crow in a house, or the cock crows unseasonably, it is desirable that they do not kill it¹, and do not consider *it* a bad habit (*fa'hl*). 2. Because it is uttering that crow *for* the reason that a fiend has found a way into that house, and the hen or the cock, *alone*, does not possess the power (*tâqat*) that *would* keep the fiend away from that house, and the hen is going to give the cock assistance, and utters the crow. 3. Therefore, if any time the chance (*ittifâq*) happens in that manner, it is requisite to bring another cock, so that they

¹ See Sls. X, 30.

may drive away that fiend through the assistance of one another. 4. And if a cock crows unseasonably it is likewise not desirable to kill *it*, because the reason may be this which I have stated.

5. For it is declared in the good religion, that there is a fiend whom they call Sêg¹, *and*, in every house *where* an infant exists, that *fiend* strives that she *may* cause some misfortune to come upon that house. 6. *So* it is necessary that they *should* keep a cock *on* the watch for her, so that it *may* smite that fiend and force *her* to the road *away* from that house.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. The thirty-third subject is this, that, when *there* is a place and any risk *or* fear exists that a corpse² is concealed beneath the ground, *one is* to make *it* apparent *and* visible³, because it is a great good work.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, *when* they conceal a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârmad⁴, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent *or* scorpion would be to any one in private sleep⁵, and *i* is also just like that to the ground. 3. When thou makest a corpse

¹ Av. ithyêgô, Pers. sîk. In Pahl. Vend. XIX, 4, 6 she is said to be 'a secret-moving deceiver;' in Bd. XXVIII, 26 she is said to 'cause annihilation.'

² Or 'dead matter.'

³ B29 has 'it is necessary to make *it* apparent.'

⁴ Av. spenta ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' the female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁵ B29 has 'in a sleeping garment.'

beneath the ground as *it were* apparent, thou makest *the ground* liberated from that affliction.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The thirty-fourth subject is this, that it is greatly necessary to refrain from much slaughter of animals and the cattle species¹. 2. Because it says in revelation² that, *for* every one who slaughters many animals *and* cattle³, every fibre of the hair of a goat becomes, in that *other* world, like a sharp sword, *and* adheres in the soul of that person.

3. And there are several things the slaughter of which is very bad, and the sin very abundant, *as* the lamb, the kid, the ploughing ox, the war horse, the swallow bird that catches the locust, and the cock; and of the whole of these the sin is most *as regards* the cock. 4. If it becomes a necessity⁴, it is proper to kill a cock *that* does not crow⁵, and it is necessary to consecrate their heads. 5. Any head of an animal, not consecrated, it is not desirable to eat, so that it becomes so far⁶ a righteous gift. 6. If *one* be not able to consecrate the head, it is requisite to consecrate one kidney *as* a substitute (badal) for it.

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit 'species.'

² In the Stûdgar Nask (see Sls. X, 8, 9).

³ Lp has 'slaughters much.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'if it becomes inevitable.'

⁵ Lp has 'that has not crowed.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'when it is not *along* with.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to wash the face¹, they *should* recite one Ashem-vohû², *and* set the mouth firmly closed, so that the water, not staying *away* from it³, *shall* not go into the mouth. 2. *And*, as *one* washes over the face, they *should* recite the Kem-nâ-mazdâ⁴, so that the fiend Nasrust⁵ *may* become smitten.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-sixth subject is this, that it is strictly incumbent on mankind, on man⁶ and woman, to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁷, because mankind feed on menstruous *matter* in the womb of the mother. 2. For that reason it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm once, so that *one may* become pure from that pollution. 3. For if *one* becomes fifteen years *of age*, and does not perform the Bareshnûm, whatever he puts a hand on, the glory and purity of that thing will diminish; and it

¹ Compare Chaps. L, LXXIV.

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ B29 omits these five words.

⁴ A stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 7) beginning with those three words (see SBE, vol. xviii, p. 443).

⁵ Or nistrûst, 'contamination' (see Sls. X, 32); probably the same as the demon Nas or Nasu (see Bd. XXVIII, 29). Also mentioned in Chap. XXXVI, 7.

⁶ B29 omits 'on man.'

⁷ A tedious ceremony of purification that lasts nine nights (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 431-453). Its name is Av. (acc.) bareshnûm, 'top' of the head, the first part of the body to be washed.

is not proper that they put a hand on a sacred cake or any *thing* washed *with ceremony*.

4. In revelation it says, if any one *who has* not performed the Bareshnûm shall die, the demons make *him*¹ as though *he were* a corpse *kept* one month in the hot season. 5. And, when the soul arrives at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the arch-angels and angels complain of the stench of that soul, *and* are not able to make *up* its account and reckoning. 6. It remains at the *Kinvad* bridge *and* is not able to pass; it experiences much repentance and has no advantage from it.

7. If it be necessary for any one to perform the Bareshnûm of the head, and he be able to do *it*, *but* does not do *it*, if he performs the *ceremonial* ablution of the head a thousand times, it does not become pure from that pollution², and that is the pollution of Nasrust³, which is amid the veins and sinews, and the flesh and bones; it does not become pure *through* any other thing except through *the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁴.

8. And *as to* that person, also, who performs the Bareshnûm *for* mankind⁵, it is necessary that he be a man, a friend of the soul, a truthful speaker, *and* an abstainer, because through chastity and modesty (*mastûrî*) he becomes employed. 9. If complaint of any perfidy in him is publicly diffused⁶, in that disgrace (*malâmat*) it is necessary that the high-priests

¹ B29 has 'it makes his soul.'

² Lp omits 'pollution.'

³ See Chap. XXXV, 2. B29 has 'that is bodily refuse (*hî'har*) and pollution.'

⁴ That is, bull's urine, the liquid that is first used, in a consecrated state, for sprinkling the body in the Bareshnûm purification. Compare Chap. LXXVII, 9, 10.

⁵ That is, the purifying priest. ⁶ B29 has 'publicly comes on.'

should dislocate his joints one by one, and it is requisite that they give him as food to the dogs. 10. So that by this action they *may* make a man observe more chastely and continently, that this result ('hâil) of sin *may* not occur.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The thirty-seventh subject is this, that, when *the days of* the guardian spirits¹ come on, it is necessary that all persons, among their own food and devotion, *should* order *and* provide the sacred cakes and ceremonial, the sacred feast and benedictions (âfrîngân). 2. *For* these ten days it is incumbent on every one; *and* those are better which they prepare in their own houses, because the souls² go every one to its own house. 3. And they *should* have an ear for them³, so that they *may* prepare the sacred cakes and feast and benedictions.

4. Those ten days any one of all the souls—*that* are in *this way*⁴ in every house where they provide the feast more abundantly—proclaims, as to that master of the house⁵, that family, and the whole who are in that house, and the year's affairs of every kind, *that* they are very good, and their entry (da'h1) and coming in are very good. 5. And every single

¹ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

² Which are supposed to revisit the earth during those days.

³ Or 'for these *words*,' as the Gugarâti translator assumes.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'those ten days all the souls are in this worldly existence.'

⁵ Lp omits these five words, and B29 adds 'the mistress of the house.'

good work, on account of which we have spoken of the souls of the departed, becomes just like those we have done for our own souls. 6. And, when they pass away from this worldly *existence*, those souls come again, meeting them, and cause gladness, maintain¹ their courage, and also render *them* honour in the presence of the creator Hôrmazd, and speak *thus*: 'These righteous souls did not put us away from remembrance while they were in the world, *and* we have been satisfied with them; now we are unanimous that thou *shouldest* provide them equal shares of those good works of ours, *and* make their souls attain to the position of the righteous.' 7. They utter these words, and give those souls confidence, while they make out their account. 8. Afterwards, with them, they make the passage of the *Kinvad* bridge, till they arrive at their own position, *and* then they return.

9. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* maintain the guardian spirits properly, and the souls of *their* fathers and mothers and relations *may* exist with honour from them. 10. For if they retire with dissatisfaction they utter a curse, *and*, as the soul departs from this world, they administer reproaches to it, and speak *thus*: 'Thou thinkest that they wish continually to make a way² for thee *to* that place, *but* it is not necessary for thee to come into this world³. 11. Now, hadst thou performed duty *and* good works on our behalf, and hadst thou recollected us, we would also have come to thy assistance, and would have released thee from

¹ Lp, B29 have 'restore.'

² Lp, B29 have 'an escape.'

³ That is, into heaven. Compare Chap. XIII, 6, 8.

this fearful position.' 12. And that *soul* experiences much repentance, and has no advantage whatever *from it*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The thirty-eighth subject is this, that, so far as effort and endeavour prevail¹, it is requisite to abstain from the same cup as those of a different religion, and it is not desirable to drink the water of any goblet of theirs. 2. And if the goblet be of copper or of tin², it is requisite³ to wash *it* with⁴ water, so that it *may* be proper to drink the water⁵. 3. If the goblet be of earthenware *or* wooden, it is altogether improper⁶.

4. Because, when⁷ any one drinks with a stranger, it makes *his* heart inclined (*ma'il*) towards him, for it would be a sin; and, on account of the sin committed, he becomes bold, and *his* soul has an inclination for wickedness.

¹ Lp has 'are necessary,' and B29 has merely 'with the endeavour necessary.'

² B29 has 'of metal.'

³ Lp inserts 'to expose *it* to fire, to polish *it* with ashes, and afterwards;' J15 inserts 'to polish *it* with fire, and, afterwards.'

⁴ B29, J15 insert '*ceremonial* ablution and.'

⁵ Lp, J15 add 'if the cup or goblet be of copper or of brass, *one* makes the water *that is* drunk likewise pure in this *manner*; if it be earthen *or* wooden, *one* puts *it* far *away* from the house, *or* they present *it* to *one of* a different religion; just like that *one* performs the *ceremonial* ablution of *what is* altogether polluted.' (J15 has '*what is* polluted like a metal *one*.')

⁶ J15 adds 'to drink.'

⁷ Lp, B29, J15 have 'every time that.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The thirty-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire¹ which they have established in a town or village. 2. And *at* night it is necessary to make *it* blaze up once, and by day twice.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, if *there* had been no sacred fire, no one would have been able to go from town to town; because it is *owing to* the glory of the sacred fire that no one on the roads is able to commit an excess upon any one *else*.

4. It is necessary that they *should* present the whole of the firewood; and, *as to* the person who makes *it* blaze, they *should* give him bread and a salary (nafaqah). 5. For, every time that that fire is satisfied, and they maintain *it* properly, every fire that may exist in the earth of seven regions becomes satisfied with that person.

CHAPTER XL.

1. The fortieth subject is this, that it is not desirable to distress *one's* priest, *or* father, *or* mother; and, if *people* perceive much trouble, disquietude, and harm *arising* from them, it is certainly not desirable that they *should* give them back a reply with any aggravation. 2. Because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being, *and* every time that *people* distress them they have

¹ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XCII.

distressed Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious. 3. It is not possible *for* any duty *or* good work to extend to the spiritual *existences* while *one* does not make those *guardians* satisfied, and it is not possible (mumkin) that any one *should* repay these three persons all *their* dues.

4. In the commentary of the Hâdôkht *Nask* it says:—Mâ âzârayôis, Zarathustra! mâ Pourushaspem, mâ Dughdhôvâm, mâ aêthrapaitis¹, 'it is not desirable that thou, O Zaratusht! *shouldst* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest.'

5. Therefore, three times every day it is indispensable *for one* to fold *his* arms² in the presence of these three persons, *and* to say:—'What is your will (murâd)? So that I *may* think and speak and do it. 6. If *what* was not proper has come from me of itself, it is necessary that you make a righteous gift on our behalf.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The forty-first subject is this, that it is greatly requisite to avoid a menstruous woman, while they give *her* bread and food moderately. 2. As soon as

¹ This Avesta passage is not known to be extant elsewhere, and its orthography has been corrected in accordance with the translation attached to it by the author of Sd. In La, Lp, J15 the first two names are in the genitive, and the third is accusative; B29 differs by putting the third name also in the genitive; the last word being accusative in all. Pourushaspa and Dughdhôva (?) were the names of the father and mother of Zarathustra, and the latter name has not previously been found in the Avesta texts, but is known only from Pahlavi and Persian writings.

² That is, to stand in an attitude of obedient reverence.

she is not able to eat¹ they *should* not give *her* more, and *in* the same manner *as regards* water, on this account, that whatever remnant comes from that menstruous woman does not come to any use².

3. When they wish to provide³ bread they put the hand into the sleeve, or they place something on the top of the sleeve, *and* it is necessary that her bare hand *should* not come *forth* again in any place. 4. Because every drop of water that trickles on to a limb of a menstruous woman becomes a sin of three hundred stirs⁴. 5. And it is requisite *for* a menstruous woman to avoid everything that is washed *with* ceremony by fifteen steps. 6. It is *also* necessary *for her* to be *at least* three steps distant from a righteous man, and on whatever her eye casts a look it diminishes the glory⁵ of that thing.

7. And on every woman the twelve ceremonials⁶, *atoning for* the offence of menstruation, are incumbent. 8. One on account of the offence that has occurred as regards the spiritual *existence*⁷. 9. The second on account of the offence that has occurred

¹ That is, as soon as her hunger is satisfied.

² Lp, B29 have 'it is not possible to make of any use.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'bring.'

⁴ The amount of a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁵ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁶ These resemble the celebration of the Hôrnâst, but are shorter and less onerous. The Hôrnâst consists of a Yasna each day for 144 days in honour of twelve angels, each angel being revered for twelve successive days. The angels are nearly the same as stated in the text, but the celebration of the Hôrnâst is twelve times as long. The cost of this latter is said to be 350 rupis (see Byt. II, 59 n). Occasionally a still more onerous celebration is said to be incumbent on such women as can afford it (see Chap. LXVI).

⁷ Lp has 'the spirits,' and B29 has 'mankind.'

as regards the stars¹. 10. The third on account of that which² has occurred as regards the sun. 11. The fourth on account of that which has occurred as regards the moon. 12. The fifth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of fire. 13. The sixth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of water. 14. The seventh on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of earth. 15. The eighth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of the wind. 16. The ninth on account of that which has occurred as regards Khurdâd³. 17. The tenth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards Ameredâd³. 18. The eleventh on account of the offence that has occurred as regards meal-time ('hurdak gâh)⁴. 19. The twelfth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards bodily refuse *and* dead matter. 20. Therefore it is incumbent on every one *in* this manner⁵; if any one be more opulent eighteen *ceremonials* are indispensable, and if she has silver in excess (ba-ghâyât) *there should be* twenty-one, *and in* one place I have read that twenty-four are indispensable; but, for lesser people, this that I have noted is necessary.

21. That which they provide in *their* lifetime is better⁶; *and*, just as would occur when any one

¹ B29 has 'the rain.'

² Lp, B29 use the same form of words in §§ 10-16 as in §§ 8, 9.

³ See Mkh. II, 34.

⁴ Doubtful, and not understood by the Gugarâti translator.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'thus much.'

⁶ The author evidently implies, by this paragraph, that the celebration of these ceremonials was only occasional, perhaps once in a lifetime, but the earlier the better, so as to admit of a larger growth of merit before death.

plants a tree anew, *and* is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year. 22. If she shall live ten years, *or* if a hundred years, even so long it is becoming every year much more¹. 23. If they provide *it* after her *lifetime*, that which would be the increase departs; and in *her* lifetime, also, that occurs which every one, who *has* done a duty on his own account, has seen, that *the thing* itself *which others* accomplish after his *lifetime* is very different; so that she *should* provide *it* with her own hands, not after her decease (vafât).

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The forty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence *from* that sin *which affects* accusers². 2. That would be when any one slanders (buhtânad)³, or any one commits a rape on the wife of some one⁴, or causes a woman *to occupy* a separate bed from her own husband.

3. These are sins *for* which there is no retribution, except when thou beggest forgiveness of that person whom thy sin has assailed. 4. Afterwards, they keep back the soul, *at* the *Kinvad* bridge, till the time when its antagonist arrives and exacts justice from it; then it obtains release.

5. Every time that any one applies a falsehood or a slander to some person, so that *people* are after-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is proceeding every year to a head.'

² Any sin that injures another party who, thereupon, becomes an accuser and must be satisfied, by atonement, before the sin can be expiated (see Sls. VIII, 1 n).

³ Lp, B29 have 'applies falsehood and slander to any one.'

⁴ See Chap. LXIII, 11. Lp omits these twelve words.

wards telling that falsehood again, and it vexes the heart of that person, they are bringing punishment ever anew on the soul of that *former* one. 6. The sin does not depart through *the performance of* duties and good works, so long as he does not make *his* antagonist satisfied.

7. This is a grave sin, *and* it is requisite to be careful that they do not commit *it*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The forty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to make an endeavour to kill noxious creatures *and* reptiles ('hasarât) of the earth; because, in revelation¹, it is put *forth as* a great good work.

2. Especially these five things:—One is the frog in the water, the second is the snake and scorpion, the third is the ant (*markis*)² that flies, the fourth is the *common* ant (*môrkah*), and the fifth is the mouse. 3. Therefore³, every time that they bring a frog up, out of the water, and make *it* dry, and, after (*ba'hd*) that, kill it, it is a good work of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams *in* weight⁴. 4. And every time that they kill a snake, and recite the Avesta that is *appointed* for that *occasion*⁵, it is

¹ See Vend. XIV, 9-17, XVIII, 144-146.

² If *markis* were Pahlavi, it would mean 'the deadly thing.' Possibly 'the locust' (*mala'h*) is meant, but the description in § 6 is rather perplexing.

³ Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'and.'

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9 n. The frog is considered noxious because it is supposed to injure the water, being generally found in stagnant pools which are unwholesome.

⁵ An Avesta passage of about thirty words, to be used on such occasions, is to be found in the Rivâyats, but is still unedited.

just as though they have slain an apostate (*âsh môgh*).

5. *For* every one who kills a *flying* ant (*markis*) it is as much good work as *for* any one who is reciting *inward* prayer *for* ten days. 6. Among the creatures of Aharman nothing whatever is more harmful than this; for, if it dies in the air (*havâ*) it becomes a gnat, if it dies in the dust it becomes a worm, if it dies in the water it becomes a leech¹, if it dies among the excavators of flesh it becomes a venomous snake (*mâr-i af'haî*), and if it dies in dung it becomes creeping *things*. 7. *For* every one who kills a corn-dragging ant it is as much good work as *for* any one *who* recites the Hôrmazd Yast. 8. And *for* every one who kills many noxious creatures it is as much good work as *for* a priest who performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings; both good works are equal. 9. *For* every one who kills a mouse it is as much good work as *if* four lions are killed². 10. Therefore, it is incumbent on every one to make an effort to kill a noxious creature.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The forty-fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable *for* those of the good religion, so far as they are able to manage *it*, to put a bare foot upon the ground³, because it is a sin, *and* injury⁴ occurs to Spendârma⁵, the archangel. 2. And they call that the sin of running *about* uncovered.

¹ B29 has 'hedgehog.'

² Ants and mice (or rats) are considered noxious on account of the damage they do to certain crops and farmers' stores.

³ See Sls. X, 12.

⁴ Lp has only 'because injury.'

⁵ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fifth subject is this, that it is continually necessary that *people should* keep in remembrance the accomplishment of repentance (taûbat).

2. Every time that a sin leaps from control it is necessary to act so that they go before the priests, high-priests, and *spiritual* chiefs, and accomplish repentance.

3. And¹ in accordance with the sin *should be* the good work, just as though the good work *were* due to that occasion when they accomplish *it*. 4. While mankind are living, it becomes every year a further benefit. 5. Sin is also, *in* like manner, going *on* to a head every year; and when they accomplish repentance, so that it *may* not increase further, it is just like a tree that becomes withered, and they extirpate its further growth.

6. And that repentance is better which they accomplish before high-priests and *spiritual* chiefs, and when they accomplish the retribution that the high-priest orders every sin that exists departs from them. 7. The repentance *that* high-priests accomplish they likewise call repentance². 8. If *there* be no high-priest it is necessary to go before some persons who are commissioned *by* high-priests; and if those, also, do not exist, it is necessary to go to a man *who is* a friend of the soul, *and* to accomplish the repentance.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

² Here and throughout the rest of the chapter B29 has patit, 'renunciation *of sin*,' instead of taûbat. The outward form of repentance consists of the recitation of the patit, in which all imaginable sins are mentioned and renounced.

9. At the time when *one* shall depart from the world it is incumbent on sons and daughters and relations, that they give repentance into the mouth of the afflicted *one*, and that they give the Ashem-vohû¹ into *his* mouth. 10. For the high-priests have said that, when they have accomplished repentance because they have committed many sins, they do not arrive in hell, *but* they administer punishment *to them* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, and afterwards conduct *them* to their own place.

11. Repentance is that when they accomplish repentance of the sin which they have committed, and do not commit that sin a second *time*; if they do commit *it*, that *first sin* then comes back².

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-sixth subject is this, that, when people become fourteen years *of age*, it is necessary to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*³, because the high-priests have said that it is likewise necessary to take into account those nine months that they have been in the womb of the mother.

2. For in our religion there is no duty better than wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*, and it is incumbent

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

² That is, repentance is not a mere penance, but requires a change of will, a veritable renunciation of that sin for the future; otherwise it is useless.

³ See Chap. X, which mentions fifteen years in accordance with Vend. XVIII, 115, 120. But Sls. X, 13 recommends fourteen years and three months as more prudent, no doubt for the reason stated here in the text.

on man and woman. 3. And, in former days, if any one should have become completely fifteen years *of age*, and should not have worn the *sacred thread-girdle*, they would have done for him by stoning, as bread and water are forbidden ('harâm) for him.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The forty-seventh subject is this, that, when a child of seven years shall die, an order is necessary *that* it is requisite to perform a ceremony (*yast*) *for* Srôsh¹ on account of it, *and* to consecrate the sacred cake of the fourth night².

2. For it says in revelation that the souls of children go with the souls of *their* fathers and mothers; if the father is *fit* for heaven *the child* goes to heaven with him, if he be *fit* for hell it arrives in hell; if the mother be *fit* for heaven it reaches heaven with her, if she be *fit* for hell it reaches hell with her³.

3. Therefore, every time that they accomplish the ceremony *for* Srôsh, the soul of that child becomes separated from the souls of *its* father and mother, and goes to heaven, and is imploring intercession (*sifâ'hât*) for *its* father and mother in the presence of the sacred beings in that *other* world.

¹ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

² That is, most of the ceremonies requisite after the death of an adult, as detailed in Chap. LXXXVII, are also to be performed in this case, for the reason here given.

³ Lp omits these twenty-three words.

CHAPTER XLVIII¹.

1. The forty-eighth subject is this, that, when they boil a cooking-pot, it is necessary to make the water two parts of one-third *each*, that one-third of the pot may be empty; so that, if *at* any time the pot shall boil, *the water* shall not go to the top². 2. For if they do not act so, and the³ water, owing to not stopping, goes into the fire⁴, it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams *in* weight⁵; therefore it is necessary to keep watch that this sin does not arise.

CHAPTER XLIX⁶.

1. The forty-ninth subject is this, that, when *one*

¹ There is some confusion in the MSS. as to the arrangement of a few of the following chapters. The order here adopted is that of B29, J15, which is here in accordance with the metrical MSS., although Chaps. 48-56 are numbered 52-60 in the latter, owing to variations in the earlier part of the work. In La Chaps. 48-50 have been originally omitted, but part of 48, prefixed to a portion of 50, has been afterwards inserted in the margin, and Chap. 49 has been similarly added after the last chapter in the book. In Lp the chapters are arranged as follows:—48, 51-53, 49, 54, 56, while 50, 55 are omitted.

² Lp, B29, J15 add '*and the water not go into the fire.*' La, Lp add '*at least one-third should be water [in such a manner that it becomes wet from ear to ear. It is necessary to keep the mouth continually closed, so that the water shall not go into the mouth],*' but the passage in brackets is clearly a portion of Chap. L, 2, 3; it was originally written also in J15, but has been struck out of that MS.

³ La has 'if a drop of.'

⁴ La has 'mouth;' the passage in that MS. being evidently the end of Chap. L, 3.

⁵ La has 'of three hundred stîrs,' as in Chap. L, 3, and omits the rest of the text. The two amounts are identical, and are equivalent to a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ Inserted in La after the last chapter in the book, and numbered C. In Lp it is numbered LII.

gathers up a fire, it is requisite to leave *it for* a time, so that the ash-bed (bûm) of the fire *may* become cold; afterwards, *one is* to take *it* up and carry *it* to the precinct of fire. 2. It is not proper that they carry the ash-bed (zamîn) of a hot fire to the precinct of fire; so far is notorious.

CHAPTER L¹.

1. The fiftieth subject is this, that, every day *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is not proper to wash the hands first with water.

2. The *ceremonial* ablution is to wash the hands, face, nose, eyes, and feet thoroughly, either with fruit (mîvah)² or some grass upon which no water has come; afterwards, to make *them* dry, *and* to wash *them* three times with water *in* such a manner that it becomes wet from the face as far as the ear³.

3. It is necessary to keep the mouth closed, so that the water *shall* not go into the mouth; for if a drop, owing to not stopping, goes into the mouth, it is a sin of three hundred stirs⁴. 4. Afterwards, *one is* to wash the hands three times with water, as far as the *upper* arms; first the right hand, *and* afterwards the left hand; and, *in* like manner, *he is* to wash the right foot and left foot.

¹ Omitted in La, Lp, though the former contains a portion of this chapter annexed to part of Chap. XLVIII, and most of its contents are repeated, in other words, in Chap. LXXIV.

² Perhaps mîvah may be taken as an adjective from mîv, 'hair;,' in which case we should have 'with *something* either hairy or grassy.' According to the long-metre Sad Dar, the liquid to be used for this first wetting is either goat's or bull's urine.

³ La has 'from ear to ear' (see Chap. XLVIII, 1 n).

⁴ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

5. Then they recite the *Kem-nâ-mazdâ*¹, for, every time that they wish to recite anything as an *inward* prayer, it is necessary that the hands be washed with *ceremonial* ablution², and, if *they are* not, the Avesta is not accepted, and the fiend of corruption (*nasus*) does not rush *away*, *and* it becomes a *Tanâvar* sin.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fifty-first subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one to send a child to school, and to teach *it* something. 2. Because every duty and good work that a child performs is just as though the father and mother had performed *it* with their own hands. 3. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* teach them something good, and make *them* aware of good works and sin; for they are doing that on account of their own souls, so that those *children may* be courageous in doing good works.

4³. If they are not taught, they then perform less duty *and* good works, *and* less reaches the souls of the father and mother. 5. And it also happens that if they do not deliver children to school, and do not teach *them* anything, and they become bold in committing sin, that sin⁴ becomes *fixed* on the necks of the father and mother.

6. Therefore they have decided rightly who⁵ teach

¹ See Chap. XXXV, 2 n, which chapter, as well as Chap. LXXIV, treats of nearly the same subject.

² As described in §§ 2-4.

³ Lp, B29 insert 'because.'

⁴ B29 has 'that commission of sin.'

⁵ B29 has 'rightly for the children, at the time when they.'

them something, especially *what* is proper and improper according to revelation; because the chief principle is this, whether, through the duty of this world, a good *or* bad result is coming hereafter.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The fifty-second subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one that, every year *when* the month Fravardîn comes on, *he is* to provide a sacred cake *on* the day Khurdâd¹, and whatever they are able to bring to hand, *a little* of everything, *they are* to place by that sacred cake, and to consecrate *it* with the dedicatory *formula* Ayaranâmkâ², so that

¹ That is, on the sixth day of the first month of the Parsi year, a day which is called Khurdâd-sâl and kept sacred, because it is said to be the anniversary of many remarkable events, of which the following are mentioned in a Pahlavi tract that is also translated in the Persian Rivâyats (B29, fol. 401):—On that day worldly life was created, Gâyômarđ came into the world and slew Arezûr, Mashya and Mashyôî grew up from the ground, Hôshâng appeared, Takhmôrup made Aharman his steed, Yim made the world free from death and decay, brought on a truce (? padmânak) with hell, and established depositories for the dead and new year's day, Frêđûn divided the world between his three sons, Mânûskîhar slew two of them, and rescued the world from Frâsyâk, Sâm the Narîmânian slew the demon Gandarêpak (?), Kaî-Khûsrôî slew Frâsyâk and went to heaven, leaving the sovereignty to Lôrâsp, Zaratûst came to converse with Aûharmazđ and received the religion from him, Kaî-Vistâsp accepted the religion, eighteen things come in eighteen years to Khûsrô son of Aûharmazđ, Vâhrâm the Vargâvand comes from the Hindûs, Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, comes from Kangdez, Hûshêđar comes to converse with Aûharmazđ, Sâm slays Az-î Dahâk and rules till Kaî-Khûsrôî reappears to reign for fifty-seven years, with Sôshâns as supreme high-priest, after which Kaî-Vistâsp resumes the sovereignty, and Zaratûst the priestship, and the resurrection takes place on the same day of the year.

² Corrected from airyanâmkâ in all MSS. See Âf. I, 1 as far as saredhanâmkâ, then gâthâbyô, &c. (Âf. II, 1).

the affairs of that year may be better through that day's provision and the entry and coming in *of guests*.

2. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, every year, when the day Khurdâd of the month Fravardîn comes on, they allot a daily provision *for* mankind, and whatever *one* wishes to pass to the lot of mankind in that year they write down that day. 3. Therefore, when they shall consecrate this sacred cake, the archangel Khurdâd² is making intercession for that person.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The fifty-third subject is this, that, when, in former³ times, any one wished to go on a journey (safar) that might have been at least⁴ twelve leagues (parasang), they would have consecrated a sacred cake, so that no affliction might happen in that journey, and affairs might be according to *their* wish, and employments (sughl)⁵ cheerful. 2. And it is *still* incumbent on every one that, when they wish to go on a journey, *they are* to consecrate this sacred cake.

3. *And*, while the person is on the journey, he *should* order the consecration of this sacred cake, in his house, every Bahirâm day⁶, so that that person *may* arrive in safety (salâmat) at *his* house. 4.

¹ B29 has 'in the good religion.'

² See Horvadaḍ (Mkh. II, 34).

³ La, Lp omit 'former.'

⁴ B29 has 'less than.'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert 'might become.'

⁶ The twentieth day of the Parsi month.

The dedicatory formula is this—A mahê hutâstahê¹—*and* is known to the priest himself.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The fifty-fourth subject is this, that if any one has a serving wife², *and* if the acquisition of a male child results³ from her, it is suitable for adoption *by* that person⁴, and the bridge⁵ is not severed *for* that person. 2. *But* if it be a female *child* it is necessary that the man *should* not be negligent (*ghâfil*) in appointing an adopted son for his own sake. 3. He *should* himself appoint a son of some relation, *who is* a friend of the soul, so that the bridge may not be severed *for* his soul.

CHAPTER LV⁶.

1. The fifty-fifth subject is this, that when a Navazûd⁷ ceremony is performed, and it happens that it is not possible to consecrate a sacred cake, it is necessary that *one should* eat bread with the Hôrmazd *inward* prayer; *and*, afterwards, he *should*

¹ The dedication to the angel Bahirâm, which begins with these words (see Sîr. I, 20).

² A childless widow who has married again, and half of whose children, by her second husband, belong to her first one, to whom she also belongs in the other world (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

³ B29 has 'if a male child be born.'

⁴ The child being considered to belong to its mother's first husband, can be only an adopted son of her second husband.

⁵ The *Kinvað* bridge, which is the passage to heaven.

⁶ Lp omits this chapter.

⁷ See Chap. V, 1 n.

complete the prayer just as when they complete *it* as regards the sacred cake, so that the sin *may* be less.

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The fifty-sixth subject is this, that, when any one wishes to make an evacuation of water, it is necessary that he *should* not make the evacuation of water *while standing* on *his* feet. 2. Because, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd¹, it is said, concerning that, *that it is* a serious sin.

3. When they squat for evacuating water it is necessary that *it extend only*² from the heel as far as the end of the toes; for, if it be more, every drop is a Tanâvar sin. 4. And, when they wish to squat for the evacuation of water, *they are* to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³; *and*, when the action is over, *they are* to recite the Ashem-vohû⁴ three times, the Humatanãm⁵ twice, the Hukhshathrôtemâi⁶ three times, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô four *times*, and the Ahunem-vairîm⁷ to the end. 5. Because, every time that they act like this, they are pleasant in the eyes and hearts of mankind, and their words are more approved *in* the vicinity of kings.

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98.

² Lp, B29 have 'that they do not make the evacuation of water more *than*.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The recitation of this and the four following formulas is commanded in Vend. XVIII, 97.

⁵ Yas. XXXV, 4-6.

⁶ Yas. XXXV, 13-15.

⁷ Yas. XIV, end.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The fifty-seventh subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a hedgehog; and, everywhere that they see *it*, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* into the wilderness (sa'hrâ), so that it *may* go into a hole, which is ever considered a great good work. 2. Because, when a hedgehog is in *their* nest¹, some ants will die; it will *also* catch and eat thousands of snakes and² other harmful *creatures*, and it eats all noxious creatures. 3. Therefore, owing to the whole *of this*, these words are expedient.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-eighth subject is this, that it is ever necessary that those of the good religion *should* make an effort that they *may* celebrate *a ceremony for their* living souls. 2. *For* the soul, *for which* they have celebrated *a ceremony*³, just as much good work as it then becomes each year, it is twice as much good work the second year. 3. So that, *in* this manner, the merit of *the ceremony for* the living soul is increasing just so much every year, while the man is living. 4. And, after that, this also occurs, that, if at the time when that person becomes an immortal soul *there* be no one *at hand*—Srôsh⁴ *being* the angel when *the ceremony for* the living soul is celebrated—Srôsh, the righteous, receives the soul by

¹ Lp, B29 have 'goes into an ant's nest.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'for every time that they have celebrated *a ceremony for* the living soul.'

⁴ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

himself, and is keeping watch *over it* during the three days¹, and does not forsake *it*, so that no danger *or* harm happens to it. 5. And the fourth night he is a helper, with the angel Rashn², at the *Kinvad* bridge, while they make up its account and reckoning, and it goes *to* its own place.

6. And this *ceremony for* the living soul is appointed for the reason that, just in the manner *that*, when an infant becomes separated from the mother, a midwife (qâbilat) is necessary for it, so that they *may* keep watch over it, *and* just in the manner that she takes up the infant³ from the ground—and, *at* the time when it is born, it is ever necessary that *there* be a woman present ('hâḡirat), or they *may* perform work *for* the infant at a time *fit* for the demon—in this same manner, when the soul is becoming separated from the body it is like an infant (tifl), *and* does not know any way to its place. 7. When they celebrate *a ceremony for* the living soul, and have propitiated the righteous Srôsh, the righteous Srôsh becomes like the midwife, so that he receives that soul by himself, and keeps watch *that it is* out of the hands of Aharman and the demons. 8. When they do not celebrate *a ceremony for* the soul *when* living, *but*, after that⁴, the priests perform *it* before Srôsh, it is like that *which occurs* when a woman brings forth a child⁵, *and* after that they set *her* before the midwife. 9. And it happens that while some one is coming in, who takes up that child and wraps *it* up, it has perished.

¹ While it is supposed to stay near the body.

² B29 adds 'and the angel Mihir.' See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'and she takes *it* up.'

⁴ Lp adds 'it is necessary that.'

⁵ Lp adds 'they make no enquiry (talab) about it before her.'

10. Therefore, as she does the needful which they *should* do earlier by the hand of some one, *in* this same manner it makes *it* incumbent on every one to celebrate *a ceremony* for his own living soul, so that it *may* be free (îman) from these misfortunes. 11. *And*¹ that, if his decease occurs *in* any place where *there* may be no one who *will* celebrate *a ceremony* for his soul, since *a ceremony* for the living soul is celebrated, *there* are no arrears for him, and he is free. 12. And, in many things, it is that *ceremony* for the living soul which is expedient, especially in these times when the priests have remained few *in* number; *and*, when it is celebrated by one's own hands, it is a great duty.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The fifty-ninth subject is this, that, in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers, they have not commanded the women to perform the Nyâyises². 2. *And*³ their Nyâyises are these, that three times every day, *at* dawn, mid-day⁴ prayer, and evening prayer, they stand back in the presence of their own husbands, and fold their arms and speak thus: 'What are thy thoughts, so that I *may* think them; what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* speak it; and what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* do it?'

3. For, any command, and whatever the husband

¹ B29 adds 'this also happens.'

² Periodical salutations of the sun and moon (see Chap. VI, 2), fire and water.

³ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

⁴ Literally 'former, early.'

orders, it is requisite to go about that day. 4. *And*, certainly, without the leave (riḡâ) of the husband *she is* to do no work, so that the Lord *may* be pleased with that wife. 5. For the satisfaction of the sacred being is in a reverence (ya st) for¹ the satisfaction of the husband; so that every time that they perform work *by* command of the husband they call them righteous in the religion; and if not, what do they call them?

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sixtieth subject is this, that we are keeping the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers with us², so that escape from hell *may* be possible for our souls³. 2. And we are completely united in hope, and through investigation (ta'hqîq) we fully understand that, when we are steadfast in the good religion, we arrive in heaven. 3. And we know that arrival in heaven occurs through virtuous actions, and through them we are saved; so that we think of good⁴, speak of good, and do good.

4. And no doing of good is better than that which *offers itself* when a difficult duty comes before one of the good religion as his soul wishes to depart. 5. Since it comes to thee, do thou give help *to* that which has escaped *his* hand, so that he *may* come out of that hindrance; and do thou not forsake *him*

¹ Lp has merely 'is in,' and B29 has 'is connected with.'

² Lp has 'through hope.'

³ B29, J15 have 'that in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers it is declared that we are maintaining a hope that the soul *may* obtain escape from hell.'

⁴ La puts the thinking of good last of the three.

so that he relinquishes the religion. 6. For after that, while he is in the religion, *and* while his children, after him, are in the religion¹, every duty and good work that he does—and *his* children—is just like those which are done by *thine* own hand.

7. And *it is* just like that with regard to poll-tax, it is also indispensable to give *it* in semblance of help, so that they *may* give that person *his* release ('halâš), and he *may* stay in his own place, *and* the advantage of a good work (THAVÂB) *may* come to that *other person*.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sixty-first subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain strictly from speaking falsehood; so that, every time that mankind indulge in the speaking of falsehood with fondness², it is not proper to do *so*; and³ falsehood is the chief⁴ of all sins.

2. Zaratusht enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'Who is a liar like?' 3. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, said: 'A liar is a co-operator with Aharman.'

4. In revelation it says that *there* is no hereafter (â'hîrat) for the speakers of falsehood, and in the midst of mankind they are contemptible ('haqîr). 5. If *such* a man be powerful (mu'htaşim), *and there* be no avoiding ('hadhar) him in the vicinity

¹ B29 omits these ten words.

² Lp omits these fourteen words.

³ B29 omits these twenty words.

⁴ This seems to have been the meaning intended, judging from §§ 2-6; otherwise it might be translated 'end' or 'result,' especially as the writer has characterised other sins as 'the chief' (see Chaps. IX, 2, XXV, 8).

of mankind, they do not have any respect *for him*, and he is clearly (*farââm*) an evil liar. 6. Although he possesses much wealth, it will all depart from his hands, and, finally (*'hâqibat*), begging of mankind occurs to him, and his progeny also becomes scanty¹.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sixty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to take early to the speaking of truth and doing of justice, and to maintain oneself therein, for nothing whatever is better among mankind than truth.

2. Owing to truth Hôrmazd created this world and that *other* world, and truth has remained on the spot, and on account of truth it becomes pure.

3. And the accursed Aharman, *being devoid* of anything good, does not issue from that which is owing to truth. 4. It is requisite to occasion the resurrection owing to truth; and, *as to* every place where truth is not taken up, the glory in that place *has found a way out*, and *as to* every household where much *of this* resides, it is on account of truth, and Aharman does not find a way into that place.

5. It is said in revelation that one truthful man is better than a whole world (*'hâlam*) speaking falsehood; and Gâvah of Ispahân²—when he kept *his* stand upon the truth, and was speaking words with truth until *the time* when Dahâk³, who possessed the

¹ Lp omits these six words.

² B29 adds 'he was a blacksmith.' His revolt against Dahâk is detailed in the Shâhnâmah.

³ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

whole realm, *and* the whole of the demons and mankind have been afraid of him, through the truth of the words spoken—was bold with them in every speech, and became victorious (*mutħaffar*) over them, by reason of the true words that he was speaking.

6. The accursed Aharman, when he perceived the spirit of truth, had fallen senseless three thousand years¹. 7. From fear of truth he never managed to hold up *his* head, and from fear of truth he did not manage to come into this world². 8. And everything that thou settest *thy* gaze (*naħhar*) *upon* therein, that has remained on the spot when thou seekest again an examination of it, has remained through truth. 9. And the interpretation of the Ashem-vohû³ is in truth, *and*, for that reason, they recite the Ashem-vohû frequently.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence from adultery on this account, that *through* every one who beguiles the wife of another, and commits iniquity with her, that woman becomes, in a moment, unlawful as regards *her* husband. 2. And, after that, every time her husband comes round about her, it is just as though she had gone near to a strange man. 3. The righteous bestowal⁴ of *herself* on her own husband, in this

¹ See Bd. I, 22. The spirit of truth was his opposite, the *spentô mainyus* or 'bountiful spirit' of Hôrmazd.

² See Bd. III, 1-5.

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

⁴ Lp inserts 'he shall wish.'

situation, is always worse *than his going*¹ with women of a different religion, on this account, that, if that wife becomes pregnant, it is just as though one of the good religion had fallen *away* into a different religion, and² thereby that man becomes worthy of death.

4. And it also happens, when that wife becomes pregnant, *that* she *may* effect the slaughter of the infant, from fear of a bad reputation. 5. Then, *for* that person whose child it is, it is just as though he had effected the slaughter of the child with his own hand; therefore, he is worthy of death. 6. If the infant be born, and it remains³ in the religion, every sin that that child of his commits is, for that person, just as though it were committed by his own hand.

7. And if a woman of those of the good religion commits *adultery*, she becomes in a condition unlawful as regards *her* husband; *and* if an infant be born it is illegitimate. 8. And the sin owing to this will depart *at* the time when that person goes near to her husband *and* shall say: 'What is *there* in me befitting thy wife?' 9. A calamity (*âk*) *has* occurred, and a crime (*'hatâ*) *has* come into *my* body; thou knowest if thou *wilt* exercise forgiveness (*'hafû*), and if not, when *it is* not for me, do thou kill *me*; my blood is lawful (*'halâl*) unto thee.' 10. If he shall kill her, her sin will depart owing to this;

¹ B29 has 'it never becomes a righteous bestowal of herself on *her* husband, and if, in this situation, he is also.'

² B29 omits 'and.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it does not remain,' but the text seems to be assuming that the illicit origin of the child is unsuspected, in which case it would undoubtedly remain in the religion, as it would probably do in any case.

otherwise, this sin will not depart from her in any manner (*navat*)¹.

11. And *one* calls this sin a sin *affecting* antagonists², *and*, so long as the antagonist does not become satisfied, the sin flows on³, *and* they keep his soul back at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till the time that its antagonist shall arrive and himself accomplishes *his* antagonism, and they give him back a reply⁴.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. The sixty-fourth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise great abstinence from committing theft⁵ and seizing anything from mankind by force.

2. For it is declared in revelation that, *as to* every one who steals one dirham⁶ away from another, when they really know *it*, it is necessary to take two dirhams away from him; one dirham *being* that which *was* carried off, and one dirham as the fine of him who committed the theft. 3. It is also requisite to cut *off* one ear, and it is necessary to strike ten *blows with* a stick, and to detain *him* one period in prison.

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² Or accusers (see Chap. XLII, 1, 2).

³ B29 has 'it flows on,' if we read *bi-rêzad*; but the Gugarâti translator seems to take *gunâh-barêzad* (Av. *berezant*) as a technical epithet for the soul, as though he would say 'they keep back the soul of him *whose* sin is rampant.'

⁴ That is, the investigating angels announce their decision as to the proper fate of the soul they have detained.

⁵ B29, J15 have 'violence.'

⁶ A silver coin of 63 grains in weight, or about $5\frac{3}{8}$ annas (see Dd. LII, 1 n); say, seven-pence.

4. And if he shall steal another¹ dirham, in the same manner *one* is to take away two dirhams², to cut *off* the other ear, to strike twenty *blows with* a stick, and to detain *him* two periods³ in prison. 5. And if he shall steal three dirhams and two dângs⁴, it is requisite to cut *off his* right hand. 6. If he shall steal five hundred dirhams⁵, it is requisite to hang *him*.

7. *On* the spot the punishment is this, and among the spirits it brings punishment on the soul itself. 8. And, if the *other* person does not know *it*, they take away twice as much good work, among the spirits, from that *thief*, and give *it* to the soul of this person. 9. If *the thief* possesses no good works, they give the compensation from the constantly-beneficial treasury⁶, and exhibit the punishment *on* the soul of that *thief*.

10. *As to* that person who has seized anything

¹ Lp has 'two.'

² Lp has 'to take four.'

³ The Gugarâti translator takes 'one period' as 'one ghaḍî (24 minutes),' but 'two periods' as '2½ ghaḍî (one hour).' The word sâ'hat, 'period,' means also 'an hour,' but so short a term of imprisonment seems improbable.

⁴ That is, 3½ dirhams, nearly 1¼ rūpî, or, say, two shillings.

⁵ That is, 175 rūpîs, or, say, £14 12s.

⁶ Where all supererogatory good works are supposed to be kept in store by the angels, for the purpose of granting them to souls who deserve them, but have been unable to acquire a sufficiency. It is said to be situated in the 'endless light' of heaven, and is the misvânô gâtus hvadhâtô, 'ever-benefiting place, the self-sustained,' of Vend. XIX, 122. Perhaps gang, 'treasury,' may have been originally gung, 'space,' which would better suit the idea of a 'self-sustained place' (see Dd. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22, 24, XXXVIII, 3). The term 'treasurer,' applied to the female personifications of conscience who meet the soul with the stores of its good works and sins (see Sg. IV, 92–96), seems to have no connection with this treasury of other people's good works.

from another by force, among the spirits they seize back four *things*¹ as compensation for every single one. 11. And if, *on the spot where people* capture him, he makes *it* convenient to return four *things* in compensation *for* one, when they have fully understood, as they capture that person who is committing highway-robbery, *that* he makes *it* convenient², they *may* kill him at once.

CHAPTER LXV.

1. The sixty-fifth subject is this, that every one is to practise thanksgiving continually, *and* it is requisite *that* he maintains *it* through good and bad; and *he* is to keep in view³ the benefits of Hôrmazd. 2. Because the creator⁴ Hôrmazd demands two things from mankind, the one is that *one should* not commit sin, and the other is that *one should* practise thanksgiving. 3. And how much soever more grateful mankind become, through virtue *and* worthiness as regards him, they⁵ grant more abundant daily provision for the grateful than that which is for other persons. 4. And *as to* every one who is not grateful *to* him, the bread that he eats becomes unlawful, and it is not proper for any one to do good *in connection* with him.

¹ Twice as much as in cases of theft without violence (see § 2).

² So that they may not interfere with such benefit for his soul as he may obtain by atonement. These old priestly laws having much more consideration for the soul than for the body.

³ La has 'to portray.'

⁴ Lp omits these fourteen words.

⁵ The angels.

5. And it is declared in revelation that when an unthankful person dies, wherever they deposit his corpse, the archangel Spendârma^d¹ is trembling like a sheep that sees a wolf. 6. And *as to* a bird that eats that corpse, on whatever tree it rests and settles, it makes that tree wither away, and the person *who* sits down in the shadow of the tree becomes ill.

7. There are different things that it is necessary for those of the good religion to make predominant over themselves. 8. One is to exercise liberality *in connection* with the worthy; the second is to do justice; the third is to be friendly unto every one; and the fourth is to be sincere and true², and to keep falsehood far from themselves. 9. And these four habits (*haṣlat*) are the principles (*aṣl*) of the religion of Zaratust, and it is necessary, when thou listenest *to them* thyself, *that* thou dost not listen to any one *else*³. 10. Because the creator Hôrmazd says, 'O Zaratust! if thou wilt that thou become pure and saved, *and that* thou arrive at the place of the pure, do thou accomplish these two duties:—11. One is this, that thou prefer the friendship of the spiritual *existence to that of* the worldly one, and consider the things of the world as contemptible and those of the spirit precious; on this account the glory of the world is sought⁴ with scorn, and do not thou let the spirit escape. 12. The second is this, that thou speak truly with every one and act justly with me,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n. Lp, B29 omit 'archangel.'

² Lp omits these nine words.

³ Lp has 'that what thou listenest *to* thyself, thou listenest *to* as regards any one *else*.' B29 has 'that what thou dost not approve *for* thyself, thou dost not do to any one *else*' (see § 12).

⁴ B19 has 'on this account the world is sought again.'

that is, whatever thou dost not approve for thyself do not approve¹ for any one *else*; when thou hast acted in this manner thou art righteous.'

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. The sixty-sixth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all women² to order the days (ayyâm) of the Dvâzdah-hômâst³, because the whole of any sin that may have arisen during menstruation, and *at* other times, becomes cleared away *thereby*.

2. And in the commentary of the Vendîdâd it says *that* every one becomes sanctified in the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and all sins become cleared away from her, like that which *occurs at* harvest time, when a great wind comes on and carries it off; just like this the sin departs from her, and the person becomes clean *and* pure.

3. And, for women⁴, there is no duty more indispensable than this; for it is declared in revelation that, when they celebrate a Dvâzdah-hômâst, it is a good work of a hundred thousand Tanâvars⁵, and if

¹ B29 has 'perform.'

² B29 has 'on the wives of every one,' and J15 has 'on every one.'

³ In the Gugarâti version (p. 310) of the long-metre Sad Dar Dastûr Jâmâspji states, in a foot-note, that the Dvâzdah-hômâst consists of a Yazisn ceremony every day for 144 days, in honour of twelve angels, so that each angel is revered for twelve successive days. He stated formerly (see Byt. II, 59 n) that this celebration was a Hômâst, and that a Dvâzdah-hômâst was a similar celebration for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels for twelve days each. It appears, however, from Chap. XLI, 7, 20, that the number of ceremonies may vary with the wealth of the individual.

⁴ Lp omits these thirteen words.

⁵ See Sls. XVI, 6.

it be the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst it is a good work of a thousand thousand Tanâvars, and when they celebrate *it* by day it is a good work just like this.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. The sixty-seventh subject is this, that it is necessary for women to practise great abstinence from committing adultery. 2. For it is declared in revelation, *as to* every woman who *has* lain with a strange man, thus: 'What is it necessary to call her, and why is the explanation¹ that she is of one nature with all wizards and sinners?'

3. And in the commentary of the Vendîdâd² it says "every woman who consorts with two strange men is the first *down* upon me, who am Hôrmazd. 4. For if she takes a look into a river of water it will make *it* diminish, if she takes a look³ at a tree *or* shrub the fruit of the trees becomes scanty, and if she speaks a word with a righteous man it will make the glory⁴ of the man diminish." 5. Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd, "What occurs on⁵ her account?" 6. The creator Hôrmazd spoke thus: "It is necessary to kill her sooner than a biting serpent and similar creatures and wild beasts, because she is more harmful to my creatures."

7. Therefore, since she is like this, it is necessary for women to keep themselves *with* great effort, so that they *may* not become unlawful unto their own

¹ B29 has 'and it is by reason of that fault.'

² What follows is a free paraphrase of Vend. XVIII, 123-132.

³ Lp omits these four words. ⁴ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'what is necessary.'

husbands. 8. For, every time that *one of them* gives herself four times to another person, she is, after that, unlawful as long as¹ she may be *in* the house of *her* husband², and new sin is increasing *in connection* with her soul³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. The sixty-eighth subject is this, that for a menstruous woman who casts an eye upon a fire it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight⁴; and if she goes *within* three steps of the fire it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams⁵ *in* weight for her; and when she puts her hand *to* the fire it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her.

2. In like manner, if she takes a look *at* running water it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight for her⁶; if she goes *within* fifteen steps of running water it is a sin of fifteen dirhams *in* weight for her; and when she sits down in running water it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her. 3. And when she walks in the rain, through every drop that drops upon her limbs *there* arises a sin of one Tanâvar for her.

4. *If* she comes to a Khûrshêd Nyâys⁷, to observe *it*, it is not proper *for her* to speak a word with a

¹ B29 has 'unlawful when.'

² This seems to be the author's interpretation of the following commentary (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 124a):—'And it is no matter to her; for, when cohabitation is three times conceded by her, *she* is worthy of death. Gôgôasp said that this is an adulteress who is *kept* within bounds.'

³ B29 has 'increasing as to water and fire.'

⁴ About 756 grains, possibly four Farmân sins (see Sls. XI, 2).

⁵ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ B29 omits this clause.

⁷ Or salutation of the sun.

righteous man¹. 5. It is not proper *for her* to put a bare foot on the ground. 6. It is not proper *for her* to eat any food with a *bare* hand; it is not proper *for her* to eat bread *when* satisfied². 7. It is not proper *for* two menstruous women to eat together; it is not proper for them to sleep *so*³.

8. And so long as three days *have* not elapsed it is not proper to wash the hands⁴, and three days after that, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is requisite to remain another day, and *so* until the lapse of nine days, *when*, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is not necessary *to remain* to the end of⁵ another *interval* of time. 9. If menstruation occurs *for* twenty-nine days, it is necessary⁶ to consider that she is menstruous a second time, and during three other days it is not proper to wash again, and it is necessary to exercise care, just like that which⁷ I first wrote *about*.

10. If she be doubtful whether menstruation is come to her, it is requisite *for her* to strip off *her* dress, and then to take notice if she has become menstruous, *or if* the dress that is stripped off be clean. 11. If she has an infant *to feed* with *her* milk,

¹ § 4 in B29 is as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her* to take a look at the sun, *or* at a righteous man.’

² La, B29 have *sêr*, but Lp has *sîr*, ‘milk,’ which is also the reading taken by the Gugarâti translator who must have understood the clause as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her so* to eat bread *and* milk.’

³ B29 adds ‘and it is not desirable *for their* limbs to touch each other.’

⁴ B29 has ‘head.’

⁵ B29 has ‘it is requisite to remain for.’

⁶ La omits these ten words, as well as ‘a second time’ further on.

⁷ B29 has merely ‘the care which.’

one puts away the dress from the infant, and gives *it* to the mother till it *has* fed *on* the milk, *and* then it is proper to give *it* to other persons. 12. It is pure, but when the mother washes *her* head she also washes¹ the head of the infant.

13. And it is necessary *for* a menstruous *woman* that she *should* not pass by the end of² anything ceremonially washed, for, if it be a thousand cubits (*gaz*) *in length*, she makes the whole *of it* polluted, *and* it becomes unclean. 14. With any one *who* holds a sacred-twig stand³ she *should* not speak a word; *and* if a priest holds the sacred twigs in *his* hand, *and* a menstruous *woman* speaks some (*ba'hê*) words⁴ from afar, or he walks within three steps of a menstruous woman, she makes *it*⁵ unclean.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. The sixty-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper that sunshine *should* fall on a fire, for, every time that sunshine falls upon a fire⁶, it is a⁷ sin. 2. If thou expose a fire to the sun it is a sin of three

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is also requisite to wash.'

² B29 has 'pass a look over.'

³ This consists of two metal tripods with crescent-shaped tops, to support the small faggot of sacred twigs or wires that are bound together by a girdle of narrow strips of a date-palm leaflet; the girdle being tied on the faggot in the same manner as that on the waist of a Parsi (see Slis. III, 32 n). The sacred twigs must always be present at ceremonies, sometimes held in the hand of the officiating priest, and sometimes lying on their stand.

⁴ B29 has '*and* if she speaks words with him.'

⁵ B29 has 'it becomes.'

⁶ B29 omits these eight words.

⁷ B29 has 'much.'

stirs¹; and, if thou set down anything on the top of the fire, it is necessary that it *should* not have any hole—so that the light (nûr) and strength of the fire *might* become less—so far as thou knowest.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. The seventieth subject is this, that, *as to* any persons, when they carry a corpse to the appointed place, it is necessary that two suits of clothes be put on, on account of this work. 2. It is requisite *for* those clothes to be on², and it is necessary³ to make a dog gaze at the corpse twice, once *at* the time when life becomes separated *from* it, and once *at* the time when they wish to take *it* up.

3. Then it is necessary that both those persons be connected, *and each of them is* to tie a cord on one of his own hands, so that the hand *may* go away⁴ from *that of* the other one. 4. And, when they are moving, it is necessary for him to be prepared and not to speak a word with any one. 5. And if it be a pregnant woman *they are* to take *her* up by four persons, because there are two corpses⁵.

6. When, avoiding dead matter, *one* comes again upon it, *he has*, in the end, to wash⁶ with *ceremonial* ablution⁷, and that is requisite for the reason that he

¹ The same as the twelve dirhams in Chap. LXVIII, 1, 2.

² Lp, B29 have 'to dress in those clothes.'

³ B29 omits 'it is necessary.'

⁴ That is, the cord must hang quite slack, though B29 states that 'the hand *may* not go apart.'

⁵ See Sls. X, 10.

⁶ B29 has '*he has* to wash *his* head and body.'

⁷ Lp, B29 add 'and water.'

may not thereby be rapidly a *cause of* wickedness or death for any one¹.

7. And if *one* does not show a dog to the corpse, *and* they take *it* up, how many soever *there* be, the whole *of them* become polluted². 8. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is asserted, that every one who takes up a corpse that a dog *has* not seen is polluted and worthy of death³, and never becomes clean; his soul *also* would be wicked.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. The seventy-first subject is this, that, forasmuch as it is not desirable *for* any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, *let them* beware (zinhâr) when they eat *it*⁴.

2. For it asserts, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁵, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one *who* has⁶ eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of *his* body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes. 3. And *along* with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. The seventy-second subject is this, that when any one carries dead matter to water, *or* to fire, he is

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'for any one.'

² B29 has merely 'and if, to make a dog gaze at the corpse, they take *it* up, *it is* on how many soever *there* be.'

³ Compare Sls. II, 65.

⁴ B29 has 'beware that they do not eat *it*.'

⁵ Perhaps alluding to Pahl. Vend. VII, 59-64.

⁶ B29 has 'to demolish his house and abode if any one has.'

worthy of death¹. 2. And² it asserts in revelation, that *any* year when the locust comes profusely³, it comes for the reason that dead matter is brought to water and fire. 3. And, *in* like manner, the winter is colder, and the summer is hotter.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. The seventy-third subject is this, that, when a cow or a goat *has* eaten dead matter⁴, in any place, nothing whatever of *its* flesh, *or* milk, *or* hair, *should* come into use for one year. 2. After that one year it is clean: and, if it be pregnant, its young one is likewise not clean *for* one year.

3. And if a domestic fowl *has* eaten dead matter, its flesh and eggs are, *in* like manner, not clean *for* one year.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. The seventy-fourth subject is this, that *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is first necessary to throw something⁵ on the hands, that is the hand-

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 65-71.

² Lp, B29 have 'for.'

³ La has sâl, and B29 san for 'year;' Lp has 'that when the bês and locust come profusely.' The bês may be either a poisonous plant (*Napellus Moysis*), or 'distress.'

⁴ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 189-192, Sls. II, 109.

⁵ According to the long-metre Sad Dar this 'something' (as in Chap. L) is Nîrang, the ritualistic liquid or consecrated bull's urine (see Chap. XXXVI, 7 n). This chapter is, to some extent, a repetition of Chap. L.

cleansing¹. 2. Afterwards, *they are* to wash the hands quite clean with water, *in* such manner that *they are* to wash the hands three times from the forearm (sâ'hid) to the end of the hand; and the face is washed from behind the ears to below the chin *and* up to the crown of the head; and *one* washes the feet three times thoroughly, as far as the leg (sâq); then *one* recites the Kem-nâ-mazdâ².

3. If it be a place where *there* is no water, and the risk be that *the time for* the Nyâyis³ *should* pass by, it is requisite to cleanse⁴ the hands three times *with* dust, and to perform the Nyâyis. 4. Afterwards, when *one* arrives at water, *he is* to wash the hands and face a second time, and to accomplish the Nyâyis⁵.

5. Before *the time* when *one* throws something on the hands it is not proper to wash the hands and face, *and* it is a Tanâvar sin; it is also not possible to work at anything whatever *with* the hands and face not washed.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. The seventy-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to provide a supply of water *for* any cultivated *land*, it is first necessary that they make

¹ Lp adds 'or some grass upon which no water has come, or fruit, is also to go into the nose *and* eyes, *and* make *them* clean' (see Chap. L, 2).

² See Chap. XXXV, 2 n.

³ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. VI, 2).

⁴ B29 inserts 'the face and.'

⁵ B29 omits § 4.

an inspection through every course *and* channel¹ of the water, *to ascertain* whether there be dead matter therein, or not; *and*, after that, *through* the water *in* like manner. 2. If they be in the middle of it, when the water is within their cultivated *land*, *and* dead matter comes in sight, if it be possible to ward *it off* *one* wards *it off*, and if it be possible to divert the water *one* diverts *it*. 3. And if the water arrives with dead matter unawares, it is no sin for them. 4. *But* if no inspection of the stream and cultivated *land* be made, and the water arrives with dead matter, those people are polluted, and it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*² *as regards* their heads.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. The seventy-sixth subject is this, when a woman brings forth, it is necessary that she *should* not wash *her* head *for* twenty-one days, nor put *her* hand again on anything, nor walk on a terrace-roof, nor put *her* foot on a threshold in *her* habitation. 2. And after the twenty-one days, if she sees herself *in* such a state that she is able to wash *her* head, she washes *her* head. 3. And, after that, until the coming on of the fortieth day, it is requisite to abstain from the vicinity of a fire and anything that is wooden³ *or* earthen; it is also requisite to abstain from everything of her cooking and pot-boiling⁴. 4. Afterwards, when it is forty days, *she is*

¹ B29 has 'when any one wishes to enter into participation of a cultivated field, it is first necessary to observe in every course.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ La 'has, B29 kôbîn; Lp has 'hûris, 'food.'

⁴ B29 omits these thirteen words.

to wash *her* head, and it is proper *for her* to do every *kind of* work.

5. Till the lapse of a second¹ forty days it is not proper *for her* husband to make an approach to her, for it is a great sin, and it is possible that she *may* become pregnant a second time, as within a *period of* forty days women become very quickly pregnant².

6. And if after the *first* forty days she sees herself impure, unless she knows with accuracy that it has come from the infant, it is necessary to consider if *she be* menstruous.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. The seventy-seventh subject is this, that, when a woman's infant is still-born, it is necessary to give *her* first something washed with ceremony and brought *with* fire-ashes³, so that it *may* make the heart within her pure. 2. After that, *for* three days, it is altogether improper to give *her* water, *or* anything in which *there* is water or salt. 3. And these three days are from period to period⁴, *in* such a

¹ Only B29 and the Gugarâti have 'a second.'

² B29 omits these twelve words.

³ So in B29, which agrees with Vend. VII, 163, but La, Lp are defective. The 'something' means consecrated bull's urine, as in Chap. LXXIV, 1; this, mingled with ashes, is prescribed as the first thing to be tasted by the woman.

⁴ That is, from the given hour to the same hour on the third day, although, from what follows, it appears that, if the given hour were in the middle of any period of the day, the third day would expire at the beginning of the third similar period. Whether the three days are to be inclusive, or exclusive, of the day when the term begins, that is, whether the term is to be nearly 48 or 72 hours, is not very clear.

manner that, if the duty of mid-day¹ prayer has occurred, they extend till the mid-day prayer itself, *and she is* to pass over one other hour *and it is then* proper to swallow water. 4. After that, till the lapse of forty days, *she is* to sit apart again, and, afterwards, to undergo the Bareshnûm *ceremony*².

5. *On* the infant's becoming a four-months' *child*, whenever it is *still-born* it is a dead *body*³, for the reason that so long as it does not reach the fourth month life does not come to it. 6. And if after three months this affair occurs, *one is* to exercise great caution (i'htiyât) and to insist strictly on this matter.

7. For our religion has reiterated on this matter that, if *one* be polluted and do not keep himself pure, so long as he is living he never becomes clean from that pollution. 8. That, if he wash *his* head ten thousand times in *ceremonial* ablution, he certainly does not any *way* become pure from it⁴. 9. Because this pollution is not from without; it is from within every bone and vein and tendon; *and* water makes clean *only* anything that is on the skin. 10. Impurity which is *in* the bones, except *through the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁵, does not otherwise become clean.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. The seventy-eighth subject is this, that in every habitation *where* any one departs, passing away from

¹ Literally 'former, early.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ And, therefore, to be treated with all the precautions necessary in dealing with a corpse to avoid the pollution alluded to in §§ 7-10. Hence the necessity of careful enquiry in doubtful cases, as recommended in § 6.

⁴ B29 omits § 8.

⁵ See Chap. XXXVI, 7 n.

the world, it is necessary to endeavour that they *may* not eat and not consecrate fresh meat *for* three days therein¹. 2. Because the danger is that some one else *may* depart, passing away; *so* the relations of that *former* person *should* not eat meat *for* three days.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. The seventy-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort that they *may* exercise munificence and liberality towards the good and the worthy. 2. For the exercise of liberality is grand, *in* such manner as it is better and pleasanter, *in* like manner, for the ground on which a liberal man walks, better for the wind that blows upon a liberal man, better for the horse on which a liberal man sits, better, *in* like manner, for the cow and goat that² a liberal man eats, *and*³ pleasanter for the sun and moon and stars that shine upon a liberal man.

3. To such an extent is a liberal and munificent *man* precious ('hazîz), that Hôrmazd speaks⁴ thus: 'I have wished that I *might* give a recompense to a munificent man, if it be suitable for him, *but* I have not found any recompense and happiness that are suitable for him, except a blessing.' 4. And virtuous men and the united archangels are perpetually uttering blessings on account of the liberal man who maintains no refusal of his own things to a stranger.

¹ See Sls. XVII, 1, 2.

² B29 has 'whose milk,' and Lp further adds 'and butter.'

³ B29 inserts 'better and.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'asserts.'

5. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratust, the Spitamân, thus: 'I have created the supreme heaven of heavens for the sake of any of the liberal who provide for the worthy and give them something; and gloomy hell is for all those persons who give anything to the unworthy.'

6. *In* like manner it is declared in revelation, that there are thirty-three ways to heaven, besides *that of* the souls of the liberal. 7. If the soul be of any one else, it is not able to arrive in heaven¹ by that way. 8. Besides *this* happy² way, a soul of the liberal is able to arrive in heaven by means of the thirty-three ways. 9. For no one is it easier to arrive in heaven than *for* the liberal.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. The eightieth subject is this, that there is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû³, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* ten. 2. There is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a hundred. 3. A time may be when thou recitest one⁴, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a thousand. 4. A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû⁵ may be as much as *that of* ten thousand. 5.

¹ B29 omits 'in heaven.'

² B29 has 'besides by the one.'

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The contents of this chapter are derived from Hn. I, 11-35 (Yt. XXI, 6-15).

⁴ B29 adds 'Ashem-vohû.'

⁵ La omits 'the merit of;' and B29 has 'when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it,' both here and in § 5.

A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû is as much as the value (qîmat)¹ of this world and that *other* world².

6. As for that Ashem-vohû whose nature³ is as much as ten, that is when they recite *it* as they eat bread. 7. That which is, from nature, as much as a hundred is when they recite *it* after eating⁴. 8. That which is so much by nature that, *having* turned side over side, they recite *it* correctly may be a merit of a thousand⁵. 9. That which is of the nature of ten thousand is that which thou recitest when thou risest up from sleep⁶. 10. And that whose nature is as much as this world and that *other* world⁷ is when they recite *it* at the time of the dissolution of life; for, if he be not able to recite *it* himself, friends and relations give *it* into his mouth. 11⁸. If he be fit for hell he becomes fit for the ever-stationary, if he be fit for the ever-stationary he becomes fit for heaven, *and* if he be fit for heaven he becomes fit for the supreme heaven⁹.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. The eighty-first subject is this, that every duty and good work, which it is requisite to perform, they *should* accomplish while within that day, and not postpone for the morrow.

¹ So Lp, B29, Hn., but La has qismat, 'share, destiny.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'value,' both here and in §§ 7, 9, 10.

⁴ La has 'sleeping.'

⁵ B29 omits § 8.

⁶ La omits § 9.

⁷ B29 has merely 'is the price of this world.'

⁸ Lp, B29 insert 'for.'

⁹ See Pahl. Hn. I, 35 a.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratust thus: 'O Zaratust! I have created no one better than thee in the world, and after thee I *shall* likewise not create *one*; thou *art* my chosen one, and I have made this world apparent on account of thee. 3. And all¹ these people ('halâîq) whom I have created, and the whole of these monarchs who have existed and do exist, have always maintained the hope that I *should* create thee in their days, so that they *should* accept (qabûl kunand) the religion, and their souls *should* attain to the supreme heaven.

4. 'Nevertheless I have created *thee* at the present time, in the middle period; for it is three thousand years from the days of Gayômarð till now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain; therefore, I have created thee in the middle. 5. For whatever is in the middle is more precious and better and more valuable, *in* the same manner as the heart is in the middle of the whole body *and* is unquestionably (lâ-garm) very precious², *in* the same manner as the land of Erân³ is more valuable than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle. 6. And the country of Erân, which is *in* the fourth climate (iqlîm)⁴, is better than other places, for the reason that it is in the middle. 7. Therefore, I have created thee in the middle, in the manner of *what* is precious, and I have given thee the apostleship, and have sent *thee* to a monarch, a friend of knowledge and a friend of religion.

8. 'Afterwards, I have sent thee, with thus much

¹ B29 omits 'all.'

² B29 omits these twenty-five words.

³ The Gugarâti pronunciation of Irân.

⁴ The middle one of the seven.

preciousness, to the people; and the knowledge of the good works that mankind perform¹ in life, and have not been able to bring to hand without trouble (mi'hnat), I have made clear *and* plain unto thee; and I have made thee aware of the whole of knowledge. 9. I have taught *it*² to thee in the Avesta, in a language that no one in the world considers plain *and* easy; and I have told thee its interpretation (zand) in a language that is more current among mankind, and thou likewise hast more eloquence (faḥ'h) therein.

10. 'While *thou hast* all this greatness that I have given to thee, O Zaratust! I enact a precept for thee, that "every good work which thou art able to do to-day do not postpone for to-morrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul." 11. Do not be proud (*gharrah*) on the *score* that it is still *the time of youth*, *and* it is quite possible to do *it hereafter*, while thou thinkest thus: "I will do *it* after this." 12. For *there* have been many people whose *remaining* life was one day, and they have been taken *away* in the presence of fifty years' work³.'

13. Therefore, make an effort, so that thou *mayest* not postpone to-day's duty for to-morrow. 14. Because Aharman, the evil wicked *one*, has intrusted two fiends with this matter, the name of one is Tardy (dêr) and the name of the other is Afterwards (pas). 15. Both these fiends are united, *and* they

¹ B29 has 'the knowledge that mankind practise.'

² Lp, B29 have 'taught the whole of knowledge.'

³ It is quite uncertain whether Hôrmazd's exhortation ends here, or elsewhere.

make an effort and exertion¹ with man, so that his duty falls back behindhand². 16. For, *as to* every duty and good work which comes forward, that fiend whose name is Tardy speaks thus: 'Thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this duty *at* all times;' and that fiend whose name is Afterwards says: 'Pass on now; it is possible to perform *it* afterwards.' 17. And these two fiends united keep the soul away from its own duty, till the end arrives; all duties have fallen back behindhand, and *it has* to experience regret ('hasarat) and penitence. 18. It has no benefit through duty *and* good works, *and* departs from this world.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. The eighty-second subject is this, that, when thou risest up from the bed-clothes, it is necessary to tie the *sacred thread-girdle*³ again *at* that same place, and it is not desirable to put *forth* a step without the girdle.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every single step which *one* puts forth without the *sacred thread-girdle* is a Farmân sin⁴, *and* through four steps it becomes a Tanâvar sin which would be a weight of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams⁵.

3. Therefore, it is necessary to keep watch *over* oneself, as regards this sin, and to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*.

¹ Lp has 'conflict.'

² B29 omits 'behindhand.'

³ See Chaps. X, XLVI.

⁴ See Sls. I, 2, IV, 10, XI, 2.

⁵ The dirham being probably about 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n).

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. The eighty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain from the keeping of fasts. 2. For, in our religion, it is not proper that they *should* not eat every day *or* anything, because it would be a sin *not to do so*.

3. With us the keeping of fast is this, that we keep fast from committing sin with *our* eyes and tongue and ears and hands and feet. 4. Some people are striving about it, so that they *may* not eat anything all day, and they practise abstinence from eating anything. 5. For us it is also necessary to make an effort, so that we *may* not think, *or* speak, *or* commit any sin; and it is necessary that no bad action *should* proceed from our hands, *or* tongue, *or* ears, *or* feet, which would be a sin owing to them.

6. Since I have spoken *in* this manner, and have brought forward the fasting of the seven members of the body, that which, in other religions, is fasting owing to not eating is, in our religion, fasting owing to not committing sin.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. The eighty-fourth subject is this, when they wish to sleep, it is requisite to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *and* one Ashem-vohû¹, and to accomplish repentance *one is* to speak thus: 'I am sorrowing for, and repentant and in renunciation of all that sin which I have spoken and *was* imagined by

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

me, and *has* assailed me; of these actions I am in renunciation¹.'

2. Afterwards *one is* to lie down; and every time that *one* acts *in* the manner that I have mentioned, and wears the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist—while *he is* equally sharing the whole of the good works which they are performing in all the world during that night, *and he is* of similar merit²—every single breath that he inhales and exhales is a good work of a weight of three dirhams. 3. *And* when he turns from side to side he *should, in* like manner, recite one Ashem-vohû³.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. The eighty-fifth subject is this, that, *in* every matter that comes forward, it is necessary to enquire of the wise and relations, so as to have their advice, and not to transact any business according to one's own idea *and* opinion.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to* every business that thou wishest to transact, do thou receive wisdom and knowledge at one place with the wise *who* reply, and cast away *what is* unconsidered, so that Aharman *may* not reach *it* midway, and injury (*halal*) *may* not occur to that business.'

¹ This is the general form of a Patit or renunciation of sin.

² B29 omits these six words.

³ See Chap. LXXX, 8. This chapter nearly corresponds to Sls. X, 24.

3. *In* like manner the archangel Spendârmad¹, at the time when *her* gaze passed on to Minôkîhar², issued to him this admonition *and* precept (vañîyat), *and* said: 'O Minôkîhar! although *there* be deliberation *in* an affair, this may be no reason for it as regards the spirits³; although a horse may be good, *there* may be no resource *except* a whip for it; and although *one* may be a wise man, *there* should be no retreat on his part from having advice, so that his business *may* become complete.'

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. The eighty-sixth subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a beaver⁴; *but*, if they see *it in* any place, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* to running water. 2. For, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is ranked⁵ *as* a great sin for the *killer*⁶; and, *as to* every one who kills a beaver, the source of his seed becomes exhausted.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. The eighty-seventh subject is this, that, when

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

² Pahl. Mânûskîhar (see Mkh. XXVII, 41 n). It appears from Sls. X, 28, where a portion of this tale is quoted, that it comes originally from the Kîdrast Nask.

³ B29 has 'although a knife be sharp, *there* may be no resource except a whetstone for it,' which follows the next clause in Sls. X, 28. In the original text this change of meaning is produced by a difference in only four words, and the author of the Sad Dar has probably misunderstood the Pahlavi original when translating it.

⁴ Literally 'a water dog.' ⁵ B29 has 'decreed.'

⁶ As shown by the excessive atonements prescribed in Vend. XIV, in default of which he is said to go to hell till the resurrection.

any one departs from the world¹, it is necessary to make an effort, in those three days, so that they *may* continuously perform the ceremonial of Srôsh² and make the fire blaze, and *may* recite the Avesta; because the soul is three days in this world³.

2. The fourth night it is requisite to consecrate three sacred cakes; one *with* a dedication to Rashn⁴ and Âstâd⁵, one *with* a dedication to the spirit Râm⁶, and one *with* a dedication to the righteous guardian spirit; and one is to consecrate a dress and something as a righteous gift for that soul⁷.

3. It is necessary that the dress be new and of uniform quality (*gins*), and such as turban, shirt, vest, girdle, trowsers, shoes (*pasandil*)⁸, and mouth-veil. 4. Since they give those among the spirits a counterpart of those garments, therefore, whatever is more beautiful, and more surpassing in grandeur for the soul in that place, is necessary where that place is, because our fathers and mothers and the whole of *our* relations are in that place. 5. And since the souls recognise and ask after one another in that world, they are, therefore, more joyful on account of every one whose dress⁹ and grandeur are more surpassing. 6. In a similar manner, when the dress is old and ragged, they are ashamed, and exhibit heaviness of heart.

¹ La omits 'from the world.'

² See Mkh. II, 115 n, Sls. XVII, 3.

³ See Mkh. II, 114, 158.

⁴ See Mkh. II, 118, 119, Sls. XVII, 4.

⁵ Av. arstâd, 'uprightness;' the angel whose name is given to the twenty-sixth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The angel of the upper air, often called Vâê the good.

⁷ B29 has 'on that cake.'

⁸ B29 has mûzah, 'boots,' and places them last.

⁹ B29 inserts 'is more beautiful.'

7. They call that dress a righteous gift because they consecrate *it*; and it is necessary to give *it* to the priests and high-priests, as it is a righteous gift on account of their position. 8. And it is suitable for them to keep *it* for the reason that the souls are nearer to them; *people should also* make an effort that the dress may be stitched like the dress of a priest.

9. The sacred beings make up the account *and* reckoning for the soul when the priest recites *frasasti ahurahê mazdau*¹ and removes the *Frasast*² from this side to that side. 10. The soul passes over the *Kinvad* bridge when, *on* the fourth night, it arrives from the world *at* the *Kinvad* bridge. 11. First it goes to the abode of fire (*âtas-gâh*)³; afterwards, one step reaches to the star station, the second step reaches to the moon station, the third step to the sun station, *and* with the fourth step it reaches the *Kinvad* bridge⁴, *and* they convey it to its own place.

¹ 'Glory *be* to Ahura-mazda.' Lp adds 'ahunahê vairyêhê as far as *ashaya nô paiti-gamyâd*,' that is 'to the Ahuna-vairya formula,' &c. as far as 'may he come to us in righteousness' (Yas. VIII, 1-3).

² A *Frasast* is a sacred cake marked on the upper side with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a fingernail while repeating the words *humat hûkht huvarst*, 'well-thought, well-spoken, well-done,' thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts. It is placed before the consecrating priest, but to his right, while the ordinary sacred cakes are to his left (see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 396, 407, 408).

³ That is, when it leaves the vicinity of the body, after hovering about it for three nights (see *Sls.* XII, 5).

⁴ In other accounts the soul has to pass over this bridge before it steps forwards to the stars and moon and sun (see *Mkh.* II, 123, 145, VII, 9-12, *Dd.* XXXIV, 3, *AV.* V, 2, VII-IX, 1).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. The eighty-eighth subject is this, that, *as to any piece of wood* on which they carry a corpse, or on which they wash *it*, and that which may be defiled with blood and impurity, that on which menstruous defilement, or a bare limb, is deposited by a *menstruous* woman, and that on which they impale a human being, it is necessary to avoid the whole of these *pieces of wood*, and not to work with¹ them again, because one's dress becomes impure; and it is not proper to burn *them*. 2. It is necessary to put *them* in a place where any one, *who* pulls *them* up and stirs *them*, *will* not² bring *them* into the use of mankind.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. The eighty-ninth subject is this, that³ Hôrmazd keeps watch when any one, through imposition ('hîlat) and unawares, eats dead matter, *or* gives *it* to one of the good religion, or throws dead matter upon one of the good religion. 2. While his will and command are, *that* it is necessary that *such a person should* undergo the Bareshnûm ceremony⁴, and accomplish repentance⁵ before the *spiritual* chiefs and high-priests. 3. So that, after that, *one may* indicate to him the sin in these *actions*, and he *may* perform the retribution which the high-priest mentions, in order that, owing to this, his sin *may* depart.

¹ La has 'to eat on,' Lp 'to buy with,' B29 'to touch on.'

² B29 has 'any one *will* not take *them* up and not stir *them* about, so that he does not.'

³ B29, J15 insert 'the religion of.' ⁴ See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

⁵ See Chap. XLV, 7 n.

CHAPTER XC.

1. The ninetieth subject is this, that it is not proper that they *should* give anything to a sinful person *or one* worthy of death, because¹ it is like that they have placed in the jaws of a destructive serpent (*azdahâ*). 2. And, if this be food which he devours *and* they give, they pass into the committing of sin; *and* that person *who* may have given food to him is a participater with him. 3. In eating food, if *there* be no danger and fear of them², it is not desirable to give anything to them, for it would be a great sin.

CHAPTER XCI.

1. The ninety-first subject is this, that is, *in* what mode is it necessary to wash everything that becomes polluted by dead matter?

2. Gold *one is* to wash over once with *ceremonial* ablution³ to make *it* dry once with dust, and to wash *it* over once with water. 3. Silver (*nuqrah*) *one is to do* twice; copper, tin, lead, and brass *articles* three times; steel four times; stone *articles* six times; turquoise, ruby (*yâqût*), amber, carbuncle, cornelian (*'haqîq*), and, like these, whatever is from a mine (*ma'hdan*) are all to be washed six times in the manner which I have stated. 4. Afterwards they are clean *in* that manner, when every single time *one* washes *them* over with *ceremonial* ablution, makes

¹ B29 omits these six words.

² That is, if the sinners begging assistance be not dangerous.

³ That is, with consecrated bull's urine (see Sls. II, 112-117).

them dry with dust, and washes *it* off¹; and just like this *on* the occasion of the other times—up to three times, or four, or six—as far as whatever is ordered.

5. For pearls two modes² are ordered, but the conclusion is this, that they *should* wash *them* six times, just like stone *articles*. 6. The whole of wooden and earthen *ware* it is requisite to throw *away*. 7. All clothing of the body it is requisite to wash six times *in* the manner that I have stated, *and*, after that, to put *them* in a place where the sun and moon must *shine* on them *for* six months³; after that they are fit for a menstruous woman.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. The ninety-second subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire⁴ and some one who *will* work with assiduity (*kahdân*) to provide⁵ maintenance and sympathy for it. 2. And the supply of its firewood is entirely *in* such a manner that they burn this year the firewood of last year⁶. 3. *At* midnight they make *it* blaze up, *and* put incense upon *it in* such a manner that the wind carries off its scent.

4. The demons and fiends rush away, because there is the glory of the sacred fire that we are able to make a living existence in the midst of this

¹ Lp, B29 add 'with water.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 gives three opinions.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 36.

⁴ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XXXIX.

⁵ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that some one *may* keep watch over it, and is to provide proper.'

⁶ So that it may be quite dry, as to put anything damp into a fire would be considered sinful (see AV. X, 6-14).

people. 5. For, if no fiend¹ and the glory of the archangels and the day of the sacred fire had not existed, it would not have been possible to produce the living existence any day. 6. And, therefore, it makes *it* expedient that they supply a fire-attendant to maintain the firewood and fire, so that a seeking for *its* safety ('hâfiyat) *may* come into *operation*, and they *may* know a support and protection for it that would be acceptable.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. The ninety-third subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion to practise abstinence from uttering slander (*ghaîbat*) behind *one's* back².

2. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it states, that³ slander is the greatest of all sins. 3. Every one who perpetrates slander *about* any one is like him who has eaten dead matter—and the eating of dead matter is a sin⁴ *that* has likewise been mentioned, before this, in this book⁵—but the statement is like this, while they do not indicate *any* punishment for it in this world⁶, it does not go *without it* in that *other* world. 4. Therefore it is necessary for those of the good religion to make an effort, so that they *may* guard themselves from this slander.

5. In order that they *may* show thy soul, *when*⁷ resigning life, the satisfaction (*igzâ*) for the sin, it

¹ That is, the absence of fiends. B29 has 'if the splendour.'

² Literally 'face.' ³ B29 inserts 'the perpetration of.'

⁴ B29, J15 have 'a great sin.'

⁵ See Chap. LXXI.

⁶ Thereby differing from the sin of eating dead matter.

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'show at the time of.'

states, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd, *as to any one by whom slander is perpetrated, if the injured person goes before him and begs a righteous gift from him, and he provides a righteous gift for that person, the sin departs from him.*

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. The ninety-fourth subject is this, when a person confers a benefit *or* kindness upon any one, it is necessary that *the latter should* understand the value of it, and lay the obligation (minnat) upon himself; and, if he be able, he *should* provide a benefit to that amount (miqdâr) for that *person*.

2. It is declared in revelation, *that*, when a person confers a benefit upon any one, Hôrmazd¹ gives him ten times as much, *as* an equivalent. 3. And, if *the other* be not understanding² the justice of *this*, it is related in the commentary of the Avesta *in* this manner, that it is a great sin for him. 4. And Aharman³ speaks like this, namely: 'That sinner is akin to me; *in* the end he will come into my hands; I will not give him into the hands of any demon, *but* I will inflict punishment *with* my own hands.' 5. *And* the chief priest⁴ says it is necessary for all Zaratustians that they keep themselves far from this sin.

CHAPTER XCV.

1. The ninety-fifth subject is this, that it is necessary that it be expedient for all those of the

¹ Lp, B29 add 'the good *and* propitious.'

² Lp, B29 have 'praising.'

³ Lp, B29 add 'the accursed.'

⁴ Probably meaning the commentator.

good religion to perform the salutation of the sun¹ three times every day.

2. If *one* performs *it* once, it is a good work of one Tanâvar²; if he performs *it* twice, it is twice as much; *and* if he performs *it* three times, it is thrice as much. 3. And if he does not perform one repetition, it is a sin of thirty stîrs³; if he does not perform two repetitions, it is twice as much sin; and if he does not perform three repetitions, it is thrice as much sin.

4. And it is the same as this with regard to *the salutations of the moon and fire*⁴. 5. Therefore it is expedient, in the religion, for every one of the good religion to bring the salutations *into* practice.

CHAPTER XCVI.

1. The ninety-sixth subject is this, when any one departs to that *other* world it is not proper for others that they *should* utter an outcry, maintain grief, *and* make lamentation *and* weeping. 2. Because every tear *that* issues *from* the eyes becomes one *drop* of that river⁵ before the *K'invad*

¹ The Khûrshêd Nyâyis (see Chaps. VI, 2, LXVIII, 4).

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ Equivalent to an Aredûs sin, or blow with a weapon (see Sls. I, 1, 2).

⁴ The Mâh and Âtash Nyâyis. B29 also interpolates 'the Mihir' Nyâyis.

⁵ 'This river is the many tears that men shed from *their* eyes, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell to this river. Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure,

bridge, *and* then the soul of that dead *person* remains *at* that place; it is difficult for it to make a passage there, and it is not able to pass over the *Kinvad* bridge. 3. It is therefore necessary that they recite the Avesta and celebrate the ceremonial, so that the passage of that place *may* become easy for it.

CHAPTER XCVII.

1. The ninety-seventh subject is this, that it is expedient for¹ those of the good religion, that they converse, according to their own ability, *in* the presence of officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, and hearken cordially to whatever they say. 2. And they *should* understand *their* statements, and, during them, they *should* not utter any reply *or* question (sûâl).

3. For in the commentary of the Avesta it says, *as to* every one who brings altercation ('huggat) into any statement of the elders of the religion, '*one* breaks out his tongue, or he goes out from this world abortively (mubattalâ).'

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1. The ninety-eighth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion, that they learn the Avesta characters *in* the presence of

much lamentation and weeping were made; and those *who* cross more easily are those for whom less was made' (AV. XVI, 7–10).

¹ Lp, B29 insert 'all.'

priests *and* teachers, so as to read, *and that* no error *may* continue *in* the Nyâyises and Yasts.

2. And it is still more expedient for priests *and* teachers, that they teach the Avesta characters to all those of the good religion¹; and if a priest, while teaching, shows incompetence (taqîr), it is a great sin for him. 3. For Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to every priest and teacher who commits a blunder in teaching*² those of the good religion, I make him just as far from heaven as the width of the earth³.'

CHAPTER XCIX.

1. The ninety-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper for officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, that they teach Pahlavi to every one.

2. For Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?' 3. *And* Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply thus: '*To every one who is of thy family (nasl), an officiating priest, a high-priest, a spiritual chief, and every one who is an intelligent priest.* 4. ⁴ Besides these that I have mentioned, if *one* teaches *it* to others⁵ it is a great sin for him; *and* if he has performed many duties *and* good works, the end for him may *still* be hell.'

¹ B29 omits these seven words.

² Lp, B29 insert 'the Avesta to.'

³ Compare Chap. XXVIII, 3.

⁴ B29 inserts 'it is not proper for any other person.'

⁵ Lp has 'if *there be* any one of the others, it is not proper that *one* teaches *him*.'

CHAPTER C.

1. The hundredth subject is this, when a person molests or smites any one *who is* innocent, it is a sin of one Tanâvar every day for that *person*, as long as he lives¹. 2. *And*, when he departs from this world, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn make up his account and reckoning. 3. *He is*² full of affliction, and experiences much regret and penitence, and has no advantage from it³. 4. It is *therefore* necessary to keep oneself far from this sin⁴.

¹ See Sls. X, 17.

² Lp, B29, J15 have 'afterwards, he remains *in* that place.'

³ B29, J15 add '*in* that place.'

⁴ B29, J15 add 'and to do good to every one.' In La this chapter was originally numbered XCIX, and Chap. XLIX was subsequently inserted after it, and numbered C. In Lp it was numbered XCVIII, and occurs again as Chap. C, while Chap. XCIX is a repetition of XLIX (which is numbered LII in Lp). The discrepancy in the numbering of the chapters, of one in the case of La, and two in Lp, extends backwards as far as the confusion mentioned in p. 311, note 1, and was evidently due to that confusion.



INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translation only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

3. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta; com. for commentary or commentator; Dr. for Doctor; Gug. for Gugarâtî; Hâd. for Hâdôkht; Int. for Introduction; m. for mountain; Mkh. for Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad; MSS. for manuscripts; n. for foot-note; Pâr. for Pârsî; Per. for Persian; Pl. for Pahlavi; Prof. for Professor; Pz. for Pâzand; rev. for revelation; scrip. for scripture; Sd. for Sad Dar; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr; Sk. for Sanskrit; Test. for Testament; Vd. for Vendîdâd.

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| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|--|
| | I Class. | | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | . . . | . . . | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k | |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | . . . | . . . | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh | |
| 3 Media | g | . . . | . . . | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | . . . | |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | . . . | . . . | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | . . . | |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | . . . | . . . | ङ | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | . . . | |
| 6 Nasalis | ñ (ng) | . . . | . . . | 𑖅 | { 3 (ng)
𑖅 (N) } | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | . . . | . . . | ह | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | h, hs | |
| 8 " lenis | , | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| 11 " asper fricatus | . . . | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | . . . | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | |
| Gutturales modificatae
(palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | . . . | k | . . . | च | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | k | |
| 14 " aspirata | . . . | kh | . . . | छ | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | kh | |
| 15 Media | . . . | g | . . . | ज | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | . . . | |
| 16 " aspirata | . . . | gh | . . . | झ | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | . . . | |
| 17 " Nasalis | . . . | ñ | . . . | ञ | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | . . . | |

| CONSONANTS
(continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬶
𐬶𐬵
𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶 | ی | ی | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | | s | | श | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | ش | ش | ש | |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | | z | | | | | | | | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬵 | 𐬵 | ت | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | थ | 𐬵𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶 | تھ | تھ | תה | th |
| 25 " assibilata | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 Media | d | | | द | 𐬵𐬶𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶𐬶 | د | د | ד | |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 " assibilata | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | ن | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | ल | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | ل | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | | | | | | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | स | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶𐬶 | س | س | ס | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | S (S) | | | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | | | | ز | ز | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |

| Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.) | | Labiales. | |
|--|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| 38 Tenuis | t | 38 Tenuis | p |
| 39 „ aspirata | th | 39 „ aspirata | ph |
| 40 Media | d | 40 Media | b |
| 41 „ aspirata | dh | 41 „ aspirata | bh |
| 42 Nasalis | n | 42 Tenuissima | ... |
| 43 Semivocalis | r | 43 Nasalis | m |
| 44 „ fricata | r | 44 Semivocalis | w |
| 45 „ diacritica | ... | 45 „ aspirata | hw |
| 46 Spiritus asper | sh | 46 Spiritus asper | f |
| 47 „ lenis | zh | 47 „ lenis | v |
| | | 48 Anusvāra | ... |
| | | 49 Visarga | ... |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | 0 | | | . | . | . | . | . | . | ä |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ě | | | . | . |) fn. | . | . | . | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ö | | | . | . | u | . | . | . | a |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | अ | ا | ا | . | . | . | â |
| 5 " longa | â | (a) | | आ | ا | ا | . | . | . | i |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | इ | ی | ی | . | . | . | î |
| 7 " longa | î | (i) | | ए | ی | ی | . | . | . | ... |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | li | | | ल | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 9 " longa | ll | | | ळ | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | र | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 11 " longa | rf | | | र | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | उ | . | . | . | . | . | u |
| 13 " longa | û | (u) | | ऊ | . | . | . | . | . | û |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | इ | Ε(e) ξ(e) | . | . | . | . | e |
| 15 " longa | é (ai) | (e) | | ई | ی | . | . | . | . | é |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | âi | (ai) | | ऐ | ی | . | . | . | . | âi |
| 17 " " | ei (ëi) | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ei, éi |
| 18 " " | oi (öu) | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | o |
| 20 " longa | ô (au) | (o) | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | âu | (au) | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | âu |
| 22 " " | eu (ëu) | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 23 " " | ou (öu) | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | i | | | ... | . | . | . | . | . | ... |

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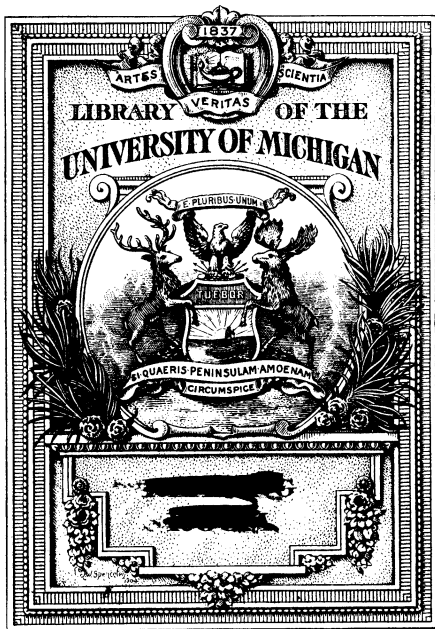
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PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST



PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND
SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

Oxford

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

I. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

THOUGH we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity *bahdînân*, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xlv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;,' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi *avistâk*, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of â, 'to,' + *vid*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. *zainti* (traceable in the word *âzaintis*), must be referred to the root *zan*, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding'¹. European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

¹ See Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal ; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.¹ Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Arđakhshīr-i Pāpakān (A.D. 226-240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

¹ See Levy's *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift*; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421-465.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muham-madan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered ; but the most probable explanation¹ is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers ; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there ; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

¹ See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870 ; pp. 33-37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write *malkân malkâ*, 'king of kings,' but they would read *shâhân shâh*. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or âûzvâris, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvârîdan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius¹,

¹ See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsolescence,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. *paitizanti*, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâris words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâris and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226-388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388-651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâris has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâris in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâris, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâris logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâris and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâris portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

𐬀 a, â, h, kh. 𐬁 b. 𐬂 p, f. 𐬃 t, d. 𐬄 k, g, z, v. 𐬅 r, l. 𐬆 z. 𐬇 s, yî, yad, yag, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad, gag, gag, gî, gad, gag, gag. 𐬈 sh, s, yâ, yah, yakh, ih, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, gâ, gah, gakh. 𐭪 gh. 𐭪 k.
𐭪 m. 𐭪 n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. 𐭪 y, î, ê, d, g, g.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter 𐭪 s being exactly like the letter 𐭪 y doubled, and by the letter 𐭪 sh being identical with a compound of 𐭪 y and 𐭪 â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâris logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâris-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâris logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâris can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as *anhômâ* for *aûharmazd*, *yahân* for *yazdân*, *madônad* for *maînôk*, *shatan* for *shatrô*, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own pre-conceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son¹ of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A.D. 226-240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A.D. 240-271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâi Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâris, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâris (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences, however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds :—

¹ So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI, 30).

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, d. 5. k, g, ʒ. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, s. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee 𐭠𐭣 and to Pahl. MS. -man¹.

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or g, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or g with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view²; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

¹ Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his *Beiträge*, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic 𐤎, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

² The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ragab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pât Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâgîâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâi Kûlî, which contains the name of Âû-harmazd I (A.D. 271-272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Ragab and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A.D. 275-283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A.D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A.D. 1323-1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Copenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Copenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A.D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the *Arđâ-Vîrâf-nâmak*, written in A.D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the *Khurdah Avesta*, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A.D.

636-651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahis, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahis.

3. THE BUNDAHIS.

The term *Bundahis*, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work¹ which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word *bûn-dahisn*, or *bûn-dahisnih*, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

¹ When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a *Sad-dar Bundahis*, or *Bundahis* of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

us that the actual name of the treatise was Zand-âkâs, 'knowing the tradition.'

The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the arch-angels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by Gâyô-mard; producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltiness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to Gâyômarđ after an interval.

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox Hadhayôs, the bird Kâmrôs, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the Dîn, which may have been some particular

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zaratûst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahis* either a translation, or an epitome, of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the *Bundahis* with those of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, which are detailed in the *Dîni-vagarkard* as follows¹:—‘It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which *Aûharmazd* produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the *Kinvad* bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.’ Moreover, the *Dâmdâd Nask* is twice quoted as an authority in the *Selections of Zâdsparam* (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the *Bundahis*.

The first manuscript of the *Bundahis* seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta* in 1771². This manuscript,

¹ See Haug's *Essays*, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

² *Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A.D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851¹.

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1854², Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his *Traditional Literature of the Parsis*³, published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his *Zoroastrian Studies*⁴ in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

¹ *Bundelesh, Liber Pehlvi*. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descriptis, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.

² Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundelesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.

³ Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.

⁴ *Zoroastrische Studien*. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagensgeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868¹. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

¹ Der Bundeshesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88-129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Copenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20b consists of nineteen loose folios¹, found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

¹ I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahis is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53-99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A. Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahis in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I-XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahis in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahis descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to ‘Arag river’), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastūr Jāmāspji Mino-chiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to ‘and the evil spirit’), XII, 2 (from ‘Sikidâv’)—XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from ‘produced most for Khvanîras’)—XII, 2 (to ‘and Kôndras, Mount’), XXX, 32 (from ‘the renovation arises in’)—XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from ‘Aîrak’)—XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastūr Nôshirvânji Jāmāspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to ‘one from the other’).

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahis, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.¹; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to ‘would have known the secret’) and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahis, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223–227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahis in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

¹ This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII in Oct. 1878¹.

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahis which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînîk*, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahis, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the *Nîrangistân*. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahis, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm¹ Ġûstâsp Ardâshîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner:—A valuable MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dînîk*, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Ġôpatshah Rûstôm² Bândâr Malkâ-marďân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dînîk* was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-marďân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Ġôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Ġôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A.D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows³:—

‘The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

¹ This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family.

² The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

³ English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is* well-thought, well-said, *and* well-done in thought, word, *and* deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels *and* terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

‘Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrîh) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified¹ Spendyâd son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstôm, son of Shatrôyâr.

‘The writing² of the Bûndahis *was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînîh) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân³ orthodoxy (hû-dînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

‘On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâg) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but* was not able.’

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, ‘that knowledge of tradition.’ As the whole text of the Bûndahis occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

¹ Literally, ‘immortal-souled,’ a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

² Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

³ The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters, but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk) :—

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end ; 19 pages ; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light ; 11 pages ; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures ; 6 pages ; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels ; 10 pages ; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (*ârdîk*) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit ; 1 page ; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged ; 3 pages ; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged ; 1 page ; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict Gâyômarð waged ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit ; three lines.

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agû-mêgîsn) ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*15. On the species of those creations ; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages.

16. On the nature of lands ; $1\frac{1}{3}$ page ; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers ; $5\frac{1}{3}$ pages ; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes ; $1\frac{1}{4}$ page ; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals ; $5\frac{1}{3}$ pages ; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XV¹.

23. On the nature of generation of every kind ; 5 pages ; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing ; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages ; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire ; $4\frac{2}{3}$ pages ; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep ; $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain ; $9\frac{2}{3}$ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages².

*30. On the nature of the wolf species ; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits³, and the opposition which came upon them ; $7\frac{3}{4}$ pages ; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year ; 4 pages ; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels ; $17\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons ; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

¹ TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

² Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

³ This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world¹; 7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions of the earth; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *Kinvad* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; $5\frac{2}{3}$ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages².

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages³.

40. On the resurrection and future existence; $6\frac{2}{3}$ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI–XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; $2\frac{1}{4}$ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K₂₀, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

¹ The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

² This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

³ Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahis is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* (see Appendix to the Bundahis), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls *Zâd-spâram*¹ one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to *Zâd-spâram*'s contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahis will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

¹ He writes the name *Zâd-spâram*.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K2o, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K2ob has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment¹ of an old MS. of the Bundahis, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843-44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his *Zend-Avesta*, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahis text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

‘[. . . Sâhm² was in those *reigns of Aûzôbô, Kavâd, and Mânûskîhar.*] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

¹ I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

² See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K2o and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kaî-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years¹. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhart² the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêtkhambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; *and Vistâsp was king,*] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

‘Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmât, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi, son of Kîhar-âzâd, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi, son of Dârâi, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman³ fourteen years.

‘The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many⁴ years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians *bear* it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place⁵ [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now *it is* the Persian year 527]⁶.’

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.V. 936 (A. D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

¹ From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

² The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

³ Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmât.

⁴ Reading *va* and; as the final letter is *d* and not *đ* it cannot be read *nâvad* as a variant of *navad*, ‘ninety.’

⁵ The words are, *vad g'înâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânø*, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

⁶ The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for ‘five and twenty-seven,’ omitting that for ‘hundred.’ These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A. D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahis in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahis may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahis many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahis could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD :—

‘And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakard he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakard did not prosper (*lâ sâkaftō*) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakard went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (*Anîrânîh*), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.’

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions ‘Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim,’ who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâd-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahis in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâdistân-i Dînik¹, and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâdistân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânûskîhar was

¹ It is quite possible that Mânûskîhar was also the reviser of the Bundahis; see the note on Dâdâkîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahis probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâd Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahis probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gugarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877¹. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr², and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139³. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

¹ Bundeheš ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sahrûât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârîne kâpâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mumbai, 1877.

² There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrôk in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Âûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahis) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahisn-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gugarâti translation.

³ This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents :—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are :—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits ; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named *Kamros*, of the bird named *Karsapad* and the hollow of *Vargamkard*, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are:—Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the *Sad-dar Bundahis*, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the *kusti* or sacred thread-girdle.

4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

In some manuscripts of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik* the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a *Rivâyat*. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal :—

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the *hamîstakân* ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle¹ from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim*², which he addressed to the good people of *Sîrkân*³, about the decisions pronounced by Herbad *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*; copy of a letter from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim* to his brother, Herbad *Zâd-spam*, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from *Nivshâpûhar*; copy of a notice by Herbad *Mânûskîhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* and high-priest (*rad*) of *Pârs* and *Kîrmân*, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.V. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, together

¹ This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that *Nîshâpûhar* was in the council of *Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô*, king of kings and son of *Kavâd*, also that he was *Mobad* of *Mobads* and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi *Vend.* III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the *Nîrangistân*; it is also a title applied to *Ardâ-Vîrâf* (see AV. I, 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi *Vendidad*, and of the composition of the Pahlavi *Nîrangistân* and *Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak* to the time of King *Khûsrô Nôshirvân* (A.D. 531–579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A.D. 880.

² Some Parsis read this name *Gôshnajam*, others *Yûdân-dam*.

³ Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called *Sîrgan*, about thirty parasangs south of *Kîrmân*, on the road to *Bandar Abbâs*, which is no doubt the case.

with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family ; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul ; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdez, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* as treats of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the *Bundahis*. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, *Mânûsêihar*, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But *Zâd-spâram* uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the *Bundahis*, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style ; it is, therefore, evident that he had the *Bundahis* before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii) ; but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik* and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the *Bundahis*. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the *Bundahis* and the laboured sentences of *Mânûsêihar* and *Zâd-spâram*, sons of *Yûdân-Yim*, tends to prove that the bulk of the *Bundahis* was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original *Bundahis* or *Zandâkâs* was an abridged translation of the *Avesta* of the

Dâmdâd Nask appears pretty evident from Zâd-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I-XVII of the Bundahis (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahûnavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthas is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahis, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâdîstân-i Dînîk, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân¹ in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

¹ That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy¹ of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*.

Another MS. of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik* and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

¹ The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35, the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. THE BAHMAN YAST.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetic work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadađ, and Âstâđ Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Arđakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Arđakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zaratûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zaratûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of Kînistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and Kînî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies ; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshêdar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshêdar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Vargâvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (Az-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die ; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases Az-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâmân, who rises from his trance and kills Az-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Yast admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title *zand* implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing *Aûharmazd*, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the *Bahman Yast* it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetic ages of the *Stûdgar Nask* in the first chapter of the *Bahman Yast* being different from that given in the *Dînkard*. The *Dînkard* quotes the *Stûdgar Nask* (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309–379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original *zand* or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavis and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gingiz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206–1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this *Yast*, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of *Hûshêdar's* birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of *Hûshêdar*, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the *Bahman Yast*. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of *Zaratûst's* millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of *Hûshêdar* (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of *Zaratûst's* millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of *Zaratûst's* millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of *Hûshêdar* to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when *Zaratûst's* millennium is ended; on their appearance *Hûshêdar* is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) *Vâhrâm* the *Vargâvand* is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570-590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshêdar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratûst's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193-1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Vargâvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshêdar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshêdar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshêdar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Yast the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahis; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38-62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1-8, II, 17, 30-32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17-44, 58-63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1406 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10-14 follow §§ 15-22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23-49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is re peopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 128-135.

6. THE SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times¹, and has pro-

¹ But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words *shâyad*, 'it is fit or proper,' and *lâ shâyad*, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called *Rivâyats*, it has also been named the *Pahlavi Rivâyat*, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I–X and XI–XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20–23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the *Vendidad*. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33–35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazdayasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called *Shâyast na-shâyast*, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian *Rivâyats*, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them ; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul ; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects :—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunarvar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of *Arđâ-Vîrâf* and the tale of *Gôst-i Fryânô*, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, with its appendix¹, was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of Afarg, Gôgôsp, Kûshtanô-bûgêd, Mêdôk-mâh, Rôshan, and Sôshyans, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of *Mard-bûz*, *Nêryôsang*, *Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô*, and *Vand-Aûharmazd*, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the Vendidad, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

¹ Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. X, 8), the *Bagh* (X, 26), the *Dâmdâd* (X, 22), the *Pâzôn* (IX, 9), the *Ratûs-tâtîh* (X, 29), the *Kîdrast* (X, 28), the *Spend* (X, 4), the *Nihâdûm* (X, 3, 22, 23), the *Dûbâsrûgêd* (X, 13), the *Hûspâram* (X, 21), and the *Sakâdûm* (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. XII, 32), the *Dâmdâd* (XII, 5, 15), the *Spend* (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the *Bâg-yasnô* (XII, 17), the *Nihâdûm* (XII, 15, 16), the *Hûspâram* (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the *Sakâdûm* (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the *Hâdôkht* (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the *Bagh* and *Hâdôkht*, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*. With regard to the rest we only know that the *Dâmdâd*, *Hûspâram*, and *Sakâdûm* must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of *Zâd-spâram* and *Mânûskîhar*, sons of *Yûdân-Yim*, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the *Nihâdûm* and *Hûspâram* are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the *Dînkard* gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the *Dînkard* seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of *Khûsrô Nôshir-vân* (A.D. 531-579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636-651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the *Bundahis* and *Bahman Yast*, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator *Bakht-âfrîd*, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of *Khûsrô Nôshirvân* (see *B. Yt.* I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV-XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the *Farhang-i Oim-khadûk*, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the *Patit-i Khûd*; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oīm-khadūk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4-17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastūr Jāmāspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pāzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pāzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pāzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126-133):—Chaps. XX, 14-16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4-14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shāyast lâ-shāyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language¹, nor

¹ Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahis and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yast, which professes to be prophetic, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the light (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32-34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of *Zâd-sparam* (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature *Zôrvân* (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing¹ is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

¹ Bleek's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as *Tanâpûhar*, *Frasast*, *Gêti-kharid*, *Dvâzdah-hômâst*, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—*Âfrîn*, 'blessing;' *aharmôk*, 'apostate, heretic;' *aharûbô*, 'righteous;' *aharûbô-dâd*, 'alms, almsgiving;' *akdînô*, 'infidel;' *ameshôspend*, 'archangel;' *armêst*, 'helpless;' *ast-hômand*, 'material;' *aûsôfrîd*, 'propitiation, offering;' *baghô-bakhtô*, 'divine providence;' *baresôm*, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drûg, 'fiend;' frashakard, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravarðîkân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk maînôk, 'evil spirit;' garzîsn, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' gasnô, 'feast;' gâûs-dâk (Av. gâus hudhau), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' gavið-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' gîv (Av. gâus gîvya), 'sacred milk;' gômêz, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrêð, 'direct pollution, contagion;' hazâarak, 'millennium;' hîkhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstîk, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' maînôk, 'spirit;' marg-argân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâi, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâi katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâyîsn, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâðiyâvîh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paîtrêð, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patîtîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyâarak, 'adversary;' pôryôðkêshîh, 'primitive faith;' rað, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhêz, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' sêdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyîsn, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk maînôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînô, 'future existence;' tôgîsn, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâð, 'primeval ox;' vâg, 'inward prayer;' vigârisn, 'atonement for sin;' vishâð-dûbârisnîh, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' yast, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' yastanô, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' yazîsn,

‘ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;’ *yêdatô*, ‘angel;’ *zand*, ‘commentary;’ *zôhar* or *zôr*, ‘holy-water;’ *zôt*, ‘officiating priest.’

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters *l* for *v* and *z* for *z*, the Pahlavi letter *ç* is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters *l* and *r* would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written *l*, but in a few words they are represented by *l* or by *ç*, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS
OR
THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *n* like *ng*, *s* like *sh*, *z* like French *j*. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final *ö* are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. *Dâd.* for *Dâd-stân-i Dînîk*. Huz. for *Huzvâris*. Mkh. for *Mainyô-i-khard*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. *Pâz.* for *Pâzand*. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for *Vendîdâd*, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for *Visparad*, ed. Sp. Yas. for *Yasna*, ed. Sp. Yt. for *Yast*, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

BUNDAHIS.

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')¹, which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit², and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-î pasînô). 2. As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

¹ The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

² The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 92-95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maînôk, as the Avesta Spenta-mainyu, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maînôk in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahis. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mînôî by others, is probably a corruption of maînôk, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled¹ in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience *and* goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation².'

3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time³, because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; *while* Aharman⁴ in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

¹ Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

² The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

³ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

⁴ The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when¹ the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking² and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

¹ Substituting *amat*, 'when,' for *mûn*, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, *ka* and *ke*, are nearly alike.

² Reading *aminîdâr* in accordance with M6, which has *amînîdâr* in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read *amûîtâr*, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, *fravashis*, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; *so* he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; *and* the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzišnîk).

12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge¹ of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus²: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

¹ The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

² Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him¹, therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act so that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away² from the creatures.

¹ The words *dên val* stand for *dên valman*.

² That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.¹ once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words²; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

¹ This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd kîd haâ,

Vangheus dazdâ mananghō, skyaothnanām anghēus mazdâi,

Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadađ vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

² The word *mârîk* must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion¹.

23. Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created² Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure³, produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakarð)⁴ which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ardava-

¹ This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

² It is usual to consider dâdan (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ=Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

³ Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1-5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

⁴ The word frashakarð, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

hist, and then Shatvairô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvadam, and then Amerôdam¹.

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêd, and then Tâirêv and Zâirîk².

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

CHAPTER II.

o. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations³, then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

¹ These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahista, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spenta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâd, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâd, 'immortality.'

² These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, Zairîka (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, Sarva (a name of Siva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and garas, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7-13.

³ The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalakang (the Crab), Sêr (the Lion), Khûsak (Virgo), Tarâzûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk¹ (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers², of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Besn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garafsa, Varant, Gau, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht³. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

¹ Written Nahâzîk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

² Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khurðak-i hâmhârîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

³ All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra Krîttikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra Arvinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them¹; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavêš the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-ring the chieftain of the north ². 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

¹ That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

² Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvin¹.

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Tistrya, Satavaêsa, Vanant, and Haptôiringa (see Tîstar Yt. 6, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26-28, Sîrôz. 13).

¹ This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word *mas* be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word *khômsâk* is an irregular form of the Huz. *khômsyâ*, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvin is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvin Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B. C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvin Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7-14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvin.'

9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *cere-
mony* with the archangels (ameshôspendân) in the
Rapîtvtñ Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every
means necessary for overcoming the adversary¹.
10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd)
and guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men², and the
omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men,
spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advanta-
geous, when³ I shall present you to the world? *that*
you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend
(drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end
I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and im-
mortal, and in the end give you back to the world,
and you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and
undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to pro-
vide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men be-
came of the same opinion with the omniscient wis-
dom about going to the world, on account of the
evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the
fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last,
again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and
immortal, in the future existence, for ever and ever-
lasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand
MSS. in reading hômfîrak (as a variant of hamîrak), 'always,'
instead of khômsâk.

¹ Or 'adversity.'

² These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap.
I, 8).

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to
Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate¹ (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man², became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends³ of the demons severally shouted thus: ‘Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.’

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked Gêh⁴ came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: ‘Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.’ 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

¹ The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, ‘trusted.’ Windischmann and Justi have ‘all.’

² Probably Gâyômarz.

³ The word kamârakân is literally ‘those with an evil pate,’ and is derived from Av. kameredha, ‘the head of an evil being,’ also applied to ‘the evil summit’ of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârîkân.

⁴ The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked *Gêh* shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation¹ on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (*nismô*)²; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of *Aûharmazd*, I *will* make the whole creation of *Aûharmazd* vexed.'

7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *Gêh* upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *Gêh*.

8. He shouted to *Gêh* thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *Gêh* shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (*vazak*) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *Gêh*, and that brought the thoughts of *Gêh* to him³.

¹ The word *vêsh* or *vîsh* may stand either for *bêsh*, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for *vîsh*, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Pâz. MSS.

² That this is the *Huzvâris* of *rûbân*, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3-5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the *Huz.-Pâz. Glossary*. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. *nismâ*, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation *nisman*, an abbreviation of *nismman*.

³ This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *Gêh* out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 745-765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third¹ of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravardîn and the day Aûhar-mazd² he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged³ below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômarđ, and then he came to fire⁴; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark⁵ at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight⁶ was diffused by him over the

¹ Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is over-spread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

² The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

³ Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

⁴ For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI-X.

⁵ Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangîdtûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

⁶ The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâris logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dêr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômarđ.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit¹, which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (*zanisn*) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômarđ, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômarđ, so long as he might recite a prayer (*vâg*) of one stanza (*viġast*); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômarđ issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzînikân demons², was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

¹ The word *mîvang* is an unusual form of *mîvak*, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. *mivangh*, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

² The Mâzainya *daêva* of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômarđ; and Astô-vîdâd¹ with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômarđ. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâd) obtained no means of noosing (âvizîdanö) *him*; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyômarđ was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyômarđ spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it*. 26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth² and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

¹ The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâd by Pâzand writers.

² See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox¹ passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômarđ afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand.

2. Gôšûrvan², as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus : 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled ? Where is the man³ of whom it was said by thee thus : I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness ?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus : 'You are made ill⁴, O Gôšûrvan ! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on ; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

¹ Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômarđ. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

² The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called Gausurvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gôšûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gôšûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

³ Referring to Zaratûst.

⁴ In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsrûvan walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, *and* *Aûharmazd* said thus¹: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsrûvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations², as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâ-hîd) unto Satavêš, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar³

¹ As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôš, who is identified with Gôsrûvan, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

² Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

³ As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kîthra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar¹, provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz² it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak³, which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat⁴ around the world; it turns back in a circuit⁵ owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again⁶. 5. For there are a hundred

or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-kîhar (Av. gao-kîthra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound *râ*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-kîhar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

¹ This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

² The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

³ The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

⁴ The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

⁵ The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

⁶ This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture¹; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshva r)² *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack³, when⁴ it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahîk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

¹ This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

² See § 9 and Chap. XI.

³ The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;'; Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;'; and in the Selections of Zâd-spâram it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days¹, it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradadafsh and Vîdadafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst². 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradadafsh, Vîdadafsh, and half of Khvanîras³; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

¹ The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûrz, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

² This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

³ Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict¹ of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence², wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour ; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ângunî-âitak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back ; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation of *the universe* for ever and everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak³ was

¹ This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

² Reading zôrîh ; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (*âvârak*) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month *Tîr* is the fourth month¹ of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which *Tîstar* sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with *Tîstar* were *Vohûman* and the angel *Hôm*, with the assistance of the angel *Bûrg* and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. *Tîstar* was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull²; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance³, and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth⁴.

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

¹ See Chap. XXV, 20.

² See *Tîstar* Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that *Tîstar* assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 *Tîstar* is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

³ Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

⁴ In comparing the inundation produced by *Tîstar* with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (gûmîkht), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed¹ ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs².

8. And Apâôsh³, the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (kund) hoofs; a mile (parasang)⁴ away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers⁵. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-shot with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile*.

¹ The term farâkhû-karð, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. vouru-kasha, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

² For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20-29.

³ Miswritten Apavs or Apavas in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

⁴ The word parasang is here used for Av. hâthra, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

⁵ A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (*khûmb*)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons *Aspengargâk*¹ *and* *Apâôsh* contended *with it*, and the fire *Vâzist*² turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club *Aspengargâk* made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging³ are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas⁴ arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*kashmak*) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kêkast* lake, and one the *Sôvbar*⁵, whose sources are connected with the

¹ Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire *Vâzista*, the smiter of the demon *Spengaghra*.' It is also written *Spêngargâk* in Chap. XVII, 1, and *Aspengarôgâ* in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

² That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

³ Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' Justi has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

⁴ See Chap. XIII, 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 1-3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side¹ two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen² navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag³ river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

o. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook⁴, *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

¹ Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûrz, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

² See Chap. XX, 2.

³ Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

⁴ The word *gudnîd* is a transposition of *gundîd*, a graphical variant of *gunbîd*, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root¹ to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (ângunî-aîtak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers², apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years³, from which *arises* the perfection⁴ of men's advantage.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when⁵ they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

¹ M6 has *raâk*, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

² Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word *amar* meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

³ See Chap. XII, 1.

⁴ The word must be *farhâkhtagân*, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as *farhâkhtisn* is an ungrammatical form.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tistar seized, and Tistar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand¹ of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species² of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs³ was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard tree⁴ was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspaḍ) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

o. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away⁵, owing to the vegetable principle (*kîharak*) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain⁶ *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

¹ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

² Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâḍ-sparam, VIII, 2.

³ Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

⁴ The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1-6, XXVII, 4).

⁵ See Chap. IV, 1.

⁶ See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkhmih) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station¹, that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind² became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mânîst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

CHAPTER XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds³ of land. 2. *On* the day when Tistar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion⁴, as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

¹ See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 6, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaoûithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

² That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

³ K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

⁴ That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is e.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)¹; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradaðafsh and Vîdaðafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst regions, and that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; and *from* Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region².

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)³ which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans⁴ is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection and future existence.

¹ Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

² In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-kharz, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

³ So in M6; but K20 has zaðârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

⁴ Always spelt so in the Bundahis MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyâs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light¹. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty², Têrak of Albûrz, *Kakâd-i-Dâitîk*, and the *Arezûr* ridge, the *Aûsîndôm* mountain, Mount *Apârsên* which they say is the mountain of *Pârs*, Mount *Zariâl* also which is Mount *Mânûs*, Mount *Aîrak*, Mount *Kaf*, Mount *Vâdgês*, Mount *Aûshdâstâr*, Mount *Arezûr-bûm*, Mount *Rôyisn-hômand*, Mount *Padashkhvârgar* which is the greatest in *Khvârîh*, the mountain which they call *Kînô*, Mount *Rêvand*, Mount *Dârspêt* the *Bakyir* mountain, Mount *Kabed-sikaft*, Mount *Siyâk-mûf-mand*, Mount *Vafar-hômand*, Mount *Spendyâd* *and* *Kôndrâsp*, Mount *Asnavand* *and* *Kôndras*, Mount

¹ These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

² In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the *Zamyâd Yast*, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that *Yast*. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 1-19.

*Siḱidāv*¹, a mountain among those which are in *Kangdez*², of which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; *Albûrz*³ is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The *Têrak*⁴ of *Albûrz* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass⁵ in, and through it they come back. 5. *Hûgar* the lofty⁶ is that from which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr*⁷ leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The *Aûsîndôm*⁸ mountain is that which, being of ruby

¹ The Av. *Siḱidava* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 5.

² See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written *Kandez* in *K20*. In *M6* the word is *kôf*, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. *Antare-kangha*, 'within *Kangha*,' of *Zamyâd Yt.* 4.

³ The *Haraiti-bares* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 1; but it is more usually called *Hara berezaiti* (see Chap. V, 3).

⁴ A central peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. *Taêra*, mentioned in *Yas.* XLI, 24, *Râm Yt.* 7, *Zamyâd Yt.* 6.

⁵ So in *M6*, but *K20* has 'go in.'

⁶ This appears to be another peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, probably in the west, as it is connected with *Satavêš*, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. *Hukairya berezô*, of *Yas.* LXIV, 14, *Âbân Yt.* 3, 25, 96, *Gôs Yt.* 8, *Mihir Yt.* 88, *Rashnu Yt.* 24, *Fravardîn Yt.* 6, *Râm Yt.* 15.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 3-5.

⁸ In *Aûharmazd Yt.* 31 and *Zamyâd Yt.* 2, 66, an *Ushidhâo* mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the *Ushidarena* mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the *Hindva* mountain, given in *Tîstar Yt.* 32, thus: *us Hindvað paiti garôiď yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghō vouru-kashahê*, 'up on the *Hindva* mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(khûn-âhinö), of the substance of the sky¹, is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *Kakâd-i-Dâîtik* ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *Kinvar* bridge² stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The *Arezûr*³ ridge [of the *Albûrz* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting *Albûrz*, the *Apârsên*⁴ mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, *Aûsîndôm*, has probably arisen from the *us Hindvað* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

¹ The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

² The *Kinvatô-peretu* of the Avesta, mentioned even in the *Gâthas*. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *Kinvað* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *Kakâd-i-Dâîtik*, and one at *Albûrz*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over *Albûrz* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

³ See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing *Arezûr* to be the extreme northern range of the mythic *Albûrz* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

⁴ Justi adopts the reading *Harpârsên*, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *skyata* (or *iskatâ*) *upairi-saêna* of Yas. X, 29, and *Zamyâd Yt.* 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the *Pârsên* crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân¹ and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs² is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains³. 12. Mount Aîraê⁴ is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kîñö]⁵, which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf⁶ has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-spâram, VII, 7, have Kîñîstân for Khûgîstân.

¹ This name can also be read Sîstân.

² In § 2 it is also called Zarið, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhô and Aredhô-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

³ That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

⁴ Perhaps intended for the Erezishô of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nîsâpûr.

⁵ This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kîñîstân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîñ, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

⁶ Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyað of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakô pâryað, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ¹ is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr² is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padash-khvârgar³ mountain is that which is in Taparîstân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand⁴ mountain is in Khûrâsân⁵, on which the Bûrzîn fire⁶ was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês⁷ mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakyîr⁸ mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it*; and *in* the days of Yim⁹ a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabad-sikaft¹⁰ ('very rugged')

¹ The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Âûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

² Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

⁴ The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

⁵ Or, 'the east.'

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 8.

⁷ The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

⁸ In § 2 it is Bakyîr, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

⁹ K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and *in* our days Shatrô-râm (or râmîsn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

¹⁰ Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Sîyâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')¹, as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of Kîñö. 23. The Spend-yâd² mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand³. 24. The Kôndrâsp⁴ mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar⁵, is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs⁶ mountain is in Aîrân-vêg. 26. The Asnavand⁷ mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyisn-hômand⁸ ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever⁹ mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

¹ The Av. Syâmaka and Vafrayau of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Sîyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to Kîñö, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Sîyâk-mûi-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Sîyâk-hômand.

² The Av. Spentô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

³ The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

⁴ The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

⁶ If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôîrâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaoirisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

⁷ The Av. Asnavau of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

⁸ The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

⁹ So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak¹, which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad² mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand³ mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs⁴, *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain')⁵, *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

¹ This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

² This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

³ See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

⁴ The present name of a mountain between Nîrâpûr and the desert.

⁵ The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîrâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad¹ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)² at the abode of the Bûrân-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan³ is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravād, some call it Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg⁴ is established from the country of Lake Kêkâst⁵ unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak⁶ is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkîstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan⁷ is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz⁸, *and* so

¹ The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

² Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

³ Probably in Kirmân.

⁴ The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 2.

⁶ Probably the Merkhînâh range in northern Lâristân.

⁷ The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

⁸ Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr¹, *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind², some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days³, which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty⁴; on the summit of that mountain is a lake⁵; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm⁶ amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

¹ The Av. Ardvi sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

² Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râî, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

³ Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁵ Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

⁶ See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtík, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtík¹ is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtík side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês². 10. Thick and salt the stench³ wishes to go from the sea Pûtík to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtík⁴. 11. The control⁵ of this sea (the Pûtík) is connected with the

¹ The Av. Pûtika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

² So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtík into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtík stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

³ Perhaps a better reading would be stîrg sîr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtík.'

⁵ Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitivity.'

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control¹ also of the Gulf of Satavêš is attached to the constellation Satavêš, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng². 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavêš, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb³. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd⁴ is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparîstân; that of Sahî-bûn⁵ is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

¹ See p. 43, note 5.

² See Chap. II, 7.

³ This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

⁴ Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparîstân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

⁵ Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some¹ was the sea Kyânsih², *such* as is in Sagas-tân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (dađî-gar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet³.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away⁴, there where the marrow came out grain grew up⁵ of fifty and five species, *and* twelve⁶ species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow⁷. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mîgûk),

¹ Comparing nîstûm with Pers. nîst, 'healthy.'

² The Av. Kâsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

³ The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX–XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

⁴ See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

⁵ All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lâlâ, 'up.'

⁶ K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

⁷ K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grape-vine¹ from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart² thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station³; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals⁴. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Airân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')⁵; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kardak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

¹ Probably kadûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

² Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sardak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhō, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. o, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

⁵ Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâi); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)¹, which are wide-travellers, *and* habits (nihâ-dak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûinak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift² horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures³ is the largest, and the chaffinch⁴ the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish⁵ is the largest, *and* the Nemadu⁶ the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

¹ Justi reads gîrîsaċ, the Av. gairishâċô, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

² Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

³ The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûinak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurg of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âinak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

⁴ Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

⁵ See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

⁶ If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va magil, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two¹ species (*sardak*). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat², the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a *grandeur*³ like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (*bâra*), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured⁴, red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing⁵ ox, the Fars ox, the Kagau, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule⁶, the ass, the wild ass (*gôr*), the hippopotamus (*asp-i âvî*), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁷, the water-

¹ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

² The *khar-bûz* (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

³ Supposing *se koh* to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. *sukûh*. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

⁴ Pâz. *ashgun* is evidently for Pahl. *hasgûn*.

⁵ Transcribing the Pâz. *mâhi khu ushân* into Pahlavi it may be read *mâhîkân-khvašân* (*khashân?*).

⁶ Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

⁷ These first four species are the Av. *pasus-haurvô*, *vis-haurvô*, *vôhunazgô*, and *taurunô* of Vend. V, 92-98, XIII, 21, 26-74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver¹ which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine², *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed³ to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black⁴ hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow⁵ *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine⁶, the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals*; one is that which is recognised by *its* musk⁷, one

¹ The Av. bawris upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

² The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

³ The Pâz. âmokhtesn, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

⁴ K20 has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

⁵ Reading khan-mânist, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

⁶ The Pâz. bez is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baîdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that bez represents the Pers. bîgâd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

⁷ Or, 'is known as the musk *animal*.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk¹ which eats the Bis-*herb*, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey=vâi) such as the griffon bird², the Karsipt³, the eagle, the Kahrkâs⁴ which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth⁵ is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal*; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûtnak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh⁶, fish were created of ten

¹ A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Nappellus Moysis.

² Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurgh of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

³ See Chap. XIX, 16.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 25.

⁵ Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

⁶ All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish *Ariz*¹, the *Arzuvâ*, the *Arzûkâ*, the *Marzûkâ*, *and* other Avesta names².

27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species³.

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation *Haptôk-rîng*, was given to him further by a stage (*yôgist*)⁴ than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted⁵, as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing⁶, *and* may wander about without self-exertion.

29. The twelfth⁷ is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

¹ See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

² None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

³ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' *Zâd-spâram* in his *Selections*, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

⁴ A *yôgist* (compare Sans. *yogana*) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen *hâsar*, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

⁵ Reading *âhang-hômand*, 'having a purpose.'

⁶ Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

⁷ All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha¹ was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite² with the body of a Varpa³, by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

CHAPTER XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômarð, in passing away⁴, gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

¹ No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâsah or bâsah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

² Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

³ Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varîkâk-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurîkah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

⁴ See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang¹ kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad² received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rivâs-plant³, and the fifteen years of *its* fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô⁴ grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away⁵. 4. As it is said thus : 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

¹ Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

² The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

³ A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

⁴ These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh *and* Matrôyâôîh, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômarâ I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

⁵ That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man¹.

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôî thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion² by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed³ themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness⁴. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

¹ This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

² This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

³ Comparing *mêgîd* with Pers. *magîd*; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

⁴ The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi *Hâdôkht Nask*, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *aforesaid*. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food¹, covered with clothing of herbage (*giyâh*); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk *Mâshya said* to *Mâshyôî* thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.' 12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat² *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it*; and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum³ and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

¹ Reading *akhûrîsn* instead of the *khûrîsn* of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps *âv-khûrîsn*, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

² Comparing *gefar* with Av. *garewa* and Pers. *garb*, but this identification may not be correct.

³ The *kûnâr*, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, kēndâr, lotos, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire¹.' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven² in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge³ from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (pêš-khûr).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks⁴. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

¹ Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Reading khês-ī-i tad, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread ashâbê tad, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. tadha stands for Pahl. tađak (Pers. tadah, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

³ Or 'an axe,' according as we read têkh or tash. The order of the foregoing words, barâ tapâk-ī, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

⁴ Reading rôđ as equivalent to Pers. rūf, 'face,' but it ought to be rôd. Perhaps the word is lût, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus : 'You are man ; worship the demon ! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and poured it* out towards the northern quarter ; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus : 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus : 'Brother Mâshya ! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated¹.' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus : 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female ; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring² the mother devoured one, and the father one. 23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

¹ This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

² Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînfîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c. ; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyât, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînik (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows : Maharîh va Maharîyâôyîh dûshâram râî nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife ; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. Of those seven pairs one was Siyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk¹ of the woman ; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkain of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (*sarâk*) ; and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (*zâyisn*) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok², through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (*kêshvar*), and stayed there ; and six races of men remained in Khvanîras. 28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went to the plain of the Tâzikân (Arabs) ; and of one pair Hôshyang³ was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Airânakân (Iranians) ; and from one pair the Mâzendarâns⁴ have arisen. 29. Among the number (*pavan aê mar*) were those who are in the coun-

¹ Or 'Vasâk.'

² See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13 ; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

³ Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôš Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is *paradhâta* (Pahl. *pêš-dâd*), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7 : 'this early law (*pêš-dâdîh*) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêšdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

⁴ The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk¹, those who are in the country of Anêr², those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is Kînistân, those who are in the country of Dâi³, and those who are in the country of Sind⁴. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, *son* of Stîyâkmak, *son* of Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man⁵, and fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômarđ; *the varieties are such as those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, *and* who have hair on the body⁶.

¹ Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

² Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

³ The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâi are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with Kînistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount Kînô (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâi must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

⁴ Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

⁵ Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

⁶ Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

CHAPTER XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (*hasgûn*). 5. All¹ the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

¹ M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish¹ it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang², the fire which shoots up before Aû-harmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân³, the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist⁴, the fire which is in plants; the fire

¹ K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

² These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63–67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-spâram, XI, 1.

³ 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

⁴ 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist¹, the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist², the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm³. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which⁴ Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup⁵, when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok⁶, from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

¹ 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spêngargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

² 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

³ The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

⁴ M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

⁵ The second Pêrdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

⁶ Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon¹ the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea. 5. And in the reign of Yim² every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak³ was established by him at the appointed place (dâd-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem⁴, which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk⁵. 6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion⁶, it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷, continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*⁸; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷ was

¹ Compare staff with Pers. sitâftan, 'to hasten.'

² The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

³ Also written Frôbô, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

⁴ The Av. *Hvâirizem* of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

⁵ It is doubtful whether *va gadman*, 'and the glory,' or *nismô*, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

⁷ Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

⁸ In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*¹ it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire *Gûsasp* was established at the appointed place on the *Asnavand* mountain².

8. The fire *Bûrân-Mitrô*, until the reign of King *Vistâsp*, ever assisted³, *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified⁴ *Zaratûst* was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King *Vistâsp* and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God⁵, *and* *Vistâsp* established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount *Rêvand*, where they say the Ridge of *Vistâsp* (*pûst-i Vistâspân*) is⁶.

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of *Vâhrâm*, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-world settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires *Frôbak*, *Gûsasp*, and *Bûrân-Mitrô* respectively.

¹ That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

² See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of *Zâd-spâram*, VI, 22.

³ Taking *vagîd* as equivalent to Pers. *guzîd*; but it may be equivalent to Pers. *vazîd*, 'grew, shot up.'

⁴ The epithet *anôshak-rûbân* (Pers. *nôshirvân*) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

⁵ Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

⁶ See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkard¹ it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkard grew in the deep mud² within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard³ as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm⁴. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish⁵ which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed⁶, that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

¹ A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahis the form gôkard occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

² Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

³ That the writer of the Bundahis applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

⁴ That is, the Gôkard tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

⁵ The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

⁶ Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz¹ of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits has* entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân². 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like³ in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlîsn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move⁴ the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing⁵.

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

² The Av. vâsîm yâm pankâsadvarâm of Yas. XLI, 27.

³ Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

⁴ K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

⁵ This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubîs, iredhwô-bîs, and vîspô-bîs. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between¹ these trees of such kinds² is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand.

11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there³.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass⁴ they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths⁵ nine, ears two, and horn

¹ This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. *dên* (*bên* in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. *andar*, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

² Transcribing the Pâz. *oîn oh* into Pahlavi we have *ân-gûnak*, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. *ânô*, 'there.'

³ This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the *Aûsîndôm* mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

⁴ The Av. *khara*, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his *Ormazd et Ahriman* (pp. 148-151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess *Anâhita* was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

⁵ This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump¹; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand². 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (*gird*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pasture³ is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns⁴ have grown upon it, some befitting⁵ a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

meaning be correct) ought probably to be read *yông*, and be traced to Av. *eeahungh* (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced *gûnd*, which means 'a testicle.'

¹ The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

² Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. *Aurvantô* of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read *Hunavand*.

³ Literally, 'the small of the foot,' *khûrđak-i ragelman*.

⁴ Or, 'a thousand cavities (*srûbô*, Pers. *surub*, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

⁵ Reading *zîyâk*; compare Pers. *ziyâdan*, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (*asahmêd*), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâvad¹ will tremble (*shîvanêd*).

9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young.

10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîstar seizes the water² more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (*ambar-ikê*) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayôs³, which they call Sar-saok⁴, it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it*, *and* in the

¹ A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

² See Chap. VII, 11.

³ Written Hadayâvs in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayâs in the Dâdîstân-i Dînîk, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation *of the universe* they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years¹, who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation *of the universe* is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *Kâmrôs*² it says, that *it* is on the summit of Mount Albûrz; *and* every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (*gird*)³, by going to bring damage (*zîyân*) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel *Bûrg*⁴, *having* come up from the low country of Lake Arag⁵, arouses that very bird *Kâmrôs*, *and* it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, *and* picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

16. Regarding *Karsipt*⁶ they say, that it knew how to speak words, *and* brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated *it*; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

¹ Transcribing the Pâz. *svadyi* into Pahlavi we have *snatîh*, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

² Written *Kâmrôs* in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *Kâmraos* (gen. of *Kâmrû*) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

³ Or, 'to an assembly.'

⁴ The Av. *Beregya* of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the Ushahina Gâh, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

⁵ Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent Rangha are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in Bahrâm Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

⁶ The Av. *vis karsipta* of Vend. II, 139, where, however, *vis*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird¹, which is a bat, is noticed (*karā*) twice in another chapter (*babâ*).

19. Regarding the bird Ashôzust², which is the bird Zobara³-vahman *and* also the bird Sôk⁴, they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it *and* take nothing away there; a nail-*paring*, when it is not prayed over (*afsûd*), the demons *and* wizards seize, *and* like an arrow it shoots at *and* kills that bird.

20. On this account the bird seizes *and* devours a nail-*paring* when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, *and* the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds *and* beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, &c.⁵ 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious⁶ birds the crow (*valâgh*) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahis also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

² The Av. Ashô-zusta of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

³ Compare Pers. *zûlah*, 'a sparrow or lark.'

⁴ Compare Pers. *sak*, 'a magpie.'

⁵ This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

⁶ The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read *zîl*, 'cheap, common,' or it may be *zagar* = *yakar*, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs¹, dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (nasât); so also are the crow (valâk)² and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition³ to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain⁴, as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

¹ The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânîsn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainis, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

² The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

³ K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

⁴ The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maouris dânô-karshô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track¹; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh², in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pâsus-haurva³, *and* the house watchdog, the Vis-haurva³; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

¹ Comparing sârâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sârâkh or sûlâkh, 'a hole.'

² Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

³ These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (aîth) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain¹; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men².

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)³ are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

CHAPTER XX.

I. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

¹ Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (girđ) of all the disobedient.'

² This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

³ The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches it truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd¹; one towards the west, that is the Arag²; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû³ of a series (*padîsâr*). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (*zahâk*) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûrz *and* goes out through Albûrz⁴, the

¹ So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûrz, and partly from the celestial Albûrz, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûrz.'

² For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

³ The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahista the archangel).

⁴ See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power¹! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed² they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous³: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat⁴ river they call also again the Vêh river⁵, the Frât river, the Dâitk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôi river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ⁶ river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd⁷ river, the Rad⁸ river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

¹ So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

² Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

³ For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

⁴ The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

⁵ So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

⁶ No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâitvâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁷ K20 has 'Spend.'

⁸ Called Tort in § 24.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz¹ river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis² river, the Dârâga river, the Kâsîk river, the Sêd³ ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan or Kâtru-meyan river of Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag⁴ river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk⁵, in which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv⁶. 9. The Vêh⁷ river

¹ Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

² M6 has Khvanaînidis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeser in § 29.

³ As there is no description of any Sêd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or Kâtru-meyan (pêdâk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. kithrô). Justi suggests that Mokarstân (Mokarsta rûd in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

⁴ Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

⁵ Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

⁶ The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

⁷ The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd¹, *and* flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ² river. 10. The sources of the Frât³ river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, *and* it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*⁴ that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, *and* cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, *and* he seized the water *and* gave to drink'⁵ 12. The Diglat⁶ river comes out from Salmân⁷, *and* flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâtîk⁸ river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

¹ See § 30.

² No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148-155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

³ The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

⁴ Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

⁵ Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

⁶ The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tîstar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

⁷ The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêzûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dîlmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

⁸ The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Âûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country¹; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâîtîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend² river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro³ river flows out from the Apârsên range⁴. 17. The Hêtûmand⁵ river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsiyâv conducted away⁶. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs⁷. 19. The Zîsmand⁸ river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

¹ Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gur-gistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâîtîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâîtîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

² Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

³ This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9.

⁵ The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

⁶ See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

⁷ The district about Dâmaghân.

⁸ Perhaps the Zarafsân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand¹ river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv² river, a glorious river in the east³, flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmikân⁴, *and* flows on to the Vêh⁵ river. 23. The Spêd⁶ river is in Âtarô-pâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour⁷ here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort⁸ river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

¹ This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

² The Murghâb.

³ Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

⁴ Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

⁵ Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, pp. 161-198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

⁶ So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâitûk in § 13.

⁷ Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

⁸ Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehr-kâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Gîklân¹, *and* flows to the sea of Vergân².
 25. The Zahâvayi³ is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* flows to the sea in Pârs.
 26. The sources of the Khvaraê⁴ river are from Spâhân⁵; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat⁶ river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân⁷ river. 27. The Harhaz⁸ river is in Tapa-rîstân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand.
 28. The Teremet⁹ river flows away to the Vêh river.
 29. The Vendeses¹⁰ river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak¹¹ river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs¹², and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

¹ M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

² The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahis.

³ Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîgân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shîrvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

⁴ The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, *Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. ix. pp. 73-75).

⁵ Ispahân in Persian.

⁶ Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

⁷ Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

⁸ Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

⁹ Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

¹⁰ Called Khvanaîdis, or Khvanaînidis, in § 7.

¹¹ Called Kâsîk in § 7.

¹² Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak¹; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-mîyân², which is the river Kâtru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangdez³. 32. The Dârâga river is in Aîrân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûst⁴. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those⁵; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsîyâv⁶ they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh⁷, suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small⁸; and he conducted the spring Zarînmând (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand⁹ river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni¹⁰ river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

¹ Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

² See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

³ See Chap. XXIX, 10.

⁴ See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

⁵ Or, 'are from those as a source.'

⁶ The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 16.

⁸ Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

⁹ Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

¹⁰ K20 has Vataêni; *k* and *t* being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI¹.

1. In revelation they mention seventeen² species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants³; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions*; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men⁴; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds⁵; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo⁶; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark⁷ of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire⁸; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

¹ This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

² Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

³ Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7-9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

⁴ This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

⁵ Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

⁶ K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

⁷ The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ay van is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

⁸ See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh¹ river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zarâtûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness². 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources³; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root⁴; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvtâk⁵ it says, that Frâsíyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when⁶

¹ K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

² Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

³ The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

⁴ That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁶ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar¹ comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsih². 7. Kyânsih² is the one where the home (gînâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (kashm) of men are those fountains (kashmak) of waters; such as Lake Kêkast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem³, Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarînmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake Kêkast⁴ is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it*; and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean⁵. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs⁶; as it says, that the Sûd-bâhar⁷ ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

¹ Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahis (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

² Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

³ Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

⁴ Av. Kêkastâ of Âbân Yt. 49, Gôs Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbigân, which is called Khegest, or Kêgest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfi.

⁵ Implying that the water is salt.

⁶ The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

⁷ Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem¹ it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang² the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân³ is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it*; when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean*. 6. Lake Zarînmând is in Hamadân⁴. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled⁵ water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious⁶ that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe*. 8. Lake Husru⁷ is within fifty⁸

¹ The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

² Av. *ashis vanguhi*, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the *Ashi Yast*; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called *Arđ* (Av. *areta*, which is synonymous with *asha*), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

³ The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîmkhadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

⁴ K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarînmând of Chap. XX, 34.

⁵ Pâz. *avna sti* transcribed into Pahlavi is *avinastag*, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. *anâhita* in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

⁶ K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

⁷ The Av. *Haosravangha* of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named *Husravau*' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

⁸ M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêkast*. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) *Satavês*¹ is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the *Pûtîk*. 10. It is said that in *Kamîndân* is an abyss (*zafar*), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*gânvar*); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake *Urvis* is on *Hûgar* the lofty².

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that *Yim*, when reason (*nismô*) departed from him³, for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave *Yimak*, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of *Az-i Dahâk*⁴ a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (*parîk*), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When *Frêdûn*⁵ came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

¹ See Chap. XIII, 9-13.

² See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

³ See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the *Jamshêd* of the *Shâh-nâmah*. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

⁴ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁵ See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômarđ was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst¹. 2. The white ass-goat², which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created³. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created³. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed⁴ ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

¹ So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

² See Chap. XIV, 14.

³ It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

⁴ Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures¹ was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt² is the chief, which they call the falcon (*kark*), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the arch-angels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz³, is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâitîk⁴ river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dârağa⁵ river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks⁶, and Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest⁷ is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty⁸, on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavêš⁹, the chief of reser-

¹ The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37-39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sînamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

² See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *Kamrôš* is said to be the chief.

³ See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3-6.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 13.

⁵ See Chap. XX, 32.

⁶ The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

⁷ The arûš-i razur is the Av. spaêtitem razurem of Râm Yt. 31.

⁸ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁹ See Chap. II, 7.

voirs¹. 18. The Hôh which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants². 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded³ grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal⁴ *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains⁵. 22. The Kûstik (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna⁶ is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life⁷; since water is not created alike⁸ in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras⁹, except the Arag river¹⁰, created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

¹ The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavêš being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. 5). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting stars.'

² Pâz. khvad and baḡagâ evidently stand for Pahl. hûd (Av. huta) and bezashk.

³ Compare Av. as-dânunām-ka yavananām (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁴ Pâz. abaḡagâ stands for Pahl. abezashk.

⁵ Compare Av. kasu-dânunām-ka vâstranām (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁶ Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

⁷ Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

⁸ Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁹ See Chap. XI, 2-6.

¹⁰ See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkard tree¹ with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgîstân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûrz. 29. Of birds Kâmrôs² is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the grifon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion³ it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on⁴. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mêdôk-shêm⁵,

¹ See Chap. XVIII, 1-4.

² See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written Kâmrôs. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

³ That is, 'on the *periods* for observance of religious duties.'

⁴ The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

⁵ The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to mid-summer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious¹ day Khûr of the month Tîr², to the season of Mêdiyârêm³, which is the

¹ A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vaheza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vêhîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vêhîkakîk, or vêhîkô; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

² The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

³ The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn¹—the *shortest* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mêdîyârêm to the season of Mêdôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest² winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights³. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being a measure of time and*, in like manner, of land⁴. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm⁵, that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

¹ The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

² The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâris form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

³ This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbîgân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

⁴ According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

⁵ So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarmad, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô¹ is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarmad, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days², is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (*vaêar*) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months³ of summer the periods (*gâs*) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvin—namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvin, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky⁴ until midnight is the period of Aîbistrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn⁵. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance⁶ of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

¹ That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

² That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

³ All MSS. have 'five months' here.

⁴ K20 has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

⁵ The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

⁶ Pâz. ashâris is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst¹ and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradadafsh *and* Vidadafsh are; on the day Âûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapîtvin goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses² warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn³ the winter arrives, with much cold, at Âîrân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm⁴, for Rapîtvin keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and* one does not celebrate the period of Rapîtvin. 13. As the day Âûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapîtvin comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

¹ See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapîtvin, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

² If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

³ The ninth day of the tenth month.

⁴ That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer¹, for Rapîtvin is not there; *and* those seven² months *one* celebrates the Rapîtvin, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible³. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold⁴; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon⁵ returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

¹ K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

² K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

³ This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

⁴ M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

⁵ The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (*zamân*) more than such a one of its *years*¹; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer².

20. This, *too*, *it says*, that the auspicious month Fravardîn, the month Ardavahist, *and* the month Horvadađ³ are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôdađ, *and* the month Shatvairô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarmad are winter⁴.

21. And the sun comes from the sign (*khûrđak*) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning⁵.

¹ Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that *zamân* means 'hour.'

² That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

³ Generally written Avardâđ in Pâzand, and Khurdâđ in Persian.

⁴ The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

⁵ Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar¹ on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang² is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden*, and make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans³.

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

¹ Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the taġara (Av. taġara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

² A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

³ Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny¹, for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bîs the height of hemp (kand)², that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox³, ten thousand⁴ species among the species of principal

Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâ-lâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâi (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâi,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said to be two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

¹ M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

² Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs *and* tall hemp.'

³ See Chap. XIV, 1.

⁴ M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm¹, the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird² strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr³; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard⁴ tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death⁵; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom⁶; *and* it is the chief of plants⁷.

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-trees, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

¹ See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

² The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *Kamrôs* (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40-42): 'And the bird *Kamrôs* for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tîstar seizes the water, so that Tîstar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

³ See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3-5.

⁴ Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

⁵ That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled *dûraosha*.

⁶ See Chap. XXIV, 27.

⁷ See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, and all producing¹ oil, dyes, and clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, and are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum², the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, and others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade³, and is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, and *its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds⁴ of pulse, vetches, and others of this genus, they call corn (gûrdâk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, and is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root and blossoms in *its* season with new shoots and sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

¹ Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, and *plants* for oil, dyes, and clothing.' M6 has 'oil and dyes for clothing.'

² The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

³ The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

⁴ M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvîd gvîd mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the kamba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, and others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pês-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots¹ of the coriander, water-cress (kakîg), the leek, and others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)². 16. Whatever is like spinning³ cotton, and others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (gâmak). 17. Whatever lentil⁴ is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak⁵, and others of this genus, they call an oil-seed (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, zakava, vaha, and others of this genus, they call a dye-plant (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum⁶, or wood

¹ Reading stâk darîd; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

² Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

³ Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

⁴ Reading makag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

⁵ Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

⁶ Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense¹, varâst², kust, sandal-wood, cardamom³, camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants⁴ they call gummy (zadâk). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (kîbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)⁵.

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (kha-dûînak), and ten species (sardâk) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut⁶, the filbert⁷, the chesnut⁸, the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24⁹. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)¹⁰, as the

¹ Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

² Justi compares Pers. barghast.

³ Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

⁴ K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

⁵ The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

⁶ Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

⁷ Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

⁸ Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

⁹ M6 begins a new chapter here.

¹⁰ These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white¹ jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle *and* jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's² own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvadað's, the kamba is Amerôdad's, Dîn-pavan-Âtarô *has* the orange-scented mint (vâðrang-bôd), Âtarô *has* the mari-gold³ (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges⁴ is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mêren⁵ is Gôs's, the kârda is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravar-âîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's⁶, the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ard's⁷, Âstâd *has* all the white Hôm⁸, the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd *has* the crocus, Mâraspend *has the flower*⁹ of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

¹ M6 has 'yellow.'

² Synonymous with the Ardavahist of Chap. I, 26.

³ Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

⁴ M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

⁵ M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

⁶ The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

⁷ This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

⁸ See § 4.

⁹ M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.

Anîrân *has* this Hôṃ of the angel Hôṃ¹, of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire²; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII³.

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter⁴; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)⁵ *whose* place is filth (kalê).

2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (kashm mîkîsn)⁶ does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

¹ Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôṃ yêdatô âê hôṃ.

² See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

³ Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

⁴ Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8-12).

⁵ See Chap. III, 9.

⁶ Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôih) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd¹, so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâd) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman² is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsârdö); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and* *thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar³, that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâikîyas⁴ is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

¹ Compare Chap. I, 14.

² The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

³ Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

⁴ Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, Nâikîyas when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (*dâd*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt and thread-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâiktyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon *Taprêv*¹ is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, and *Zâirîk* the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends² of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that]³ should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then]⁴ the fiend *Taprêv* is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon *Tarômat*⁵ [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon *Mitôkht*⁶ is the liar (*drôgan*) of the evil spirit⁷; the demon *Arask*⁸ ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same⁹ appliances as the demon *Aeshm*'s¹⁰, as it

¹ Written *Tâtrêv* in Chap. I, 27.

² See Chap. III, 2.

³ From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

⁴ Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

⁵ Written *Tarôkmatô* in TD, and identified with *Nâûnghas* (*Nâiktyas*) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. *tarô-maiti*, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

⁶ A personification of the Av. *mithaokhta*, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, *Zamyâd Yt.* 96.

⁷ TD has *drûg gûmânîkîh*, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

⁸ Av. *araska* of Yas. IX, 18, *Râm Yt.* 16, personified.

⁹ The word *hômanam* in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of *ham*, owing to the copyist reading *am*, 'I am;'; TD has *ham-afzâr*, 'having like means.'

¹⁰ Or *Khashm*, 'wrath;'; so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given to Aeshm¹, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven² of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome]³ Aeshm lays a foundation⁴, and there where Aeshm has a foundation⁵ many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism⁶. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most⁷.

18. The demon Vîzarêsh⁸ is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

¹ TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

² TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

³ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

⁴ Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

⁵ So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

⁶ That is, 'many foreign customs.'

⁷ The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

⁸ So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the Kînvad bridge.

days and nights¹ when *they remain* in the world ; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda² is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back³, so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (rîêd), and chattering he may make water (mêzêd), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence⁴.

[20. The demon Akâtâsh⁵ is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyih), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrâi) from proper things ; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him ; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)⁶ is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

¹ TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâdôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1-18, III, 1-17).

² So in K20 ; TD has Aûzak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

³ TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (padîn-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

⁴ The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

⁵ The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

⁶ See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân¹ is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspad), whom they call old age (pirîh). 24. Kîshmâk² is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind³ *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô⁴ is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlât).' 26. The demon Bûsh-âsp⁵ is she who causes slothfulness; Sêg is the fiend (drûg) who causes annihilation; and the demon Niyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz⁶ ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pûs⁷ is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

¹ A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gôš Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

² The reading of this name is uncertain.

³ The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîrân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

⁴ A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

⁵ Av. Bûshyâsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

⁶ Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Âstâd Yt. 1.

⁷ Compare Pers. payûs, 'covetous,' and piyûs, 'avarice.' Pûs is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas¹ is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nistrûstîh), which they call nasâi ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Friftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg² ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst³ ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh⁴ is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût⁵ is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol⁶. 35. Astô-vîdâd⁷ is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

¹ Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85-106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2-27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132-228, IX, 49-117, &c.

² Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

³ Always written like anâst.

⁴ Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

⁵ Av. Bûti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

⁶ Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânô, Kîgûn bût asp parastêdô, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

⁷ Here written Astî-vîdâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vîdhôtu binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vîdâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (*sûr-kashmîh*) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (*yazdân*).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (*khashmakân*), are in great multitude it is said.

38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (*zvârân*), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (*nîvagîh*), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon Apâôsh¹ and the demon Aspengargâk² are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit³ are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (*khâmîh*) of God's works; and

¹ Av. Apaosha of Tistar Yt. 21, 22, 27, 28, Âstâd Yt. 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

² Here written Aspengarôgâ, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. Spengaghra of Vend. XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, Spîngauruska, of Gôš Yt. 31, Ashi Yt. 51.

³ The 'evil spirit,' Ganrâk-maînôk, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from Aharman, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1-6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is : ' Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me ! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me ¹. ' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry ². 42. The demon Kûndak ³ is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes* ; who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerous in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârikân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gôkîhar, and Mûspar ⁴

¹ Compare Mkh. XL, 24-28 : ' The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that " ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction. " And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that " ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man. " '

² The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance ; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

³ Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

⁴ TD has Gôk-îhar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vile-ness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târik dên afrâg-pêdâk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand¹, and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment². 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn³ (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

¹ Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

² Compare Arđâ-Virâf-nâmak (LIV, 5-8): '*As close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."

³ Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX ¹.

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship ² of the regions of the earth] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships ³ has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê Hvandkân⁴, the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parêstyarô⁵, the chief of Fradaðafsh is Spîtôid-i Aûspôsinân⁶, [the chief of Vîdaðafsh is Aîrîz-râsp Aûspôsinân⁷,] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp⁸, the chief of Vôrûgarst is Kakhraavâk⁹. 2. Zaratûst is

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

² Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of raðîh, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of rað, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

³ Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2-4.

⁴ TD has Ashashâg, hz-ê aîgh Nêvandân; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Bivandangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁵ TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyarô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Garô-danghu Pairistîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁶ So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôis Uspâsnaos of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁷ Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erez-râspa Uspâsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁸ Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

⁹ So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Yast, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst¹.

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (*vidarg*) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (*maînôkîh*), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks² of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions³ are *such places* as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (*Tâzikân*), the plain of Pêsyânsai, the river Nâîvtâk⁴, Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (*var*) formed by Yim, *and* Kasmîr in India⁵. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *Kathwaraspa* of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

¹ TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

² Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. *habâvanhâ* back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read *khâbânôhâ*, pl. of *khâbân*, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. *khâbidan*). TD has *khvabîsnô-gâs*, which has the same meaning.

³ Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

⁴ So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read *rad va khûdâk*, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

⁵ Reading *Kasmîr-i andar Hindû*, but TD has *Kasmîr-i andarûnô*; perhaps the last word was originally *anîrânak*, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Kasmîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû¹ son of Vis-tâsp, whom they call Kîtrô-mainô², is in the country of Kangdez³; Aghrêrad⁴ son of Pashang is in the land of Saukavastân⁵, and they call him Gôpat-shah⁶; Parsadgâ⁷ Hvembya is in the plain of

¹ The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

² TD has Kîtrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or maunghô, 'moon.' The Dâdîstân-i Dînîk (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the Kîtrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the Kâtru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

³ See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

⁴ The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gôš Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

⁵ TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, Saukâvasta, and Sâvkavastân.

⁶ TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâd. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; and he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31-36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vêg, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body he is a bull, and from mid-body to top he is a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêrad.

⁷ So in K20; and Av. Parshadgzu occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakhstar Khûmbîkân, and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradakhstô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pêsyânsaî¹, and he is *Hvembya* for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hvemb* ('jar') for fear of *Khashm* ('Wrath'); [*Asâm-i*² *Yamâhust* is in the place which they call the River *Nâîvtâk*]; the tree opposed to harm³ is in *Aîrân-vêg*; *Urvatadnar*⁴ son of *Zaratûst* is in the enclosure formed by *Yim*. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are *Narsih*⁵ son of *Vîvanghâû*, *Tûs*⁶ son of *Nôdar*⁷, *Gîw*⁸ son of *Gûdarz*, *Ibairaz*⁹ the causer of strife, and *Ashavazd* son of *Pourudhâkhst*¹⁰; and they will all¹¹ come forth, to the

immortal lords of *Khvanîras*, which name corresponds with the Av. *Fradhâkhsti Khuzbya* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 138.

¹ TD has always Pahl. *Pêânsih*. No doubt the *Pisîn* valley is meant (see § 11).

² Or it may be read *Aêshm-i*. This phrase occurs only in TD, but *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta *Yakhmâyîsad*, son of the same *Fryânô*,' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

⁴ See Chap. XXXII, 5.

⁵ Or *Narsâe* in TD; *K20* has *Pâz. Narêî*, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

⁶ Av. *Tusa* of *Âbân Yt.* 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁷ Av. *Naotara*, whose descendants are mentioned in *Âbân Yt.* 76, 98, *Fravardîn Yt.* 102, *Râm Yt.* 35.

⁸ Av. *Gaêvani* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁹ TD has *Pâz. Bairazd*. Perhaps it is not a name, but a *Pâzand* corruption of Pahl. *aêvarz*, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

¹⁰ So in TD; *K20* has 'Ashavand son of *Porudakhst*,' and *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of *Pôrûdakhstôîh*' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the *Pourudhâkhstiyân*' of *Âbân Yt.* 72, *Fravardîn Yt.* 112.

¹¹ So in TD, but *K20* has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation *of the universe*.

7. Regarding Sâm¹ it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg² wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat³. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him⁴ for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk⁵ becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand⁶; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)⁷ of the

¹ This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

² It can also be read Nihâv or Niyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

³ TD has 'as he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

⁴ TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

⁵ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ See Chap. XII, 31.

⁷ TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsai is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsai is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat¹. 12. Airân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân². 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure]³ formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ⁴; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân⁵. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX⁶.

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth⁷, first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

¹ Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

² Pers. Âdarbigân.

³ The word var is omitted in K20.

⁴ TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

⁵ Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

⁶ This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

⁷ See Chaps. XV, 2-16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when¹ they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh², the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sirîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans³ comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)⁴? *and* how does the resurrection occur?'

5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby⁵, without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which⁶ bore the material life, *and* there is no

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

² Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

³ See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

⁴ Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

⁵ Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

⁶ All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâi) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour¹ of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things² without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned³ in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for⁴ *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past⁵. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

¹ Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

² See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

³ Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

⁴ Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

⁵ Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was ? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômarđ are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans¹ they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class². 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômarđ, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sadvâstarân³, where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

¹ K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

² The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

³ Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isad-vâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly¹.

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (*garôdmân*), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven². 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (*ham-bâz*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

¹ In the *Ardâ-Vîrâf*-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that *Ardâ-Vîrâf* saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

² As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous *man*, but this cannot be the case unless *akhar* be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights' ¹.

17. Among his producers of the renovation of *the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written ² that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkîthar ³ falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moon-beam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it*. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo ⁴ melt the metal of Shatvairô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

¹ According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patîr or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrâm khshafnâm ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

² See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

³ Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

⁴ Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure ; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk ; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus : 'Where has it¹ been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul ? hast thou been righteous or wicked ?'

22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (*gûft*). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them ; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs² in that Yazisn ; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm³ they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years ; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years ; and they give every one *his* wife, and

¹ K20 has 'have I ;' probably hōmanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

² See Chap. XIX, 13.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife ; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds ; this is even the righteous existence (aît) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires ; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêtt-kharîd¹, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there ; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels² provide him the use of his clothing.

¹ The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêtt-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian : 'To celebrate Gêtt-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar ; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh ; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. 0, to) frasastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1-55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryân (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited ; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân ; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

² Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on¹ the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman², Ashavahist *on* Andar³, Shatvairô *on* Sâvar, Spendarmad *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas⁴, Horvada*d* and Amerôdad *on* Tâîrêv and Zâîrîk⁵, true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh⁶ *on* Aeshm⁷. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman⁸ and Âz⁹; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî¹⁰, and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that maînôk gehân is a misreading of min aîvyahân, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the kûstî of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

¹ Instead of vakhdûnd, 'seize on,' we should probably read vânen*d*, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

² Compare Zamyâd Yt. 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-12) who is his special opponent.

³ Here written Pâz. Inder. Compare Pahlavi Yas. XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahist *smites* Indar.'

⁴ Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, and Nâîkîyas in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from Tarômat in XXVIII, 14.

⁵ Here written Tâîrêv and Zâîrîk.

⁶ Av. Sraosha, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see Vend. XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., Yas. LVI, Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, &c.

⁷ See Chap. XXVIII, 15-17.

⁸ Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the Bundahis considered Aharman and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1-6 with 40, 41.

⁹ See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

¹⁰ The Zôta is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî¹ formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky² he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gôkîhar³ burns the serpent (mâr)⁴ in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault⁵ into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world⁶; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless⁷, slopeless plain⁸; even the mountain⁹,

¹ The words zak g, hâni, for ân g e hâni, are probably a misreading of aîvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

² See Chap. III, 10-12.

³ See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

⁴ Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkîhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkîhar is represented as a malevolent being.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. אֵלֶם 'a vault,' or Chald. ܐܠܡܐ 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to ܥܠܡ 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

⁶ Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

⁷ Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

⁸ Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hâmûn, so the reading is ansîp (compare Pers. sîb) hâmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

⁹ Kakâz-i-Dâtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K'invâr bridge*, they keep down, *and it will* not exist.

CHAPTER XXXI¹.

o. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang² *was son of Fravâk, son of Siyâk-mak*³, *son of Mâshya*⁴, *son of Gâyômard*. [2. Takhmôrup⁵ *was son of Vîvanghâtû*⁶, *son of Yanghad*⁷, *son of Hôshyang*. 3. Yim,]⁸ Takhmôrup, Spîtûr⁹, *and Narsih*¹⁰, whom they also call 'the Rashnû of K'înô'¹¹,

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

² So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

³ See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 2-24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

⁵ Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (*Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

⁶ Av. Vîvanghau of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

⁷ As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial* y, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

⁸ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

⁹ Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

¹⁰ Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôshî in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

¹¹ An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak¹, who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âspiyân² and Zîyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim³; Narsih⁴ lived then⁵ also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân⁶; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him⁷, that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk⁸ *was son* of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâinîgâv,

the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' Kînô, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

¹ See Chap. XXIII, 1.

² Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

³ As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

⁴ Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsinh in TD.

⁵ TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

⁶ So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsinh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

⁷ Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

⁸ Or Az-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46-50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, son of Tâz, son of Fravâk, son of Siyâkmak¹; by *his* mother Dahâk was of Udaï², son of Bayak, son of Tambayak, son of Owokhm³, son of Pairi-urvaêsm⁴, son of Gadhwithw⁵, son of Drûgâskân⁶, son of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân⁷ was son of Pâr-tôrâ⁸ the Âspiyân, son of Sôk-tôrâ⁹ the Âspiyân, son of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Siyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of

¹ For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

² Pahl. *Aûd* in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

³ TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. *aoi wra*, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that *r* and *ô* are often written alike in Pahlavi.

⁴ TD and K20b have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

⁵ TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

⁶ So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Druz-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. *drugaska* in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

⁷ Av. *Thraêtaona*, son of *Âthwya*, but generally called 'the *Âthwyânian*,' who slew the destructive serpent (*azi dahâka*), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the *Shâhnâmah* he is called *Ferîdûn* son of *Abtûn*.

⁸ This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. *Pâr-gau* and Av. *Pouru-gau*, which is a title of an *Âthwyânian* in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

⁹ So in TD, but the other two MSS. have *Siyâk-tôrâ*, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn¹ the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vivanghât; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk.

8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*² also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Aîrîk³; and by Aîrîk one son *and* one pair⁴ were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânidâr *and* Anastokh⁵, *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak⁶. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Aîrîk *and* *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born⁷; they became aware *of it*, *and* the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter⁸, also in concealment, for

¹ In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkîsn or Vanfrôkgân.

² TD has 'as well as *him*.' K2ob omits most of this sentence by mistake.

³ These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûîrya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

⁴ TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

⁵ TD has Anîdâr and Anastabô.

⁶ Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzakin in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

⁷ Reading min zak dûkht dûkht-1 zâd, as in K2ob and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words dûkht, 'daughter,' and dvâd, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

⁸ TD has bartman, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K2o must be read dûkht, and not dvâd, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some* of]¹ the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînik). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik *and his* sister² was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born³, by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Airîk⁴. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar⁵, and Dûrâsrôb⁶ begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk⁷, who was Mâm-sozak⁸, of Airak, of Thritak, of Bitak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak⁹, of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Airîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâsiyâv¹⁰ *was*

¹ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînik' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

² TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

³ The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînik, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hvar-nar*. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manuskihira of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Airîk).

⁴ TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Airîk.'

⁵ See Chap. XXIX, 6.

⁶ Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

⁷ The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînik, as noted above.

⁸ This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

⁹ K20b omits the five names from Airak to Zûsak.

¹⁰ Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm¹, of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsiyâv) as well as Karsêvaz², whom they call Kadân³, and Aghrêrad⁴ were all three brothers.

[16⁵. Pashang and Visak were both brothers. 17. By Visak were Pîrân⁶, Hûmân, Sân⁷, and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsiyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdah⁸, and other sons begotten; and Vispân-fryâ⁹, from whom Kai-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsiyâv, and was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr were Sûrâk, Asûrik, and other children; and by them were Khvâst-aîrikht, Yazdân-aîrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk¹⁰, and others begotten, a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad was Gôpatshah¹¹ begotten. 21. When Frâsiyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56-63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmâh.

¹ Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmâh.

² Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmâh.

³ TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 5.

⁵ The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

⁶ Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmâh, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

⁷ This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

⁸ Shêdah in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁹ She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmâh.

¹⁰ The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

¹¹ TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr¹, *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêrad begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsiyâv slew Aghrêrad for that fault; *and* Aghrêrad, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Âûzôbô the Tûhmâspian², Kanak-i Barzist, Arawisanasp, *and* Vaêtand-i Râghinôid *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâimasvâk³, the son of Nôdar, son of Mânûskîhar, who begat Âûzôbô. 24. Kavâd⁴ was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspûd); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâdakân); Âûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâd *was* Kaî-Apivêh begotten; by Kaî-Apivêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, *and* Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Sîyâvakhsh begotten; by Sîyâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb⁵

¹ The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

² Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

³ None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

⁴ Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

⁵ The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, *and* Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Aris, Pasîn, Kaî-Kâvûs, Sîyâvush, *and* Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sâno for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks *and* Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp¹ and Aûrvakhsh² were both brothers. 27. Athrat³ was son of Sâhm, son of Tûrak, son of Spaênyasp, son of Dûrôshasp⁴, son of Tûg, son of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp⁵ was son of Aûzâv⁶, son of Mânûs, son of Kaî-Pisîn⁷, son of Kaî-Aptivêh, son of Kaî-Kavâd. 29. By Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr⁸, and other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd⁹ and Pêshyôtanû¹⁰ begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman¹¹, Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, and others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar descendant of Pâpak—of whom his mother was daughter—was son of Sâsân¹², son of

¹ Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38-44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garsâsp in the Shâhnâmâh.

² Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrîta or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

³ Av. Thrîta of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmâh as follows: Garsâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

⁴ Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

⁵ Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁶ Reading doubtful.

⁷ Written Ka-Pisîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

⁸ Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁹ Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmâh.

¹⁰ See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

¹¹ Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmâh, and Ardâshîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

¹² The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnamak of Ardâshîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardâshîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrîd and ¹ Zarîr, *son* of Sâsân, *son* of Artakhshatar who *was* the said Vohûman *son* of Spend-dâd.

31. The mother of Kaî-Apîvêh was Farhank ², *daughter* of *him who is* exalted on the *heavenly* path ³, Urvad-gâi-frâst ⁴, *son* of Râk, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânûskîhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory ⁵ of Frêdûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; *and* Nôktargâ ⁶, through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, *and* begat *children* there; three years he carried the reeds there, *and* gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked *her* milk, *and* gave it to his three sons; as *their* walking *was on* hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure ⁷ Farhank, *but* Farhank went with the glory *away* from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the Askâniyân monarchs.

¹ So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrîd a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound *va*, 'and,' and *i*, 'son of.'

² In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kaî-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

³ Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâstaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'Urvad-gâ *son* of Frâst.'

⁵ The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hvaranagh* of the Zamyâd Yast, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

⁶ The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

⁷ Reading *hangîdanö*, 'to injure,' instead of *khungdanö*, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter *h*.

the fierce (tīb) father, and made a vow (patyastāk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm¹.' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kai-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak² was with Frâsiyâv.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm³ were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân⁴; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsîh⁵ and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô⁶ and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings to Srôsh and Ardavahist in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

¹ This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Frēni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

² So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

³ The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâmâ Keresâspa with the title Nairimanau; while in the Shâhnâmâh Sâm is son of Narîmân.

⁴ Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁵ The same as Sagastân.

⁶ Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak¹ the governorship of Spâhân² was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi³ was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there are* the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdâstâm⁴ and Hûzavârak⁵.]

CHAPTER XXXII⁶.

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp⁷, *son* of Paîtirâsp⁸, *son* of Aurvadasp⁹, *son* of Hâêkadâsp¹⁰, *son* of

¹ He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

² The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

³ Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

⁴ The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

⁵ Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

⁷ Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

⁸ K20 has Pâz. Spitarsp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

⁹ Omitted in K20 and TD.

¹⁰ Av. Hâêkadâspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*Kakhshnûs*¹, son of *Pâtîrâsp*, son of *Hardarsn*², son of *Hardâr*³, son of *Spîtâmân*⁴, son of *Vîdast*⁵, son of *Ayazem*, son of *Ragan*⁶, son of *Dûrâsrôb*⁷, son of *Mânûskîhar*⁸. 2. As *Paîtîrâsp* had two sons, one *Pôrûshasp* and one *Ârâsti*⁹, by *Pôrûshasp* was *Zaratûst* begotten for a sanctuary of good religion¹⁰, and by *Ârâsti* was *Mêdyôk-mâh*¹¹ begotten. 3. *Zaratûst*, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

¹ Windischmann suggests Av. *Kâkhshnôis* (gen.) of *Fravardîn Yt. 114*.

² K20 has *Pâz. Harsn* and TD has *Harakîdârsnô*.

³ TD has *Harâîdâr*, or *Arâîdâr*.

⁴ Or *Spîtâm* (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. *Spîtâma*, the usual patronymic of *Zaratûst*.

⁵ May be read *Vâdist* in TD.

⁶ Possibly the same person as *Râk* in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

⁷ So in TD, but *Pâz. Durâsrûn* in K20, M6.

⁸ This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Vagarkard-i Dînlk* (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to *Gâyômarđ*, as follows: '*Pôrûshâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, and Arâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, Urvandasp, Haêkadâsp, Kikhshnus, Paêtîrâsp, Hardrn, Haridâr, Spîtâmânô, Vaêdist, Nayâzem, Ragisn, Dûrâsrôb, Mânûskîhar sovereign of Iran, Mânus-khûrnar, Mânus-khûrnâk, Nêryôsang, Varzîd-dîn, Vîzak, Airyak, Aithritak, Ibitak, Frazîsak, Zisak, Frasizak, Izak, Aîrîk, Frêdûn lord of Khvanîras, Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Vanô-i-fravisn the Âspîkân, Yim lord of the seven regions, Vîvanghâû, Ayanghađ, Ananghađ, Takhmôrup, Hôshâng the Pêsdâđ, lord of the seven regions, Fravâk, Sîyâmak, Mashyô whose wife was Mashyâk, Gâyôkmarđ the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.*'

⁹ Av. *Ârâstaya* of *Fravardîn Yt. 95*; TD has *Ârâstih*.

¹⁰ The *Pâzand* words *dargâ hidainis* appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. *dargâs-i hûdînôîh*.

¹¹ Av. *Maidhyô-maungha* of *Yas. L, 19, Fravardîn Yt. 95, 106*. He is said to have been *Zaratûst's* first disciple.

worship¹ and expounded in Aîrân-vêg, and Mêdyôk-mâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads² of Pârs are all *traced* back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst³ were begotten three sons and three daughters⁴; one *son was* Isadvâstar⁵, one Aûrvatađ-nar⁶, and one Khûrshêd-kîhar⁷; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatađ-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim⁸, which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, and dwells in Kangdez⁸; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srit, and of one Pôrukîst⁹. 6. Aûrvatađ-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife¹⁰, the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

¹ Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

² The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

³ This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînik, pp. 21-23.

⁴ K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

⁵ Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

⁶ Av. Urvatađ-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvatađ-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtađ-nar.

⁷ Av. Hvare-kîthra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

⁸ See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînik (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

⁹ These daughters are the Av. Frêni, Thrîti, and Pouru-kîsta of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

¹⁰ The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7¹. By Isadvâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururvîga², and they call him Arang-i Bîrâdân³ ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A kakar or kâkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-sarâî or khûd-sarâî ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

¹ Instead of this sentence the Vagarkar-i Dînîk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratûst the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratûst, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratûst; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvig, of the third Arnig-baredâ. And from Urvig, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isadvâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôrukîst; these four were from Urvig. And from the wife Arnig-baredâ two sons were born, one Âûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshêd-kîhar; and Arnig-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arnig-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says,' &c. (as in § 8).

² TD has Pahl. Âûrvavîgak or Khûrûrûpak.

³ So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isadvâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratûst, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh¹, and Sôshyans², were from Hvôv³; as it says, that Zaratûst went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang⁴ received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhîd⁵, *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads⁶ of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it*⁷.

10. The name of the mother of Zaratûst was Dughdâ⁸, *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratûst was Frahimravâ⁹.

¹ Av. Ukhshyad-ereta and Ukhshyad-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

² Av. Saoshyâs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

³ Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbô.

⁴ See Chap. XV, 1.

⁵ Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

⁶ So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

⁷ This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkard-i Dînik.

⁸ The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

⁹ TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII ¹.

o. The family of the Môbads ('priests').

1. Bahak ² was son of Hûbakht, son of Âtarô-bôndak, son of Mâhdad, son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâd ³, son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Kâd ⁴, son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Ârâstîh, son of Païtirâsp ⁵. 2. As Bahak was Môbad of Môbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar ⁶, son of Aûharmazd, so Kâd was the great preceptor (farmâdâr) unto Dârât ⁷.

3. Âtarô-pâd ⁸ was son of Mâraspend, son of Dâdardâ, son of Dâdîrâd, son of Hûdînô, son of Âtarô-dâd, son of Mânûskîhar, son of Vohûman-kîhar, son of Fryânô ⁹, son of Bâhak ¹⁰, son of Frêdûn, son of Fra-

¹ This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

² Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. Baungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

³ Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

⁴ Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

⁵ See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pîtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

⁶ The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309-379.

⁷ According to the chronology of the Bundahis (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârât lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

⁸ This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

⁹ Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

¹⁰ This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâltar¹, *son of Pôrushasp, son of Vinâsp, son of Nivar, son of Vakhsh, son of Vahidhrôs, son of Frast, son of Gâk*², *son of Vakhsh, son of Fryân, son of Ragan, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar*³.

4. Mitrô-varâz *was son of Nîgâs-afzûd-dâk, son of Shîrtashôsp, son of Parstva, son of Urvad-gâ, son of Tâham, son of Zarîr, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûs*⁴.

5. Dûrnâmîk *was son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar*⁵, *son of Mânûskîhar*.

6. Mitrô-akâvîd *is son of Mardân-vêh*⁶, *son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht*⁷, *son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht*. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâi, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also *was the righteous daughter*⁸

¹ This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

² Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name Skinas or Skivas.

³ See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

⁴ No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

⁵ Here written Nîdar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

⁶ Here written Mard-vêh, but see § 8.

⁷ Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vêš-bûkht.

⁸ The text is amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôî dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh *son of Kahârôb-bûkht*,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâi was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvîd and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht.
8. Pûyisn-shâd *is son* of Mardân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâd, *son* of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâyîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânûs-êihar¹. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call² 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdâkîh-i Ashôvahistô)³. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâd, *son* of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâd *son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâd-sparham⁴,

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

¹ Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

² Reading va lîk laband-i karîtûnd.

³ This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahis were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdîstân-i Dînîk, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûs-êihar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûs-êihar, author of the Dâdîstân-i Dînîk (see the Introduction, § 4).

⁴ The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham

Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim¹, Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd², Ashôvahist son of Freh-Srôsh, and the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (*gâkînam*) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a) :—

'The book *Dînkard* which the dastûrs of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mah-rasfend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the *Dînkard*, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

¹ *Zâd-sparham* was brother of the author of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik* ; he was high-priest at Sîrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the *Bundahis*, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written *Zâd-sparam*.

² In the history of the *Dînkard*, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to *Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk*, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows :—

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâd son of Hêmîd, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original *Dînkard*, of a thousand chapters' (*mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakô*). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the *Dînkard*, *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*, and *Bundahis*.

CHAPTER XXXIV¹.o. On the reckoning of the years².

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible³; *and* three thousand years⁴ was the duration of Gâyômarđ, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns⁵ of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômarđ lived thirty years in tribulation⁶. 3. After the thirty years⁷ Mâshya *and* Mâshyôġ grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband⁸, *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang⁹ came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years¹⁰, Takhmôrup¹¹ thirty years, Yim till *his* glory¹² departed six hundred and

¹ This chapter is found in all the MSS.

² TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

³ See Chap. I, 8.

⁴ See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

⁵ This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

⁶ See Chap. III, 21–23.

⁷ That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

⁸ See Chap. XV, 19, 20.

⁹ See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

¹⁰ K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

¹¹ See Chap. XXXI, 2.

¹² So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium¹ reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk² ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn³ *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn *were* the twelve years of Aîrîk; Mânûskîhar⁴ *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)⁵, *were* the twelve years of Frâsiyâv; Zôb⁶ the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd⁷ *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp⁸ a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years⁹, altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman¹⁰ *son* of Spend-dâd a hundred and

¹ The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

² See Chap. XXXI, 6.

³ See Chap. XXXI, 7-11.

⁴ See Chap. XXXI, 12-14.

⁵ See Chap. XXXI, 21.

⁶ Written Âzôbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

⁷ Usually written Kaî-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

⁸ Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁹ This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâi may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâi Kîhar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâi Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâi, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi son of Kîhar-âzâd¹, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi son of Dârâi fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman² fourteen years.

9. The Askânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years³, Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years⁴, *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

¹ A surname of Hûmâi.

² Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

³ This period is nearly two centuries too short.

⁴ The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226-651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakard. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Yast, which makes the millennium of Zaratûst expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakard. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I-XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I-XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are :— Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K35 (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

Z Â D - S P A R A M.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*kîdakîhâ*) of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

0. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (*yazdân*)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south¹, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness²; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd³. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

¹ Zâd-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).

² See Bund. I, 2-4.

³ Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others¹, Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drûg) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâd), and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend²!'

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself³.'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

¹ Reading pavan kâtârânô ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

² Bund. I, 16.

³ Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barinînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship¹, for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises².

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula*³; and in his Ahûnavar these⁴ kinds of benefit were shown:—

13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge⁵ owing thereto

¹ Bund. I, 17, 18.

² Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

³ Bund. I, 21.

⁴ The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

⁵ The *Kînavad* or *Kînvar* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this¹ *formula*; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it is* shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (*âr dîk*), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in one-self, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (*nav-barhâm*), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation².

¹ The MS. has *hûman*, 'well-meditating,' instead of *denman*, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

² This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâd-sparam, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom¹; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind². 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessities [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

¹ Bund. I, 22.

² Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)¹; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôî-dâdân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting *it*. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakö) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (azö) dies away, *and* this *which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardânö), *she* is upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third ² over the star station.

¹ This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

² Compare Bund. III, 11.

CHAPTER II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravardîn *and* the day Âûharmazd, at noon¹, he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth², and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered³.

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created⁴, as it stood as high as Gâyômarď on the

¹ Bund. III, 12.

² Bund. III, 13.

³ Bund. III, 14, 16.

⁴ The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômarď was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâd-spâram himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâitih¹ *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômarđ being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâitih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye², so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast³ trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômarđ, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat⁴ on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômarđ; and he also brings his sweat⁵ on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night⁷; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (*vazak*), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

¹ The Dâitîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

² This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

³ See Bund. IV, 1.

⁴ The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like *hōmanâe*, is here taken as a transposition of *min khvâe*, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of *anumâe*, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

⁵ Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

⁶ See Bund. I, 21.

⁷ Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens¹; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it².

CHAPTER III.

1. And Gôsrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûhar-mazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together³. 2. And Aû-harmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômarð, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôsrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

CHAPTER IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

¹ Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

² Bund. III, 24.

³ Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky¹, in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep² of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômar*d* is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving³ are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vidâ*d*⁴ upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârân*ö*) *and* diseases

¹ Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâ*d*-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

² The word seems to be khvâp*isn*ö.

³ Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardisnân*ö* instead of var*đ*isnân*ö*. A very small alteration would change it into varôisnân*ö*, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

⁴ See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyô-mard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânô) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyô-mard unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries¹; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)² at the beginning of the crea-

¹ These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 5-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17-21, XII, 7-10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

² The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *Gîvân* ('living')¹, for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* *Gâyômarđ* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years² Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus³, on account of whose own lowness⁴, and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, *Gâyômarđ* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

¹ This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read *Snahan*, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read *Nahn* in *Bund.* II, 3, by *Pâzand* writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

² Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

³ That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

⁴ There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has *lâ* instead of *râi*, and *niskasp* instead of *nisîv*.

CHAPTER V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky¹ he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour²; and the sky in its fortress³ spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' and it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits⁴ of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation of the universe at the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus⁵: 'So also

¹ See Chap. III, 2.

² Compare Bund. VI, 2.

³ Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgô means both.

⁴ Bund. VI, 3, 4.

⁵ This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômarđ. Whatever is in life *is so* through this purpose of Aûhar-mazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness *is so* through this purpose¹ of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.'

5. And this was the first contest², *that of* the sky with Aharman.

CHAPTER VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tîstar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak³, gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâđ-sparam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

¹ The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

² The word ârdîk, which Dâđ-sparam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year¹.

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles², who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvô-aê-i dârînô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth³,

¹ Bund. VII, 2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

² Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânô instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânô.

³ Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900¹ long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died², and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tîstar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tîstar was in terror (pard). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tîstar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name³, and they call forth such power unto Tîstar *as that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (fravâhar), he seized many more handfuls of water,

¹ Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

² Bund. VII, 7-14 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

³ The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tîstar Yt. 11, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down¹ much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tîstar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-viêir) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânô).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting² *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûtîk, the Kamîrîd, and the Gêhân-bûn³. 15. Of these the Pûtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb⁴; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûrz⁵, and the Pûtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

¹ Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vâranînîd stands for avar vâranînîd.

² Reading partâv instead of the MS. patûtât, 'powerful fury.'

³ This is a variant of the Sahî-bûn or Gâhî-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûtîk occurs once, and Puîtîk twice.

⁴ Compare §§ 15-18 with Bund. XIII, 8-14.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavêš; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb¹. 18. And Satavêš itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind², while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four³ there are the small seas⁴.

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers⁵, which *were* the Arvand⁶—that is, the Diglît, *and* the flow

¹ This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (gagak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

² By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, 'fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

³ The ocean and three principal seas.

⁴ Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

⁵ Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

⁶ This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglât or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-spâram that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânö)—*and* the Vêh¹ was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen² great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth³, which are called the Kêkast⁴—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp⁵—and, secondly, the Sôvar⁶ which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô⁷.

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Âûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

¹ See Bund. XX, 9.

² Bund. XX, 2, 7.

³ Bund. VII, 14.

⁴ Bund. XXII, 2.

⁵ Written Gûsasp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

⁶ The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

⁷ Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering—Albûrz grew up¹, which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other² mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number³. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years⁴, at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years⁵; in two hundred years it grew up to

¹ Bund. VIII, 1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

² The MS. has âvânö, 'waters,' instead of avârik, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

³ Bund. XII, 2.

⁴ Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

⁵ Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain¹ is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôysn² ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to K'înîstân³.

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation⁴, *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions⁵ a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (*avîsar*) *around it*. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

¹ The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

² Written Apû-rôysn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

³ Bund. XII, 9. XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of K'înîstân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

⁴ Literally, 'creature.'

⁵ Bund. XI, 2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (kûkhshî-aîtō) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry¹, Amerôdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation² was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tîstar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand³ special species and a hundred thousand⁴ additional species (levatman sardakō) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for⁵ keeping away the ten thousand³ diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (sênô mûrûvō) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which* is the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

¹ This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

² Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

³ Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

⁴ In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

⁵ The MS. has barâ instead of pavan, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the Huzvâris in Persian, in which language bih (= barâ) and bah (= pavan) are written alike. In Pâzand they are usually written be and pa, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox¹ passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five² species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd Nask³. 2. And every plant grown from a member

¹ See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

² The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

³ This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or homâst). For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. The Rivâyât of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivâyats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow¹ on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn² and sesame, vetches³ *and* peas; so sesame, on account of⁴ *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine⁵, a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (mâys or mâsah) which is called dônak, and was a variety of sesame (samagâ)⁶, *and it is* for other noses.

fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahis must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâd-sparam mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâd which also occur in the Bundahis (XIV, 2, 14-18, 21-24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahis was originally a translation of the Dâmdâd, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahis, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâd was still in existence in the time of Dâd-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

¹ Or 'brains.'

² Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

³ Assuming the MS. alûnô or arvanô to be a corruption of alûm or arzanô.

⁴ Reading râf instead of lâ.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

⁶ Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs¹ *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman², and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon³; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*gânvar-hômand*). 8. Forth from there it produced for Airân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female⁴, *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species⁵; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (*âv-dahân*) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering *dônak* and *gûnak* into *gandanak*, and *samagâ* into *samasdar*, we might read, 'from the nose is *mâys*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mâys* unexplained.

¹ The MS. has *gôspendânô*, 'cattle,' instead of *sipandânô*, 'rue herbs.'

² See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

³ Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

⁴ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

⁵ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes¹, that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;,' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species², as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten³ species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species⁴; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

¹ Bund. XIV, 8-12.

² Bund. XIV, 13-23, 26, 27.

³ Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

⁴ Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed¹ into eight groups (ristakö), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that* of heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâd Nask², and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races³'—this is a lordly⁴ summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them⁵ is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard⁶, the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûrisk *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

¹ Bund. XIV, 25.

² See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahis must be derived from the Dâmdâd.

³ The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aûsmaris-nîh-i hangardîkô, but it is not known to be extant.

⁴ Reading marâk (Chaldee מֶרַךְ), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâris forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

⁵ Bund. XXIV, 6.

⁶ Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûs/ihar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varikö), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bish-musk—which eats the Bish poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bish, *and* less of it should succeed in poisoning the creatures—and one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftö) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makö) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his¹ serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

CHAPTER X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly to Gâyômarđ there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômarđ, the

¹ This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakö, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâd-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (*mânsarspend*), as heard from *Gâyômarđ*; *and* *Aûharmazd*, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (*drûgô*). 2. And when he (*Gâyômarđ*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (*âvğînakô*), and adamant; *and* on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. *Spendarmad* received the gold of the dead *Gâyômarđ*¹, *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a *Rîvâs-plant*, *Mashya and Mashyôî*² came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted³; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature⁴, *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which *Aûharmazd* created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

¹ Compare Bund. XV, 1.

² The MS. has *Mashâî Mashâyê*, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably *mashya mashyôî* (or *mashyê*), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of *mashya*, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read *Mashyanî* instead of *Mashyôî*.

³ Reading *ham-basnô ham-dakhîk*, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the *ham-badisn va ham-dasak* of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read *ham-sabîk*, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

⁴ It is evident that *ham-badisnîh*, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the *ham-basnîh*, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory¹ or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man², *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

CHAPTER XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds³, which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzist, the Vâzist, *and* the Supremely-*benefiting*. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garôdmân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals⁴, and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

¹ The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâd-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahis must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

² Bund. XV, 5.

³ Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spênist and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahis, and the fifth being the Berezi-savang, which is the first in the Bundahis.

⁴ See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzist is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water¹ and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzist is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire², as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in³ the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânö), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river⁴, wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

¹ Reading mayâ-i afsardînîdö tâftanö instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ asardînîdö âftanö of the MS.

² The Verehrânö âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

³ Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

⁴ Or 'sea' (darîyâvö). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation¹ the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzin-Mitrô fire², *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem³, the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzin-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng⁴, when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêsh-var) on the ox Srûvô⁵, one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzin-Mitrô⁶.

¹ Literally, 'creature.'

² The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkô, and pûr-sûdô in Pahlavi.

³ See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

⁴ Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

⁵ Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

⁶ The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-spâram, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsîyâv and Mânûsîhar, with an anecdote of Kâi-ûs and the hero Sritô (Av. Thrîta). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of h m-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with A harmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as G y mar . The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from A harmazd, with another anecdote of K i- s and S r  , and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karap n family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Voh man to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and A harmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the G thas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, M          , in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vist sp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Z           consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation of the universe.'

BAHMAN YAST,

OR

ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,

OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,

THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. Dâd. for Dâdîstân-i Dînik. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A.D. 1496, copied A.D. 1679) in a Rivâyât MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

CHAPTER I.

o. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am ¹.

1. As ² it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* ³ that

¹ Or, possibly, 'for whom I am written,' the meaning of mûn yektîbûnîhêm being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

² It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, so in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264-271).

³ This was the first nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Sûdkar; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the second nask, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard (which agrees with the account in the Rivâyats), see Haug's Essays, p. 126. In the Dînkard, besides a short description of this Nask, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its fargard's, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this *way*, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spitâmân¹ thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargard of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows:—

'The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-ratô (Av. *tâ ve urvâtâ*, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (*hazangrôk zim*, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâr-spend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (*sarîtarânô*), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (*girâyîh*) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. *ashem vohû vahistem astî*, Yas. XXVII, 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargard, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

¹ Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for¹ . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshîr² the Kayân king (Kaî shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshak-rûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâd³, and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath⁵, and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!’

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)⁶ of the Vohûman Yast, Horvadað Yast, and Âstâd Yast

¹ A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

² See Chap. II, 17.

³ Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531-579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.

⁴ The epithet *vigârd-vars* may also mean ‘dressed-hair,’ but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by *kushâdah muî*, ‘uncovered hair.’ That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

⁵ Or, ‘the progeny of Aêshm,’ the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

⁶ If there were any doubt about *zand* meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvadað (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdák son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdân). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*¹, summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the undeceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise², thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations³.' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared⁴ that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

¹ That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

² The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

³ A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvada Yt. 10.

⁴ This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me¹ immortal, as the tree opposed to harm², and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made³. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke⁴ thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap⁵ will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

¹ Or, 'when I shall *become*;' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

² Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

³ Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

⁴ The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftôs Aûharmazd, or afas gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

⁵ According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-spâram, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind¹; *and* Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spitâmân with the righteous spirit, and he² took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratûst during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâdarvakhsh, Brâdrôyisnô, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânô, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâdarvakhsh;' they are described as descendants of the sister of Manûskêthar. In the seventh book of the Dînkard a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratûst in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karapô,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289-291).

¹ K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mânîsn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

² Reading *afas* instead of *minas* (Huz. of *agas*, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as *afas*, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that *afas* is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form *agas*, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading *afas* for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. *vas* and *azas*.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*¹ thus: 'I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd') with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)² and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and ³ he seemed to me exalted.

¹ This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Or else 'dirty.'

³ Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;]¹ and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin]², one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad³ becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver⁴ is the reign of Arâshîr⁵ the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

² Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

³ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

⁵ Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kaî), whom¹ they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâd², who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen³ is the reign of Artakhshîr⁴, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)⁵ prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâd of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass⁶, brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askânian king⁷, who removes from the world

¹ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

² Contracted here into Spendâd, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

³ This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

⁴ Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226-271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

⁵ Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

⁶ Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

⁷ It is uncertain which of the Askânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*gavid-rastakîh*) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh¹ is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr², when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by Ask (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the *Dînkard* (in a passage quoted by Haug in his *Essay on the Pahlavi Language*) mentions Valkhas (Vologeses) the Askânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkhas was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the *Vendidad*.

¹ I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kalasiyâkâh as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. skendô-kara, Pers. sikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an Askânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the Askânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

² This Sasanian monarch (A.D. 420-439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight¹ of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâd², when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk³, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!

23. Zaratûst said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratûst! I *will* make *it* clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

¹ Reading *vênâp* (Pers. *bînâb*), but it may be *va davâg*, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

² See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

³ Generally written *Mazdak*, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâd (or *Kavâd*, A. D. 487-531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the *Bahman Yast*, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetic.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east¹, which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world², they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vi-shûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion³, truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

¹ Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

² Reading gêhân-zîvô zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

³ This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great]¹ family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny *and* misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope², and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law³, and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spendarmað is more barren, and fuller of highway-

¹ This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

² This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30-32.

³ Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is khûsrûînê, followed by some word (probably nafsman) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men¹; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three² will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe³; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect⁴ where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them⁵. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

¹ Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va rās-vânagtar.

² In K20 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

³ Literally, 'white.'

⁴ Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

⁵ That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32-35.

Spîtâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear¹ and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread-girdles* on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâdîyâvîh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm ceremony, and puts down a foot from the stone seat (magh)², he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred twigs* (bare-sôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasât katak)³ it is allowable.

¹ The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

² According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

³ The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36-40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (*yazisn*) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse¹; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty²; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân³ ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable⁴ wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (*kêvîd-kêshân*); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (*môg-mardân*), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

¹ The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

² The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

³ The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeen or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

⁴ The Pâz. MSS. have misread *azîr damîk*, 'underground,' instead of *âzarmîk*.

words of random speakers (andêzö-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take¹ an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning² one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five³ sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation⁴, so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

¹ Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

² Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

³ The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

⁴ Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast *of burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully¹ and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*kərbist*); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zarātūst the Spîtāmân! who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*gasnō*) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (*aûsôfrîd*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

¹ The word appears to be darâktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûktar, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahôz, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow]¹ they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have revered the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (bar-hamakō rūbīsn) those ways and customs², and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable³, who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family⁴ as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them⁵ nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarmad opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (Atûr) of the army⁶, and are turbulent as among the moun-

¹ This verb is omitted in K20.

² It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

³ Or 'dahâkân may mean 'the skilful.'

⁴ Reading dūzak instead of rūzak. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds dū and rū also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

⁵ Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

⁶ Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading hênô, 'army,' but another possible reading is Khyôn (Av. *Hvyaona*), the old name

taineers¹; and the *K'ini*², the *Kâvûli*, the *Sôfti*, the *Rûman* (*Arûmâyak*), and the white-clothed *Karmak*³ then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones⁴ and Arabs (*Tâzîgân*) and *Rûmans* to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one⁵ in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

of some country probably in Turkistân, as *Argâsp*, the opponent of *Vistâsp*, is called 'lord or king of *Khyôn*' in the *Yâd-kâr-i Zarîrân* (see also *Gôš Yt.* 30, 31, *Ashi Yt.* 50, 51, *Zamyâd Yt.* 87).

¹ Or, 'as the mountain-holding *Khûdarak*.' Darmesteter suggests that *Khûdarak* may be an 'inhabitant of *Khazar*.'

² Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called *K'in* according to a passage in some MSS. of *Tabarî's Chronicle*, quoted in Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 298. See also *Bund. XII*, 22.

³ The *Kâbuli* and Byzantine *Rûman* are plain enough; not so the *Sôfti* and *Karmak* (*Kalmak* or *Krimak*).

⁴ That is, the *Tûrks*, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidentally, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

⁵ Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter¹, and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad² arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart² thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

¹ The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

² Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator¹!'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)² with the *sacred twigs* (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred twigs*, *though* not as in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-âd-yazam (Av. ithâ âd yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)³ and one Ashem-vohû⁴, and has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâzdah-hômâst⁵ with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

¹ This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

² Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

³ The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁵ For the following explanation of the various kinds of hômâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hômâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hô-mâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tistar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is revered for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hômâst, 'one hô-mâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha-hymns are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-hymns consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâstiyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hôrnâst,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hôrnâst,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve afore-said and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôsr, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is revered as in the last.

The celebration of hôrnâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparâd, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven¹ towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will* be ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Padashkhvârgar², and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever³ of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

¹ So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than sibâ, 'seven.'

² The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

³ This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yênhê hâtâm âad, yêsnê paitî,
vanghô mazdau ahurô vaêthâ, ashâd hakâ,
yaunghâmâ, tâskâ tausâ yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence ; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus : ‘O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one*! whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair¹, of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.’

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus : ‘O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened² sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath³ there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh⁴ of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân⁵;’ Mâh-

¹ The Pâz. MSS. insert, ‘and black clothing’ here.

² Literally, ‘black-marked,’ or possibly, ‘black standard.’

³ The Pâz. MSS. add, ‘the leathern-belted Tûrks,’ that is, people of Turkistân.

⁴ This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or ‘ecclesiasticism’ (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

⁵ I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arû-mâyîk), and Rôshan¹ said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile², *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâspîh of Kili-syâkîh, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand³, some have said⁴ the Frât⁵ river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân; they are Greeks by strict reckoning⁶,

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcilable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

² The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

³ Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

⁴ Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said; this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

⁵ The Euphrates.

⁶ Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking*-holes (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath¹ in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader² is an extending enemy of the Tûrk³ and even the Karm⁴, be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkîh come forth with simultaneous movement⁵, and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (ârdîh), O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs⁶, when through

may be sâkht gumâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

¹ It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

² Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

³ The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

⁴ Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kurd and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kurd is meant.

⁵ Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasîsnîh.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kaî-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp¹, miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest"²), some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this³ place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak⁴. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar⁵, owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp⁶, on the deep Lake Kêkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating⁷,' 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

¹ See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

² See Bund. XXIV, 16.

³ Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

⁴ The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

⁵ See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Elsewhere called Gûsnasp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûrasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

⁷ The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûhar-mazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium¹.

with the word *kithra*, which means both *pêdâk*, 'clear,' and *tôkhmak*, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym *mâyakîk*, which can be written exactly like *mâhîk*. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of *Paðashkhvârgar*.

¹ This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22-III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was $90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016$ years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A.D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A.D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one*! when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish¹?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, *and* Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân².

14. It is when he comes to his conference *with me*³, Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of Kînistân⁴, *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A.D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A.D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A.D. 593–635 to A.D. 1593–1635.

¹ The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

² See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

³ The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

⁴ Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand¹, some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd² *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâd³ is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and Kîni⁴, having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed⁵ as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambö⁶—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within *its* bank,

¹ Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. varekhanghand, compare Pers. varg), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Tistrya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayânians, the Kayânians themselves, and the hero Thrîta. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn; but see §§ 32, 49.

² A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

³ The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahis (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

⁴ That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

⁵ Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâgend or tâvend. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17-44, except one or two isolated phrases.

⁶ Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)¹ and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,' some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Padashkhvârgar², some have said from the Hirâtis³ and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân⁴; and from those directions '*every* supplicant for a child⁵ comes into⁶ view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Padashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee⁷ that they call both Kurd and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambö, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

¹ Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

² That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

³ Reading Hiriyan, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânö), or defiles (khalakânö), of Kôhistân.'

⁴ See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

⁵ That is, every man able to bear arms.

⁶ Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

⁷ See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kurd or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army¹ of Shêdâspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand², wage three battles, one in Spêd-razûr³ and one in the plain of Nîsânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv⁴ the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners⁵ is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton⁶; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes⁷ of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

and whom they call both Kurd and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

¹ Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

² That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvand). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

³ See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

⁴ Marv in the present Turkistân.

⁵ Referring to § 17.

⁶ Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

⁷ Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dîdak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the drugô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Arezûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time¹, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created².

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear³, *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous⁴ unto Kangdez⁵, which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh⁶ formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mîyân⁷ son of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht⁸ *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

¹ Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

² The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

³ See Chap. II, 36.

⁴ The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

⁵ See Bund. XXIX, 10.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25.

⁷ A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-maînô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

⁸ This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînvagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dinkard, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

'The Hâdôkht as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zarâtûst, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate at the celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight(?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle *division* *has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *Kakâd-i-Dâtik*¹ to Kangdez, which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *Kîtrô-mîyân* son of Vistâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the *Dvâzdah-hômâst*, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words*: "*Hûmat, hûkht, hûvarst*"², and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the *Hâdôkht* which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division* has nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent *Hâdôkht*, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratûst. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. *ashem vohû vahistem astî*).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Yast fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the *Dînkard*. For a description of *Dvâzdah-hômâst* see Chap. II, 59.

¹ See Bund. XII, 7.

² That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâdôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")¹, which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvadađ, and Amerôdađ, and the ceremonial (yazisn) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvadađ and Amerôdađ, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)² demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzân-Mitrô³, to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*⁴; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear⁵, and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkaîryâd⁶ with the archangels, and I issue

¹ See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

² See Chap. II, 37.

³ Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3-9, SZS. XI, 8-10.

⁴ Supplying the word sêdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. II, 36.

⁶ Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm¹ the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*² to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written³.

33. 'Out of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth⁴, thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâsiyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander⁵ the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce⁶."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

¹ The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

² This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

³ Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

⁴ Or, 'stand up with honesty!'

⁵ The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

⁶ From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêzar's millennium, about A. D. 1593-1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrân-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (*yazisn*), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell¹. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river²; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm³ ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

¹ Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

² The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

³ Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads¹, and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives² away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrzin-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory³ of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family⁴ of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar⁵.

¹ The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

² Merely a guess, as the verb *varafsêd* is difficult to understand.

³ K20 has *nismô*, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written *gadman*, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

⁴ Reading *dûdak* instead of *rûdak*, as in Chap. II, 47.

⁵ The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600¹, and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, *and* receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse², thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the *Dînkard* very much as they are found in the Persian *Rivâyats*. The *Dînkard* states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

¹ There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the *Dînkard* asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A.D. 593-635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A.D. 1193-1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19-22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253-1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593-1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

² The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh *and* Vidadafsh, Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras¹."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Vargâvand² and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû³ son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control⁴ the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

¹ The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

² It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

³ See §§ 25-30.

⁴ This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*¹ till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh² the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin³; and Pêshyô-tanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (*rad*) of the world⁴. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife⁵.

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite⁶ on to the moun-

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

² See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

³ Av. *azîkithra*; such creatures are mentioned in Arđavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56-61).

⁴ As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

⁵ The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

⁶ The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand¹, which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when² this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed³?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk⁴ stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and* *his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot⁵, and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

¹ Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

² Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

³ The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

⁴ Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

⁵ The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp¹; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet Az-i Dahâk. 61. And² Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him*; afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium³. 62. Then Sôshyans⁴ makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânö)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

¹ Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pêsyânsâi (see Bund. XXIX, 7-9).

² Reading *afas* instead of *minas* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

³ The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkard and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshêdar (see note on § 43).

⁴ See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are :—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-kharđ, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-sparam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are :—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A. D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A. D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A. D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am¹.

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad² that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

¹ See the note on B. Yt. I, o.

² Referring to Vend. IV, 54-114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanô, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54-57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôîrist¹, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar². 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (*avar-khûrshêdîh*) and in the forenoon (*kâîfîh=kâstîh*) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (*rêsh*). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâi and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâi occurs in Pahl.Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

¹ Also written avôîrist, avîrist, aîvîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

² Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, areduš, hvara, and tanuperetha (*pere-tôtanu* or *peshôtanu*). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person*; Avôîrist, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*; when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâi as "smiting," and Yât as "going to," and the soul of man ought to be withstanding, as a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. In like manner Âgerept, Avôîrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, and are called by the names of weights and measures in the same manner. Of *peshôtanus tanûm pairyêtê* the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*gûgan*)¹; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (*tâzânö*), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham²; an Aredûs is thirty *stîrs*³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâi is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs⁴.

the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* where-with it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

¹ The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called *δραχμή* and *στατήρ*.

² The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1-3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read *vîhast* (as an irregular form of *vîst*, 'twenty') instead of *vêš-ast*, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 88) from the Rivâyât MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyât makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

³ All MSS. have Aredûs *sî* 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

⁴ All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith¹ there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114-122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58-114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Ava-oirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hvara*), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

¹ In M6 pôryôdkêshîh, but pôryôdkêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryôdkaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardîn Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsp¹ spoke otherwise than the teaching² (*kâstak*) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd³, and Sôshyans⁴ *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâi⁵, and Mêdôk-mâh⁶ *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsp⁷, and Afarg⁸ *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

¹ One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsp.

² Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

³ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

⁴ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20-22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôs by Pâzand writers.

⁵ This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

⁶ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mêdyôk-mâh or Mâîdôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Vagarkard-i Dînik professes to have been compiled by Mêdyôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

⁷ Gôsp in M6.

⁸ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six¹ teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

¹ Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâd, son of Dâd-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâdmard nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâd Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâd-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâd-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhō thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtânō-bûgêd in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kîrmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtanō-bûgêd in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâd or Mâh-vindâd in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mard-bûd in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâd-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâpûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrîdō (possibly the Bakht-âfrîd of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third *fargard* ('chapter') of the *Vendidad* of *Mêdôk-mâh* ¹ *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort ², at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the *Nasûs* ³ rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the *Nasûs* is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the *Nasûs* ⁴, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound ⁵, and the *rûkûnîk* ⁶;

the *Nîrangistân*. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

¹ Alluding probably to *Mêdôk-mâh*'s complete commentary on the *Vendidad* (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of *Sag-dîd* or dog-gaze, does not mention *Mêdôk-mâh* or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

² Reading *amat barâ zôr gân dâd*. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that *barâ* may be a miswriting of *pavan* (see p. 176, note 5), we might read *amat pavan zôr shûyâd*, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

³ The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38-48). The carcase of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (*Nasûs* or *Nas* of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111-228, IX, 4-117.

⁴ This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁵ See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian *Rivâyats* of *Kâmâh Bahrah* and *Kâûs Kâmân* (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (*gharîb*) dog, and the puppy.'

⁶ Probably the *Av. sukuruna* of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rûkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd¹ asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*². 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw³ on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*⁴. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture⁵; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*⁶.

is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rûkunîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

¹ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

² This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the Nasûs is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

⁵ These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (dâlman) for the vulture.

⁶ This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men¹, both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*², and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma³. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

¹ This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

² A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1-145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bare-shnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum paiti-hin~~k~~ôis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

³ The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(paḍvîshak)¹ two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper². 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

¹ Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of paḍvîshak (Av. paiti + vish) is plain enough.

² That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter¹, or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up², for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death³. 10. When clouds have been around⁴, it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside⁵, *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh⁶ says that there should be a shelter (var)⁷ *one* should

¹ In the terms avî-dashtânô and avî-nasâî the compound av is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

² K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

³ That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

⁴ Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare hâmûn with Pers. âmûn (âman), amân, or hâman.

⁵ Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

⁶ See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

⁷ From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. gullah, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below¹; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargard of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh² they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground³, the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûnikê), in like manner down unto the water⁴. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted⁵;

an umbrella (avargash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

¹ Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read a vîr, 'very,' instead of agîr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² Quoting again from his lost commentary.

³ Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

⁴ This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

⁵ K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûî) are *to be treated* just like stone¹.

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)², when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)³ in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet⁴ to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîtâ⁵ *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

¹ This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

² Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

³ See note on Chap. III, 32.

⁴ The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

⁵ Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rîd-aê instead of rîtâ-î.

for the size of the body as far as the water ; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down ; it is allowable when they dig *it* up¹, and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down ; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright and shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen².

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

¹ That is, the floor of the apartment ; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

² The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâtî). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it is* a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body¹. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd)².

30. When a corpse (nasâtî-1)³, from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbö) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted⁴. 32. When *it is*

¹ K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

² The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

³ Nasâtî (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

⁴ Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil¹, and dead matter (na sâi), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry² it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlîsn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry³.

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

¹ Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called *dabar*, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

² Assuming that *khûskar* stands for *khûsk-kar*, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

³ Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (*khûskar*).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter¹ comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted².

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes³ away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse⁴, even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

¹ Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

² That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

³ The verb *vidardanō* (Huz. *vabrûntanō*), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. *vi + tar*, Pers. *gudhastan*), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb *mûrdanō* (Huz. *yemîtûntanō*), 'to die, to expire' (Av. *mar*, Pers. *murdan*), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

⁴ Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan¹ said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdîh)² the wall³. 40. To bring the fire within⁴ the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death⁵. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

² Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurda Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

³ The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

⁴ That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

⁵ A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month¹. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)², too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)³ and butter (gum)⁴ *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer⁵ clothing Vand-Aûharmazd⁶ said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer⁷ (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungî-nak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

¹ According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

² Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

³ The Av. gâus gîvya, '*product of the living cow*,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hô-m-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

⁴ Compare Pers. kûm, 'fat'; it is the Av. gâus hudhau, '*product of the well-yielding cow*,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

⁵ Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

⁶ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

⁷ There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted ; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted ; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâkê), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires¹ alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth².

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire³ become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar⁴ through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it*; and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân ; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

¹ Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

² See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

³ Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution¹ inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his* body *and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin².

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tikhak amâr) when the life departs³; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta⁴, the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one*; the curse (gazisn)⁵ which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans⁶ said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs⁷; a priest, a

¹ That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâvîh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

² Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

³ Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

⁴ Referring to Vend. V, 82-107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

⁵ Meaning, probably, the Nasûs, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82-107.

⁶ See Chap. I, 3.

⁷ That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1-4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanô-bûgêd¹ said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanô-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâi)² it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog³ cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)⁴ is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanô-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

² The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

³ As Vend. V, 108-112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

⁴ The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hām-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when¹ *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh² indirect pollution cleaves to *one* in the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape³ and a menstruous woman, not acting the same way, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight⁴; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*⁵ is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasâi) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

² Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

³ Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

⁴ That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcasses of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

⁵ The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death¹ at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasâi); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*kâr va tûbânö*) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it* is a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much², and *for* the death and sickness³ of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means⁴, for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted⁵, and are to be washed for them with ceremony (*pîsak*)⁶. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all⁷ by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

¹ That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (*marg-argân*).

² Reading *ves* as equivalent to *vêš*.

³ Reading *râkhtakîh* (compare Pers. *rakhtah*, 'sick, wounded').

⁴ This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

⁵ This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

⁶ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

⁷ This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)¹ a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar² *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake³; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr⁴ for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all⁵—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

¹ The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

² See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

³ See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁵ See § 66.

72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by¹, or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless².

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)³; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)⁴ they have been of different opinions,

¹ Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

² This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

³ Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtûm, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written vadtûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîdûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêdman, a possible variant of bêdâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. bendvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôsp¹ said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânö)², and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever³; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot⁴; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one. 77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside⁵; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth⁶. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

³ See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66.

⁵ See Vend. VI, 80.

⁶ That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry away with *the dead matter* ¹.

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out ². 80. Sôshyans ³ said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when ⁴ he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar ⁵. 81. Kûshtanô-bûgêd ⁶ said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it* *he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsrasp ⁷ said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside ⁸, for it makes the clothing

¹ The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65-71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

² See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

³ See Chap. I, 3.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ See Chap. I, 3.

⁸ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so¹; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for².

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (*min zak frâg*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, *Mard-bûd*³ said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; *Rôshan* said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable⁴; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

¹ So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

² That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

³ It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but *Mard-bûd* occurs in the *Nirangistân* as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

⁴ See *Pahl. Vend.* VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger², and that has not come *on it as* a danger. 89. Mêdôk-mâh¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted³. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness⁴ he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mêdôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

⁴ These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (*pûḍak*), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (*gômêz*), and with dust and moisture (*nambō*) *they* are clean¹. 93. And *they* are to be torn off² by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one *Tanâpûhar*.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not³ allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless⁴, this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose⁵ (*barâ vishûpênd*), and of that on which the excretions (*hîkhar*) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away⁶, and the rest is to be

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

² Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. *neskhûntanō* must be traced to Chald. ܢܚܬܐ 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent *vîkhtanō* (Av. *vig*) ought to be compared rather with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to bruise or break,' than with *bêkhtan* or *pêkhtan*, 'to twist.'

³ This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

⁵ Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of *vishûpênd* appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

⁶ As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*¹. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mah-mânîh)² is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta³. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômêz), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun⁴; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armêst)⁵ who has not performed

¹ Khshvâs-mâûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshvas maunghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

² See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

³ That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

⁴ See Vend. VII, 35.

⁵ A Persian gloss defines armêst as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armêst, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armêst (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rî) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armêst as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on it¹, is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (*tadak*); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth*; and woven clothing is to be washed six times².

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests³ upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (*mêsh*) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted.

101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (*bûp*) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (*namad*) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102.

When several cushions are heaped (*nikîd*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together*

with wool⁴ is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug⁵

104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean⁶.

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

² As mentioned in a note on § 95.

³ 'Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as *nasâf* means both or either of them.

⁴ That is, laid upon wool.

⁵ See § 101.

⁶ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her¹; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pîsak-shinâs), ashes² and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*³, although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan⁴ said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâdîyâvîh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter⁵, its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

¹ That is, she cannot be purified.

² Reading var (see note on § 49).

³ Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

⁴ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean¹. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean². 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times³. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvġînak)⁴ it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâi) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârîd)⁵, amber, the

¹ The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

² This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

³ See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

⁵ Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise¹, the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood²; and when they are taken into use there is no washing³, and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-breadths⁴—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it*; and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans⁵ said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: ‘The

¹ This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, ‘turquoise,’ in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for ‘ivory.’ But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, ‘snowy,’ and the reading there seems to be ‘jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;’ so here the original meaning may have been ‘snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.’

² Vend. VII, 188 says that ‘earthen or wooden or porcelain *vessels* are impure for everlasting.’

³ Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

⁴ That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-breadths, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72–82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing ¹.
 119. About corn ² they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits ³, or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (*afsid*) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsp ⁴ said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut ⁵, through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (*pôst va mazg*) is just like *that of* wood.

121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk ⁶ is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (*âstak*) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

¹ Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

² According to Vend. VII, 83-93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

³ Reading *dên gôpân farôstak*; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is *dên gôpân âvist*, 'concealed in pits.'

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

⁶ The word is *kûrâpak* or *kûrâzak*, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâvisnō) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâ-misnō) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron¹. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rikâr) there is no washing².

CHAPTER III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted³. 2. When a bed-chamber (shâd-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two⁴, *and*

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâv) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâ-visnō) with the citron.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

³ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

⁴ This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use.

3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever¹.

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose², first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*kambar*), and then the *outer* garments (*gâmak*) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes³.

6. When she knows for certain (*aêvar*) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (*gûharî-danö*) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation⁴, a prayer is to

¹ §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

² Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the *dashtânistân*, or place of retirement for the unclean.

³ Reading *mask* va *salmîhâ*, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be *maskö*, 'musk,' and the other can be read *sharmgâh*, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

⁴ The *dashtânistân*, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps ($39\frac{1}{2}$ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*¹. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained² *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (*avîgûmân*), and now *she* is certain³. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, and a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her⁴.

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (*pâdî-yâv*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (*apâdîyâv*) by *her* look⁵, and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (*khânak-î babâ*), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1-10).

¹ This kind of prayer (*Av. vâk*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. *vâg*, Pers. *bâz*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or *vâg* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

² K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

³ The meaning is, however, uncertain.

⁴ The Pahlavi text is as follows: *Amat vâg yakhsenunêd, pê-sînkâr* (Pers. *pêsyâr*) *barâ yâtûnêd*, as *vâg gûftanô kâr lôit mamasas nask-i pavan kamisn yemalelunisnô*. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâđiyâv)¹; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman²; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâđiyâvdân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding³ and garments of any one, Sôshyans⁴ said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

² Or, possibly, ham nêsmān may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (gavîd-vasnō), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading gavîd-vasnō (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

³ Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tîhîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter¹.

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasâî), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadaś), from the forty days² onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing³. 18. When she *has* become *free*

¹ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

² The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2-4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135-159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

³ The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good¹.

19. Of leucorrhœa (*kîharak*)², when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (*dastôbarag hâe*), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards³ the fire; and while she washes a prayer (*vâg*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her⁴, and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (*gômêz*), is not proper till *then*; and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation⁵, and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

¹ In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25-28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

² Av. *kîthra*, see explanation of *kîharak-hômand* (Av. *kîthra-vand*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

³ Dastûr Jâmâspji reads *val bavan-i âtâsh*, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

⁴ See § 6, note.

⁵ Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (*nasâi yehevûntanö*) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say¹, moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony².

25. And for any one³ who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs⁴. 26. And for whom-ever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs⁵.

27. Of a menstruous woman who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân⁶, and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself⁷ *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes⁸ and *water* goblet⁹. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

¹ Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

² See Chap. II, 65.

³ Reading *aîs* instead of *adînas*, 'then for him.'

⁴ That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

⁵ According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a *peshôtanu* (Pahl. *tanâpûhar*). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

⁶ See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

⁷ Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

⁸ That *libûsyâ* means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is *Huzvâris* for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

⁹ Reading *dûbalak*; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation¹, *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house² in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman³.

31. A tray-cloth (khvânö gâmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pataskhûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper⁴.

32. When *one*⁵ wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)⁶, when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

¹ The demoness Gêh (see Bund. III, 3-9).

² By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâs dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

³ See § 12.

⁴ Fit to use again.

⁵ Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

⁶ The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)¹ from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

¹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâi (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man¹. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels*; and the person (*valman*) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her². 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (*shnûmanê*)³ of the consecration of sacred cakes (*drôn yast*) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her*; some say the *Ithâ and Ashem-vohû*⁴.

CHAPTER IV.

1. A *sacred thread-girdle* (*kûstîk*), should it be made of silk (*parvand*), is not proper; the hair (*pashm*) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the *kûstîk* or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399).

¹ See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

² See Vend. XVI, 11-14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

³ This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on *drôn*, and Chap. VII, 8).

⁴ The *Ithâ* is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the *drôn yast* or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on *drôn*). The *Ashem-vohû* is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the *Yazisn*.

proper, and from *other hairy creatures* (mûyînô) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzik). 2. The least fulness¹ necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-breadths; when *it* is exactly three finger-breadths altogether² from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*³ and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper⁴.

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkô) and figured silk (parnîkânô) is not good for girdling⁵; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood⁶ is proper for shirting (sapîkîh). 5. Four finger-breadths of shirt⁷ is the measure of *its* width *away*

¹ Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

² Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôêšman-â-rôêšman being Huzvâris for sarâsar.

³ That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâz or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

⁴ The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

⁵ This word, ayîbyâêg, hânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwyazunghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

⁶ Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

⁷ The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (*parîk*); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened ¹, are not proper; when on the separation (*dûr mânak*) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (*kûstîk*), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (*vishâd akîh*)².

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to ³ running about uncovered ⁴.

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered ⁵; *and* the sin of unseasonable

¹ Assuming that *aîtabarîd* stands for *astabarîd*; the Huz. *aît* being substituted for the Pâz. *ast*. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

² That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8-10).

³ K20 has *lâ*, 'not,' instead of *râî*, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

⁴ This sin is called *vishâd-dûbârisnîh*; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

⁵ Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter¹ arises after fifteen years of age². 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar³ *sin*.

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)⁴ *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot⁵ as far as four steps is

¹ This sin is called drâyân-gûyisnîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâg.

² This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a Srôshô-karanâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three steps. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it* is counted from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

⁴ Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

⁵ This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh or khadû-mûk-dûbârisnîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvî). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one¹ movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the *sin* is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnîh); and *there were some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû², and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms³; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

¹ Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

² See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

³ The Av. sraoshô-karana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-karanâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decease occurs, his renunciation of *sin* is accomplished¹.

CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter² that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a *Srôshô-karanâm* there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl.Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a *Farmân*, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a *Farmân*, and the *Farmân* is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three *Srôshô-karanâms* as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a *Srôshô-karanâm*, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the *Srôshô-karanâm* is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. *sraoshô-karana* it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one *Srôshô-karanâm* is mentioned in Pahl.Vend.VI, 15, three *Srôshô-karanâms* in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five *Srôshô-karanâms* in XVI, 8.

¹ *Patîtkîh*, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the *Patit*, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap.VIII, 1, 2, 8).

² See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent¹, it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father². 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (yastô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû³, and does not say *them*, *it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him⁴; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrîd), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (yazisnô); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*⁵; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms⁶. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop* of urine is not completed⁷. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

¹ That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

² Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ See Chap. III, 35.

⁴ Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

⁶ Probably a Farnân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

⁷ Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâg) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg¹ said this degree is slighter; Mêdôk-mâh¹ said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to² saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mêdôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)³ does not become Gêto-kharîd⁴; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)⁵ for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it*; and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion⁶.'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter⁷; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

³ During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

⁴ Generally written Gêti-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

⁵ The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

⁶ Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

⁷ By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

‘ithâ’ and ‘ashem-vohû’ it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say ‘ithâ’ it matters not¹.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (armêst)², though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (nafs-man) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst³. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (ahambûniké) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them*; but should commit the sin not really originating with *him*; when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the sin

¹ That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

² That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

³ This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)¹. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-karanâms² more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)³, when his ceremony (yast) is per-

¹ That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Arîâ-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5-12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-karanâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

² Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

³ This appears to be another name for Garôdmân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahist, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII-X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9-12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvarst for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garôdmân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dûs-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dûs-hûkht for evil words, Dûs-hûvarst for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed¹. 4. Sôshyans² said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one³ Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân⁴. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence⁵.'

6. Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that an infidel (ak-dînô)⁷, when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

¹ That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

² See Chap. I, 3.

³ Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

⁵ A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (*dâd*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those of* the Sînik congregation¹; of a vile

¹ It is not easy to identify this Sînik *vaskardîh*, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînik (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with Kînistân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *TSîn* is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the *Dînkard* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of *Mas'aûdî*, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '... the Turks, the Khuzlug, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kûsân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of *îrkhân* ("sub-khân?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk¹, the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanö)².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanö) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night³; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînik congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

Kzo has altered sînik vaskarđih into nisînik (or vîdînik) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

¹ A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharmān and the demons.'

² Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanö-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

³ Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvin, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop¹, *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully revered by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be revered again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*², then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun *for* him³.

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stîrs⁴. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁵; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner⁶. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

¹ K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

² That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

³ Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

⁴ That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

⁵ That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

⁶ The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (*dâd*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (*na-sûs*)¹ *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (*shnûman*)² of fire, it is allowable to perform one '*âthrô*' by itself, and, when two *and* the '*mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô*,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere³; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

¹ That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

² A *shnûman* or *khshnûmanô* (Av. *khshnûman*) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and arch-angels who preside over the days of the month constitute the *Sîrôzah*, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

³ The propitiation of fire (as given in *Sîrôz*. I, 9, *Âtar Nyâyis* 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word *âthrô*, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words *mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô*, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish¹ a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed², and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers³ is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

¹ Literally, 'kill.'

² The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

³ Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin relating to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23-26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *K'invað* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (*radân*), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (*avaspôrik*). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (*marg-argân*) is to be confessed (*garzîsnö*) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body¹; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (*farhâng*) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (*nakhêîr kardânö*); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs².

murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be *hamêmâl* sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be *rûbânîk* sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but *hamêmâlân* occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; *hamêmâlîh* in III, 119; and *rûbânîk* in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

¹ By committing a *marg-argân* or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the *rad*, or high-priest.

² This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 *rûpîs*, and that 2 dirhams were $2\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the *rûpî* nor the *tola* were of uniform amount, though now the *rûpî* is exactly a *tola* weight of silver. As the *stîr* was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred *stîrs* would have been 1380 *rûpîs* or 1350 *tolas* of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350-1380 *rûpîs*; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation of *sin*¹, is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (*aêrpat*) does not know *it* the merit (*kirfak*) of the ceremonial goes to the store (*gang*) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (*aêvâkê*) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (*marg-argânö*) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (*dastôbarih*) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him*; and when they inflict punishment for three nights², he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot³, and the three *nights*' (*satûih*) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

¹ That is, in those cases when they do not have the *yazisn* performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

² This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Reading *pavan gînak*; but M6 marks the phrase as *pavan dînak* (for *dînâ*), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûîh) does not affect him ¹. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment ².

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patitîh) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him ³, is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnô) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked ⁴ by him, *and* not to be kept ⁵ secret by him; for when he shall overlook ⁶, or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

¹ That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûîh, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158-160, AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9).

² The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

⁴ Reading avênisnô, but the word can also be read khunînisnô, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

⁵ Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

⁶ Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-karanâms¹; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-karanâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise². 10. Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst³ had remarked (pêdâkînîd) to a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation of sin!' and one⁴ time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*⁵ this, that of those who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

¹ Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

² Or 'many other things.'

³ This Âtarô-pâd-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkard. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâd mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâd used to be.

⁴ Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

⁵ Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang¹ said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same² opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever *a sin* is not even mentally originating with one³ a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (marg-argân) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on⁴ the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell⁵ is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (rad tôgîsn) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (drûbô).'

14. When his sin is committed against (dên)

¹ This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

² K20 has hômanam, 'I am,' instead of ham, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading am, 'I am,' for ham.

³ This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

⁴ Reading pavan, 'on,' instead of barâ, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

⁵ Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers¹ it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mîrak) shall not become evil-minded², and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring³ *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (radân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked⁴; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâvênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul⁵, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanö-bûgêd⁶ said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

¹ Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

² Reading dûsmînân instead of the unmeaning dûsmîyân of the MSS.

³ Reading yâîtyûnã instead of the unmeaning yâîtam of the MSS.; ã being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

⁴ This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

⁵ That is, rûbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôsaî Bûrz-Mitrô¹ spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as *renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper², *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed*. 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar³ is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁴, it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (man k) 'yazemna⁵ kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note.

² A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

⁵ Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânö) of good works, and the worship of God (yazisn-i yazdânö) is to be performed for him¹. 23. Âtarô-pâd² son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-gân-dâdîhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts³.

¹ It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

² Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkard (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

³ The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry¹ (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)²; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country³. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered⁴ by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh.

p. 42.

¹ Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

² Kzo has girân, 'grievous.'

³ That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) which they perform in a fire-temple¹, when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation *of sin*², the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (*kastik*) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (*padvîshak*), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (*khazânih*).

8. This, too, *is declared*: 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*gînâk*) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað³; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

¹ Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

² K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

³ The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25-29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day¹.

9. In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâzôn Nask² it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

¹ This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

² This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazda-yasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Pâzî or Pâzag; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâgam. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkard before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzî (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be revered.

The fifth fargard, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân):—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânö)¹, *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels² will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (yazisnö), at the beginning of the ceremony³, and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (drôn)⁴, the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

¹ K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

² K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

³ That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Khshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

⁴ This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Khshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3-20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi¹;' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-karethrâm saoshyantâm²,' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vîspau fravashayô ashaonâm yazamaidê³,' and when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept⁴ the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 'tauskâ yazamaidê⁵;' and when they invoke them⁶ at the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dâmanâm⁷, at the twice-told 'aokhtô-nâmanô⁸,' the 'ashâd hakâ⁹,' or the 'yâtumanahê gasaiti¹⁰,'

¹ This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

² Yas. XXVI, 20.

³ Yas. XXVI, 34.

⁴ K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

⁵ The concluding words of the yênhê hâtâm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

⁶ K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

⁷ Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

⁸ Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14-33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hôrnâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

⁹ Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

¹⁰ Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the three-fold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept¹; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nîzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him² to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*³.'

CHAPTER X.

1. The rule⁴ is this, that a *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîk) be three *finger-breadths loose* transversely

¹ K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

² Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

³ This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *êand zak-i shinavâk-z' par andarg avênâk*, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

⁴ Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)¹, as is said in every teaching (kâstak)², and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) on the days devoted to the guardian spirits³, is to be used at the season-festivals, the Nônâbar⁴, the three nights' ceremony⁵, the Hôm-drôn, and other rites of the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do so, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (kâstak) of the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ it says that a man is going to commit rob-

¹ That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

² That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, 'and by every teaching it is proper.'

³ These fravardîkân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

⁴ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

⁵ The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

⁶ This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Nîkâdûm; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work :—

The beginning of the law (dâd) is the Nîkâdûm of thirty far-gards. The section Patkâr-radîstân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (yazisnō-i yazdânō) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend Nask¹ that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, Zadamistân ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, Rêshistân ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, Hamêmâlistân ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn Nask, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the Dînkard.

¹ This was the thirteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called Sfind in the Rivâyats. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The Spend is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of Zaratûst; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv¹, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)² with a hundred and fifty³ demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone *seat* (magôk)⁴; and lest they should make a wet *place* by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad⁵ the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûhar-mazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

¹ The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbô and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvô, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

² K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

³ M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

⁴ Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

⁵ Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot¹, that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta² for making water is to be uttered, *and* then *it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin³ for *him*, and when he does not utter *it* *he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs⁴ which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend⁵ *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is to be uttered.

measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

¹ This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

² This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), three Hukhshathrôtêmâis (Yas. XXXV, 13-15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtâm (see B. Yt. II, 64).

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ The three chapters (Yas. XLII-XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV).

⁵ A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70-77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Aresûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

⁶ See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the *Stûdgar Nask*¹ it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (*têkh*), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (*vahîk*), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*kîharâz*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (*kâskînak*) bird, and of birds *that* of the kite, eagle (*hûmâi*), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men², who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (*pîsak*)³.

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (*marđûm*) who *has* passed away,

¹ See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dînkard: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

² This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

³ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such a *prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus : 'Whenever a trespass (*vinâs*) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account of *it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other ; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me¹.'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots²; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (*mûgak*) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*³, except when he knows for certain (*aêvar*) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog⁴.

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the *Dûbâsrûgêd Nask*⁵, where a day in the year is indicated,

¹ That is, I pardon them in charity.

² Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' *avmûgak*; this seems to be something different from the sin of *aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh*, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

³ Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

⁴ And, therefore, still containing the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome *Bareshnûm* ceremony.

⁵ This was the sixteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete *Mazdayasnian* literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Dûbâsrûgêd* or *Dûbâsrûd*; but according to the *Dînf-vagarkard*, which calls it *Dvâsrûzd*, and the *Rivâyats*, which call it *Dvâsrûgad*, *Dvâsrûngad*, or *Dvâsrûb*, it was the eighteenth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînf-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread-girdle* of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child¹, on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*², *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one³.

in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the *Dûbâsrûgd* the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called *Pasûs-hôrvistân* ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called *Stôristân* ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, *Argistân* ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, *Aratêstâristân* ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

¹ K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

² See Chap. III, 6.

³ Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the *vâg* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour : five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavâarak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze¹. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman ; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child ; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin² for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes³, and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death ; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

¹ Literally, 'make the fire high.'

² See Chap. I, 1, 2.

³ Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41-43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to a *sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad¹, *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards to the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)², for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter³.

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*kakar*)⁴ discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth of *the* Nask Hûspâram⁵

¹ This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99-112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

² This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahis, or 'Bûndahis of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

³ The Sad-dar Bûndahis says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13-16.

⁴ This might mean a *kakar*, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

⁵ As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargard, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus : ‘My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.’

sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents ; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug’s Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work :—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpâristân (‘the priest’s code’), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân (‘religious formula code’), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân (‘quality code’), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargard’s, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one’s own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargard’s, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâdûm Nask¹, the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask² it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask³ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered⁴, and *in* like manner when he

the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

¹ See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dinkard.

² See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

³ See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dinkard. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

⁴ Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads¹.

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask² that Zaratûst *has*

¹ Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-karanâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 gûgân sang nê m zîs pûr sang yehevûnêd, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-karanâm would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

² This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâdûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on new-born infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Hakîdâkânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zarātūst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart¹, is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled² (*gûyisnō*), for in mumbling (*gûdanō*) the parts of the Ahunavar³ are more chattering⁴. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*⁵

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this *Nask*, as the *Dînkard* says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zarātūst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

¹ Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

² Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

³ The formula commencing with the words *Yathâ ahû vairyô* (see *Bund.* I, 21); its parts or *bagha* are the phrases into which it may be divided (see *Yas.* XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

⁴ Reading *drâitar*, 'more clamorous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be *darâktar*, 'more rending,' or *girâitar*, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

⁵ *M6* has *Bak*. This was the third *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Bakô*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 127. In the *Dînkard*, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two *fargard*s, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the *Dînkard*. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar¹—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*—and shall let *it* escape² again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12-15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX-XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

¹ The text is corrupted into *min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist*, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert *min* into *mûn*, *bêstârîh* into *bâkhtârîh*, and *drûgist* into *drengâd*. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word *bâkhtârîh* or *bakhtârîh*, appears to have understood the Av. *bagha* in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

² Reading *rânînêd* or *rahînêd*. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the *vâg* or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kîdrast Nask*¹ that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûshîhar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

¹ This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Kîdrastô* or *Kîdrôstô*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*:—

The *Kîdrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, Gâyômarz, how the first pair, Mashya and Mashyôî, arose, with their progeny, till the region of Khvanîras was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The Pêsdâdîan dynasty of Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrûpô, and Yim, the evil reign of Dahâk, descended from Tâz, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Arabs, then Frêdûn who divided Khvanîras between his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk, who married the daughters of Pâtsrôbô (compare Pahl. Vend. XX, 4) king of the Arabs, then Mânûshîhar, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk, the penal reign of Frâsîyâv ruler of Tûrân, then Aûzôbô the Tûmâspian, descendant of Mânûshîhar, then Kaî-Kavâd and the penal reign of Karsâspô. The Kayânian dynasty of Kaî-Us, Kaî-Khûsrôb son of Sîyâvakhsh, with many tales of the specially famous races of Iran, Tûrân, and Salmân, even to the reigns of Kaî-Lôharâsp and Kaî-Vistâsp. The apostle Zaratûst, and the progress of time and events from the reign of Frêdûn till Zaratûst's conference with Aûharmazd. The race of Mânûshîhar, Nôdar, and others. Avarethrabau's (see Fravardîn Yt. 106) father, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

As Mânûshîhar is several times mentioned there are several places in this Nask where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of Spendarmad, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (ham-pûrsîh).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandêd) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (hangîdâr-dahîsnîh); because in the Ratûstâtîh *Nask*¹ many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence*.

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

¹ This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Ratûstâtî; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratustât. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The Ratûstâtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith¹ *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock², especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it³ a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad⁵ seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33-42, 52).

³ Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

⁴ The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

⁵ Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2-4).

nation (nisrûst)¹ does not rush upon him ; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*².

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse ; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted³.

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*⁴ ; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over⁵.

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtîh) among women⁶, and when she is consecrating⁷ the sacred

¹ See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

² In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

³ This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

⁴ That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

⁵ So in K20 ; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

⁶ But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

⁷ M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû¹ is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avigînakö).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô²' is not to be said.

38. At night, when³ *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water⁴.

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd *son of* Mâraspend⁵ said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil⁶ and also the clothing are to be well

¹ See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

² These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁴ Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Ôîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

⁵ See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

⁶ The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

PART II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*¹.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these², such as a Farmân, Srôshô-karanâm, Âgerept, Aivîrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads³; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1-4.)

¹ This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

² §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-karanâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha-karanâm in both these sections.

³ Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-*karanâm* is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-*karanâms* are the weight of four dirhams and two mads¹; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs²; an Aivîrist is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâi is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (*garôdmân*)⁴ the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep⁵ is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (*gâvûs-dâk*)⁶ is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

¹ That is, one Srôshô-*karanâm* is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-*karanâm* is one-third of a Farmân.

² Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

³ Written Aredûs 30 sî, 'an Aredûs is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

⁵ Or 'goat.'

⁶ Av. *gâus hudhau*, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's¹ own; the neck is Ashavahist's² own; the head is the angel Vâê's³ own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's⁴, the left is Drvâsp's⁵; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*⁶ of Vistâsp, and the left *for the guardian spirit* of Gâmâsp⁷; the back is *for the supreme chief*⁸; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarmad's⁹; the testicles¹⁰ are *for the star* Vanand¹¹; the kidneys are

¹ Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX-XI, Bund. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

² The same as Ardavahist (see Bund. I, 26).

³ M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

⁴ Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîsûr in the Bundahis, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

⁵ Av. Drvâspa of the Gôs Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gôsûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gôs, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vistâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

⁷ Av. Gâmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vistâsp.

⁸ Ratpôk berêzad stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aôharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

⁹ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26).

¹⁰ The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

¹¹ Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôîring's¹; the ventricle (naskadakö)² is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance³ of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's⁴; the fore-legs (bâzâi) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâi-fravard's⁵; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakö) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spîtâmân⁶; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd'⁷ the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon⁸; and any⁹ *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other arch-angels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there* have been *those* who *may have done so* about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

¹ Ursa Major, called Haptôk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

² Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *kustah*, given in the modern MS. M9; but nas-kadakö may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

³ Reading sar-âyisnô, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. *thraosta* (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not srâyisnô, 'chanting.'

⁴ Av. *mâthra spenta*, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into Mahraspand or Mâraspend, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

⁵ A personification of the Av. *ashaonām fravashayô*, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see Fravardîn Yt. I, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called Fravardîn.

⁶ This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

⁷ The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

⁸ Or its angel, Mâh, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

⁹ M6 has *va aê-maman* = *va aêk* (Pers. *îk*, 'any'); K20 has *kolâ maman*, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy¹. 6. When *one* shall offer up² *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôh's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm frerenaod³,' &c.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's *form of* worship (yast)⁴ is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith⁵ is, when the girdle (aîpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)⁶ of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of* worship that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

¹ Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

² K20 has 'shall give up.'

³ It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words *frerenaod* and *hizvô*, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17-19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

⁴ A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*¹, that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form* of worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest² so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul³; as it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*⁴ that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence⁵, not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire⁶ in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (âv-dîdanö) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men⁷; and the chilled charcoal (angist) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

¹ See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

² K20 omits this repetition.

³ That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

⁴ See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the Nask, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

⁵ See Chap. VI, 3.

⁶ K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

⁷ K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the Spend *Nask*¹ *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless² as much as the smallest mouth-veil³, for it says in the Vendidad⁴ that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the food-bowl (*padmânakö*)—that is, a bag (*anbâ-nakö-hanâ*)⁵'—the decree is this, that *it* is a Tanâ-

¹ See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the Nask which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratûst.

² Probably a negative is omitted, or *akârînîdanö* should be translated 'to make no use of.'

³ See Chap. X, 40. K20 has 'garment.'

⁴ Always written *Vadîkdâd* in this second part of Sls., except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *Gavîd-dêf-dâd* or *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is Pahl. Vend. V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

⁵ Standing for *anbânak-aê*, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form *andanakö-1*, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian Rivâyats state that three bags (*kîsah*) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*¹ at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad² it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)³.

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*⁴, still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ *it* is revealed that when they sever (te-brûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

¹ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

² This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdâk Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

³ Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

⁴ No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1-3).

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun¹; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)².

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsûdak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)³ it turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons⁴; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad⁵.

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth⁶ is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it*; for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram *Naskê*⁷ it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food⁸ for those gifts *and* favours of the

¹ A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garôdmân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

² Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

³ Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

⁴ See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 29.

⁶ Barman-zerikhûnisnîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

⁷ See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

⁸ Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâus hudhau or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdât) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the Sakâdûm *Nask*¹ grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrîd) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed² in the Spend Nask that *to* Dûkdâv³, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)⁴ with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it*.

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

¹ See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîd) to the angels.'

² M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

³ Here written Dûdkâv.

⁴ Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâdûm *Nask*¹.

13. The rule is this², that from a toothpick the bark³ is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith⁴ who *have* said that, when⁵ they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*kakar*) in cohabitation (*zanîh*), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (*satôr*) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram *Nask*⁶ the high-priests

¹ That is, in the first thirty sections of the *Nask* (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

² §§ 13-16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20-23, with a few variations.

³ The word appears to be *tôpö* or *tûfö*, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of *tôgö* or *tôzö*, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read *tûpar*, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁶ See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who¹ do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition² of many good works at once; because in the Spend³ and Nihâdûm Nasks⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

¹ The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

² M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

³ See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

⁴ See Chap. X, 3, 22.

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

⁶ See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn¹ from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô² notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith⁴ who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar⁵ from the beginning of the feast

¹ K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

² Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-yast. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân avartûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

³ See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht *Nask*¹, that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which is* most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die².

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû³ is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing*; for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers⁴—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control⁵ of ablution (pâdîyâvîh)⁶ and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

¹ See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

² This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

³ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁴ The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaozdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

⁵ Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

⁶ See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad¹ it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayas-nians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)². 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

¹ The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4–6.

² Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret¹ kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâdar rite²; for, on account of the same nicety (nâzûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pês)³; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him⁴, *and* he puts a hand to the cup (gâmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâdâvö)⁵; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmêd) of heaven,

¹ Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

² Yast-i Navashâdar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâdar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

³ M6 has pavan pîsak, 'with ceremony.'

⁴ M6 has 'them.'

⁵ M6 has 'one knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas¹ thus:—‘Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakö); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.’ 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire² of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâyađ); as in the Spend *Nask*³ it was shown to Zarâtûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; and Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it*; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns⁴ by name; he was ruler over thirty-three⁵ districts, and he never practised

¹ The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

² M6 has merely ‘through the good works which are practised by him;’ but K20 has ‘r hamak’ inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, ‘desire,’ in the original from which it was copied.

³ See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zarâtûst, which must have been very similar to the Arđâ-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

⁴ This is, no doubt, the Av. davâs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated ‘hypocrite.’ The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug’s Essays (p. 351): ‘Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davâs) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.’

⁵ K20 has ‘thirty-four.’

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (yast), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêôt-kharîd¹, so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâdôkht *Nask*² it says that a woman (nâîrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (yazisn), when they shall perform *them*, are good works³; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge⁴ *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram *Nask*⁵ it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ yastanô) of the season-festivals⁶, the

¹ Here written gêtôk-kharîd, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

² See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this *Nask*.

³ The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

⁴ That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the *Kinvað* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

⁵ See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called *Nîrangistân*.

⁶ The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1-6).

Rapitvîn¹, the three *nights*² *after a death*, the *days devoted* to the guardian spirits³, and the sun and moon⁴.

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû⁵; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good⁶; *and* in the Stûdgar Nask⁷ it says thus: “What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?” And Aûharmazd said thus: “Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! *and* righteousness⁸.”

CHAPTER XIII.

o. The signification of the Gâthas⁹.

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

¹ The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9-14).

² See Chap. VIII, 6.

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1-5.

⁵ See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

⁶ That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

⁷ See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

⁸ ‘The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness’ would be a Pahlavi equivalent for ‘the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.’

⁹ That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or ‘hymn’ (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

*represent*¹ the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pêš nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—fravarânê *being* the beginning of the Fravarânê² *which extends* as far as frasastayaêkâ³, frastuyê⁴, the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1—XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê⁵, the beginning of the Âstaothwanem⁶ (Yas. XIII, 27—XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanemkâ daênayau Mâzdayasnôis—*also represent* the Visâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô ('the ritual of praisers')⁷, and these three Hâs of the Baghâm (Yas. XIX—XXI).

2. In the exposition (*kashîdak*) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazism the officiating priest tastes the Hôš juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

² Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

³ Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

⁴ M6 has âstuyê.

⁵ M6 omits this word.

⁶ This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27—XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1—XIII, 26.

⁷ Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV—XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yast.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith¹ *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years², and a son and brother of Mazdayas-nians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (radân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge³, and these five Gâthas⁴ are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth *ceremony* (navîd-zâdîh)⁵ is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him⁶; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five⁷ Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Referring to one about to become a priest.

³ The Av. astra and sraoshô-karana of Vend. IV, 38-114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

⁴ The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLII-XLV), the Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

⁵ This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

⁶ That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

⁷ Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (*vaêst*), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind¹.

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*² three times before the coming of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (*hâd*) well, and by line (*gâs*) and stanza, those *apostles* are present³, and the

¹ These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

² This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm are the coming of Hûshêdar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînôg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. tîsrô paoiryô and tîsra paoirya of Visp. XV, 4-6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both pêš (= levînô) and fratûm are used indifferently for Av. paoiryô. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

³ K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (*dâdistân*) of which it speaks in the *Hâdôkht Nask*¹ thus:— ‘*Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?*’ (‘where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?’) ‘Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;’—so that when they pray the *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them*.

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hvaêtumaithi chapter* (Yas. XXXII)² are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the *Vendidad*³ mentions in *its* first fargard.

¹ See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has *mananhê dya vîspâi kaua*, and M6 has *mananhê kya vîsâi kaia*. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, *anaomô*, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the *Nask* which contained this Avesta quotation.

² This *Hâ*, which begins with the words *ahvyâkâ hvaêtus*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into *Khvêtmanô*.

³ Here written *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd* as in Sls. Part I, and not *Va-dîkdâd* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). *Vend. I* contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âis (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels¹ for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônô) of Âû-harmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maê-thanem Ahurahê mazdau, maêthanem ameshanâm spentanâm, maêthanem anyaêshâm ashaonâm². 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Ye-sevistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)³, and the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes⁴, and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi and ashemkâ frâdad⁵ the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

¹ The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

² This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

³ This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôh juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôh twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

⁴ Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

⁵ That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazdaukâ in the first line, and ashemkâ frâdad in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i dadôih.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (*zôt*), and at *sraotâ*¹ *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (*anâîrân*) they may be fuller of breath (*vayô-gîrtar*), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of *Yâ-skyaothanâ* (Yas. XXXIV) are for this reason, because it is given² for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (*bêshâz*) of the *Hâdôkht Nask*³. 11. The four repetitions (*bâr*) of *Mazdâ-ad-môi* (Yas. XXXIV, 15)⁴ are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (*radîh*), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme *Zaratûst*⁵.

12. The two repetitions of *Ahyâ-yâsâ* (Yas. XXVIII, 1)⁶ are for this reason, that the sovereign (*dahyûpat*) may not at once seize body, conscious-

¹ The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read *va vâ-srôdâân*.

² Or 'produced.'

³ In the last division of that *Nask* (see B. Yt. III, 25, note).

⁴ This last stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited four times.

⁵ See Yas. XIX, 50-52. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of *Ragha* (*Rages* or *Raî*, near *Teheran*) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

⁶ This first stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the *Gâthas*), but also at the end of every chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or *gâus gîvya*, 'living-cow produce' (see *Haug's Essays*, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*¹ are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (*mâh-mântar*) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (*apâdakhshâhtar*).

14. In short (*a ê-mar*)², *Ahyâ-yâsâ* is as (*pavan*)³ *Aûharmazd* and the righteous man, *Khshmaibyâ* as *Vohûman* and cattle, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ* as *Arâvavahist* and fire, *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* as *Shatvaîrô*⁴ and metal, the *Hvaêtumaithi* as the *Gâtha* of *Spendarmad* and the earth, *Yathâ-âis* as *Horvada* and water, and *Yâ-skyaothanâ* as *Amerôdad* and plants.

15. The progress which is in⁵ the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Ustavaiti Gâtha* the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Spentâ-mainyû*⁶ *Gâtha* the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vahistô-isti Gâtha* the supreme *Zaratûsts* should carry on; and

¹ After the two *Ahyâ-yâsâs*, at the end of each chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula (see *Bund. I, 21*) is recited four times.

² Or 'to sum up.'

³ It is not quite clear how *pavan*, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see *Chap. XV*).

⁴ Here written *Shatrîvar*.

⁵ Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is occasioned by;' but the exact signification of the word *frâk-shâm* or *frêh-kashâm* (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

⁶ *Spendômat* or *Spendamat* in *Pahlavi*.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing¹, these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (*kardakö*) has nine stanzas; and its beginning² is Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanãm (Yas. XLI, 17 suppl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (*var*) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*³, are effected by *kâ-thrayâim âthraiãm*⁴.

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imãm-âad-zãm (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargard in the Vendidad⁵, are accomplished

¹ That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

² That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

³ See Chap. X, 21; but the *Sakâdûm Nask* (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

⁴ These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *kâthrâyâim âthraiãm*.

⁵ Here written *Vandîkdâd* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—‘The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it¹; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge² and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig³ it up *for* a dead *body*; the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)⁴ upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (vardakîh) upon it, who is righteous.’

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-ad-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (arg-hômandîh) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1-17), the two repetitions of Humatanâm (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13-15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûst⁵.

¹ The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read ‘voids urine upon it,’ in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

² See Bund. XII, 8.

³ Reading kalëndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, ‘they turn to clay’ (compare Pers. gil, ‘clay’); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, ‘they cut,’ and as the sentence stands it would imply that ‘they cut up its dead.’

⁴ See Chap. II, 6.

⁵ The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âad-sairi¹ (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtâm² are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishûdakân). 25. *The two repetitions of*³ Thwôistaotaraskâ (Yas. XLI, 12-14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (yazisnô) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtaremka (Visp. XIX, 1-8)⁴ are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzist⁵.

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the Ustavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII)⁶ it is related just as about the *Hvaêtu-maithi chapter*⁷.

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

¹ M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

² This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

³ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

⁴ Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

⁵ The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8-10).

⁶ The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word ustâ.

⁷ See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (*dâdîstân*) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* again¹, because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of *Ad-fravakhshyâ* (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships² and the five accomplishments (*farhâng*) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others³ all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (*andarag-gûftanö*); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (*dên hâsar*), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge⁴; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

¹ That is, the first line (*tad thwâ peresâ eres môi vaokâ Ahurâ!* 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the *Gâthas*) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

² These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (*radîh*) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

³ Assuming that *aîsan* stands for *aîsân*.

⁴ The *Kînvad* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kām-nemôî-zām (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvêsakânîh)¹, that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsô-frîd')², which it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*³ should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters⁴, and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)⁵. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)⁶ are, one as a retention *and* embrace of Aûharmazd, and one as a destruction of the fiends; *and* Usta-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXI, 1-5)⁷ in like manner.

33. Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) has six stanzas, Yêzî-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâyavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, *and* Kad-môî-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters⁸, and

¹ Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

² Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

³ See Chap. X, 25.

⁴ Those detailed in §§ 27-30.

⁵ Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

⁶ The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines ; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes ¹. 35. The two repetitions of *Spentâ-mainyû* (Yas. XLVI, 1) ² are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (*spendamat*), and one for that of the earth ³.

36. One *Spentem-Ahurem-mazdām* (Visp. XXII, 1-11) ⁴ is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above ⁵.

38. The two repetitions of *Vohû-khshathrem* (Yas. L, 1) ⁶ are, one the laudation of living (*zîndakîh*), and one of the supreme *Zaratûst*.

39. One *Vohû - khshathrem yazamaidê* (Visp. XXIII, 1-9) ⁷ is for the laudation of *Shatvairô* ⁸, and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of *Avi-*

¹ See §§ 9, 11.

² The first stanza of the *Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that *Gâtha* (see § 12, note).

³ It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded *Spendamat*, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel *Spendarmad* who has special charge of the earth ; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms *spenta mainyu* and *spenta ârmaiti*, respectively.

⁴ Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁵ See § 6.

⁶ The first stanza of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXIII, 1-9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14-19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written *Shatrîvar*.

apâm (Visp. XXIV, 1-12)¹ are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are ² . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-i-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)³, for *there is* always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *kathrus hamayaû khshapô dahmayâd parô âfritôid*⁴, 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh⁵, twice Bûshâsp⁶, and once Aêshm⁷ will come

¹ After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1-9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1-12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

² Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

³ Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

⁴ This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

⁵ See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

⁶ The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

⁷ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)¹. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (padmân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXVI)³ are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)⁴ are for the existence of more submission (aîrmânîh) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those⁵ *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (karḍakö) whose beginning is Tād-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1-9)⁶ is, for the completion

¹ Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

² The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

³ Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LI in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

⁴ So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

⁵ M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

⁶ This is the Fshûshô-mâthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsânîk kâst).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâkak), 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûrdak¹. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

¹ The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârîk and khûrdak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârîk usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâkak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârîk must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâd-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârîk at 6666. The khûrdak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haêkad-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three¹ lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-i (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing² is 278 stanzas³.

CHAPTER XIV⁴.

o. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship⁵, what and how many *things* are not proper?

¹ All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-i to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahistôisti; which blunder is here corrected.

² Reading kadmon yehevûnisnô, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûnisnô; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

³ The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

⁴ This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1–4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1–3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

⁵ That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this :—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâdiyâv)¹, or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs ; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north² *and* utters the Avesta attentively ; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (kâshnîk), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâûs-dâê)³, *but* from the frasast ; or takes the prayer (vâg)⁴ *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake ; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in excess, and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the sacred cake* ; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

¹ See Chap. III, 32, note.

² The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp ; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

³ Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4-6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

⁴ That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shn ūmanō)¹ too soon or too late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period of *the day* (gâs)² is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it*; that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd³ *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavêš⁴, one of the zodiacal stars (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished⁵.

¹ See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

² See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

³ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁴ Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

⁵ This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patî-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleek's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159-162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*¹.CHAPTER XV².

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (*vâk*) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardâvahist, Shatvaîrô³, Spendarmad, Horvada, and Amerôda are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom⁴ I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not⁵?'

¹ This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

² This chapter follows the Patî-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

³ Written Shatrôivar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

⁴ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of a mat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus : ' They *should* be ; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân ! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ardavahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadað is the water, *and* of Amerôdad is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned¹ the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons ; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd ; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)², it is necessary *that* he should³ propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them ; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

¹ Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

² Or 'at all times ;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

³ Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or e) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (*vahist*).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (*gâs*) *and* time, the well-yielding (*hûdhâk*) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (*gâs*) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (*gâs*); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*karak*) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence¹.

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ardavahist may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water² which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâ-har) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ardavahist) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvairô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvairô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvairô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal³ at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âiyînô) of the

¹ See Chap. VI, 3.

² Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

³ The word may be read either âiyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâd son of Mâraspend¹ even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarih), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânô) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though² they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvairô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarmad in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarmad; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarmad may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshêd) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

¹ The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûî, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

² Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time¹. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanōik). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanik), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her² happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvadað and Amerôdad in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadað and Amerôdad, in whatever has happened and in

¹ Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

² Spendarmad is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1-20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation¹. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasâi)², *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when³ he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvada and Amerôda themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûst, namely:

¹ Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnêd, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnêd, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

² For the meaning of hîkhar and nasâi, see note on Chap. II, 30.

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

‘My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.’

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy¹.

CHAPTER XVI.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas², some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snêš) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-breadths from the ground *it is* the root³ of an

¹ This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

² Reading 3 nûmât-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rūpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be 3½ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

³ See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*gûgan*)¹. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôirist for him, and his sentence (*dînâ*) is to be changed; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams², which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredûs for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (*dîst*)³ *it is* no root of an Aredûs *for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin:—A Srôshô-*karanâm*⁴ is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-*karanâm*, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôirist is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredûs is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâzât is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred⁵.

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

¹ § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

² § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

³ The *dîst* is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

⁴ See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-*karanâm*, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

⁵ For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (*yazisn-i yazdân*):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (*drôn*)¹ is a good work of one Tanâpûhar²; a *form of worship* (*yast*)³ is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a *Visparad*⁴ is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a *Dô-hômâst*⁵ is ten thousand; a *Dvâzdah-hômâst* is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (*kirfak*) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a *Hâd-ôkht*⁶ is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one⁷.

¹ See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

³ A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

⁴ The Visparad service includes the Yasna, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

⁵ This kind of Hô-mâst is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nîrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely Hô-mâst in the Persian Rivâyats.

⁶ See B. Yt. III, 25.

⁷ The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a Vendidad (which includes both Yasna and Visparad) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any Nyâis (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (*vâg*, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (*drôn*) therein and in *its* vicinity¹; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations². 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (*yazîsn*) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days³; and when *one* con-

¹ Reading *va hamgôshak*, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (*pavan zak vâmkînîh*);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of *vâmpôš* (Pers. *bâmpôš*, 'roofing').

² The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

³ The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8-36, XVII, 5-27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)¹ in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû *and* Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good², *and* the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâi fravard); and clothing³ is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep⁴, *and* the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies*; and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day⁵. 6. When he

¹ These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

² The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the *Kinvad* bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

³ This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see *Saddar Bundahis* LXXXVII).

⁴ Or 'goat.'

⁵ That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a *Srôsh Yast* is performed and a *Srôsh Drôn* consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the *Aiwisrûthrem Gâh* (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûih) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-î veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêtf-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead¹, for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon², and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon³, and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake⁴.

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta⁵, that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy⁶, so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta⁷, is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it*; for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

¹ That is, there is no resurrection for them.

² And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

³ Compare Vend. VIII, 98-106.

⁴ Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

⁵ But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

⁶ That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

⁷ Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that¹, too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen to be (aûftêd)?'

12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen to be, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.'

13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise² *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?'

14. The reply *was*: 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

¹ The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

² Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment¹ is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy².

CHAPTER XVIII³.

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm⁴ rushed into the presence of Aharman⁵, and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aûharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, *to* which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

¹ Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by *kadâm-1 pârak*.

² The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

³ Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahis, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi):

⁴ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17).

⁵ See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of in his machinations against mankind, rushes into presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he enco

(gâsânbâr)¹, the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtk-das).'

¹ See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyô-shema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with¹ thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast²! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage³! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûtharmazd and the archangels⁴.'

creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

¹ Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

² By the *sacred feast* is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

³ By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

⁴ The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô ¹ *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything ².

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnö); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly ³.

next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paivand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Bund. I, 21.

² It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkard, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkard contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyât of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

³ The Persian Rivâyât adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas*; for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts¹, and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival².

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler*³, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs⁴ are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

¹ The words pavan mînîsn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

² K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase : [. . . anhau khshapô kadârkâî pavan kadârkâî] madam vazlûnêd râđîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor on that night comes there anything whatever on any one*," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four *by him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs *of creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

³ This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward¹ at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less².

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose.

11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts of burden and cattle, so that it may be more procreative³.

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly⁴.

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly⁵.

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them*; or *by him*

¹ Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

² The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

³ Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

⁵ The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him¹; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (*samâd*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX².

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (*dînô*) that a man is to go as much as possible (*kand vês-ast*) to the abode of fires³, and the salutation (*nîyâyisnô*) of fire⁴ is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

¹ The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

² The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4-17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

³ The fire-temple.

⁴ That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what* is safe and uninjured (aîrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastö) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)¹ far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands² and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun³; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

¹ See Chap. II, 1.

² See Chap. VII, 7.

³ See Chap. VII, 1-6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires¹. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*²; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrîd³ said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)⁴ of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

¹ The fire-temple.

² Assuming that the word *sapîrîh*, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

³ See B. Yt. I, 7.

⁴ The word *gâsân* being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read *dahîsn*, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patîtk)¹ for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen ; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it*; and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit ; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished², for *this* is a sin ; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile ; and *there* is *he by* whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdîk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse³ except righteousness, it is possible

¹ That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

² Literally, 'killed.'

³ M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn¹ wished to slay Az-i Dahâk², *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI³.

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come⁴ into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

¹ See Bund. XXXI, 7.

² See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55-61.

³ The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

⁴ Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five *toes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: 'When the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four¹ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half²; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven³ feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine⁴ feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight⁵ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot⁶.

¹ K20 has 'three' by mistake.

² M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

³ K20 has 'six' by mistake.

⁴ Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

⁵ Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

⁶ It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to $6\frac{2}{3}$ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been $23^{\circ} 35'$ (as it

3. The midday shadow is written¹, may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)² *period of the day*; may it be well and fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnô), and the sun comes unto the head³ of Cancer, and one's shadow becomes six feet and two parts⁴, he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is $32^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it $15'$ or $20'$ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of $2^{\circ} 4'$ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of $39'$ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of $1^{\circ} 22'$ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than $6'$, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

¹ Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

² See Bund. XXV, 9.

³ The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

⁴ What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5-7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot ¹, *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven ² feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third ³; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike ⁴.

beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

¹ Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

² Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

³ Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pâi, instead of pâi 3 yak-1.

⁴ This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII¹.

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion²!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman³ be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ardavahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvairô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarmad grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvadađ grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôdad grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts*!

summer, diminishing to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

¹ These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

² The meaning of the word pâdrôg or pâdrang (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, or Vistâsp-shâhnâmak: Pavan har razm va pâdrâzm-i lak pîrôg va vêh pâdrôg sem yâityûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

³ The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dînô always secure¹ *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô² hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âzân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (ham-budîkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tîstar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gôsrûvan the archangel³ is the protection of four-footed *beasts*.

15. May Dînô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want⁴ far from thee! may he destroy *them, and* may he not seize thee as unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor⁵ to the resplendent heaven!

¹ This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâd, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâd, 'may she remain.'

² Bûrz âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

³ She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

⁴ These are the three fiends, Âz, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 26, 27).

⁵ It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâd,

19. May Fravardîn give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent ¹ lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years ², undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâd bring thee peace ³ from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshisang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Âstâd be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

instead of yehevûnâd, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

¹ The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *hvaâpara*) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

² That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

³ Written drûd instead of drûd.

28. May Zamyâd¹ destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)¹ who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these arch-angels whose names I have brought *forward*; may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srit² the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

CHAPTER XXIII.

o. In the name of God and the good creation be health³!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

¹ Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. anaghra raokau, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30-32.

² This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrîta, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Sritô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

³ Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished¹, *Ardavahist* is more brilliant², *Shat-vairô* is more exalted³, *Spendarmad* is more fruitful⁴, *Horvada* is moister⁵, *Amerôdad* is fatter⁶. 2. *Dîn-pa-Âtarô* is just like *Aûharmazd*⁷, *Âtarô* is hotter⁸, *Âvân* is more golden⁹, *Khûr* is more observant¹⁰, *Mâh* is more protective¹¹, *Tîr* is more liberal, *Gôs* is swifter¹². 3. *Dîn*¹³-*pa-Mitrô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Mitrô* is more judicial, *Srôsh* is more vigorous, *Rashn* is more just, *Fravardîn* is more powerful, *Vâhrâm* is more victorious, *Râm* is more pleasing, *Vâd* is more fragrant. 4. *Dîn-pa-Dînô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Dînô* is more valuable, *Ard*¹⁴ is more beautiful, *Âstâd* is purer, *Âsmân* is more lofty, *Zamyâd* is more conclusive, *Mâraspend* is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3–5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

¹ M6 has 'more nimble.'

² M6 has 'more discriminative.'

³ M6 has 'more active.'

⁴ M6 has 'more complete.'

⁵ M6 has 'fatter.'

⁶ M6 has 'more fruitful.'

⁷ M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

⁸ M6 has 'more heating.'

⁹ Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr* (a title of the angel *Âvân*, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

¹⁰ M6 has 'more embellished.'

¹¹ M6 has *varpântar*, the meaning of which is uncertain.

¹² M6 has 'more listening.'

¹³ The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

¹⁴ The same as *Arshirang* (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anîrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening¹.

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure !

¹ The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1-4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name ; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahis; Byt. for Bahman Yast; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gug. for Gugarâti; Huz. for Huzvâris; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spam.

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Zarafân r., Bd. **20**, 19 n.
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Zaratûst, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Zaratûstrôtûm, Bd. **24**, 1. See also Supreme high-priest or Zaratûst.
Zardâhim, title, Bd. **31**, 4.
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Zarmân, demon, Bd. **28**, 23.
Zav, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
Zavârah, man, Bd. **31**, 41 n.
Zâvulistân, land, Byt. **3**, 13 n.
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Zôhar, see Holy-water.
Zôndak r., Bd. **20**, 7, 15 n.
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Zravâd, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrâvakad, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrvâna, Av., Zs. **1**, 24 n.
Zûsak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.

ERRATA.

P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'

P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâd-sparam' read 'Zâd-sparam;' also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.

P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|---|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|--|
| | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | .. | .. | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k | |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | .. | .. | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh | |
| 3 Media | g | .. | .. | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | ... | |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | .. | .. | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | ... | |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | .. | .. | ... | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | ... | |
| 6 Nasalis | ñ (ng) | .. | .. | ङ | { 3 (ng) }
{ 𐬚 (N) } | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | .. | .. | ह | 𐬛 (h) | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | h, hs | |
| 8 " lenis | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 11 " asper fricatus | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Gutturales modificatae
(palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | k | .. | .. | च | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | k | |
| 14 " aspirata | kh | .. | .. | छ | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | kh | |
| 15 Media | g | .. | .. | ज | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | ... | |
| 16 " aspirata | gh | .. | .. | झ | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | ... | |
| 17 " Nasalis | ñ | .. | .. | ञ | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | ... | |

| CONSONANTS
(continued) | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|----|-----------|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | | य | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ي | ي | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (j) | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (j) | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | | s | | | श | 𐬯 | 𐬯 | ش | ش | ש | |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | | z | | | | | | | | | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | | त | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | ت | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | | थ | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | ث | ث | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 Media | d | | | | द | 𐬧 | 𐬧 | د | د | ד | |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 " assibilata | | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | | न | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ن | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | | ल | 𐬬 | 𐬬 | ل | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | | स | 𐬰 | 𐬰 | س | س | ס | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | S (ʃ) | | | | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | | | | | | | | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (ʒ) | | | | | | | | ʒ |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (ʒ) | | | | | | | | ʒ |

| Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.) | | Labiales. | |
|--|----|-----------------------------|----|
| 38 Tenuis | t | 38 Tenuis | p |
| 39 " aspirata | th | 39 " aspirata | ph |
| 40 Media | d | 40 Media | b |
| 41 " aspirata | dh | 41 " aspirata | bh |
| 42 Nasalis | n | 42 Tenuissima | m |
| 43 Semivocalis | r | 43 Nasalis | w |
| 44 " fricata | r | 44 Semivocalis | hw |
| 45 " diacritica | R | 45 Spiritus asper | f |
| 46 Spiritus asper | sh | 46 " lenis | v |
| 47 " lenis | zh | 47 Anusvāra | m |
| | | 48 Tenuis | h |
| | | 49 " aspirata | |
| | | 50 Media | |
| | | 51 " aspirata | |
| | | 52 Tenuissima | |
| | | 53 Nasalis | |
| | | 54 Semivocalis | |
| | | 55 " aspirata | |
| | | 56 Spiritus asper | |
| | | 57 " lenis | |
| | | 58 Anusvāra | |
| | | 59 Visarga | |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | 0 | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ă . . . |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ē | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ō | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | अ | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | ا | ا | א | a . . . |
| 5 " longa | ā | | (a) | आ | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | آ | آ | א | â . . . |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | इ | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ی | ی | י | i . . . |
| 7 " longa | ī | | (i) | ई | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ی | ی | י | î . . . |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | l | | | ल | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 9 " longa | ll | | | लृ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | रि | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11 " longa | rī | | | रि | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | उ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 13 " longa | ū | | (u) | ऊ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 15 " longa | é (ai) | | (e) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | âi | | (ai) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 17 " " " " " " | ei (ēi) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 18 " " " " " " | oi (ōu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 20 " longa | ô (au) | | (o) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | âu | | (au) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 22 " " " " " " | eu (ēu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 23 " " " " " " | ou (ōu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ï | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ü | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ö | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

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THE SELECTIONS OF
ZADSPRAM
(*VIZĪDAGĪHĀ Ī ZĀDSPRAM*)

TRANSLATED BY
E.W. WEST

Edited by Joseph H. Peterson, 1995; last updated: Feb 21, 2022

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Translated by E. W. West, from *Sacred Books of the East*, volumes 5, 46, and 37. Oxford University Press, 1880, 1897, and 1892.

PREFACE

This ninth-century Pahlavi text:

“consists of excerpts from the Avesta and Zand on several themes: creation, legends about Zoroaster, the formation of man (from body, life, and soul), the deeds of the hero-prophets, and the restoration of the world of good.... The Selections of Zadspram provide in the main a plain and intelligent summary of some of the fundamental legends and beliefs of the Sasanian church” (quoted from Mary Boyce, “Middle Persian Literature”, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., IV. Band, 2. Abschn., LFG.1, p. 42.)

Zadspram’s *Selections* (or *Anthology*) covers many of the topics found in the *Bundahishn*, but the latter “shows less unity of thought and wording.”¹

It includes quotations from the otherwise lost Commentary (Zand) of lost Avestan texts. Note that it also has some Heterodox elements, in that it draws on Zurvanite sources for its cosmology.

West’s translation only goes as far as the first two parts of the text. The third part (introduced by a separate title), goes on to describe the human anatomy (body, soul, etc.) and the after-life condition. The final part goes on to discuss the events of the end of time and Renovation (*frashegird*).

I have taken the liberty to [normalize the spelling](#) in this edition, in order to be consistent with other documents in this series, and to facilitate searches. Comments set in [], or marked “-JHP” have been added by me, mainly to facilitate searches.

For a more recent edition with translation in French, see Zatspram, Philippe Gignoux, and A. Tafazzoli. *Anthologie de Zādspram*. Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 1993.

¹ Philippe Gignoux, “ZĀDSPRAM”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2005.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| Av. | Avesta |
| Bd. | Bundahishn |
| BYt | Bahman Yasht |
| Dd. | Dadestan-i Denig |
| Dk. | Denkard |
| MX | Menog-i Khrad |
| Pah. | Pahlavi |
| Pers. | Persian |
| Vd. | Vendidad |
| W | E.W. West |
| Y | Yasna. |
| ZZZ | Zaehner, R. C. <i>Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. |

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PART 1. About the meeting of the Beneficent Spirit and the Evil Spirit.

CHAPTER 1. *The original state of the two spirits*

They call these memoranda and writings the Selections of Zadspram, son of Juwānjam.¹

0. In propitiation of the creator Ohrmazd and all the angels – who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdan) – are the sayings of Ervad Zadspram, son of Juwānjam, who is of the south, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light was above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. (2) Ohrmazd was in the light, and Ahriman in the darkness;² Ohrmazd was aware of the existence of Ahriman and of his coming for strife; Ahriman was not aware of the existence of light and of Ohrmazd.³ (3) It happened to Ahriman, in the gloom and darkness, that he was walking humbly (fro-tanu) on the borders, and meditating other things he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of its antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. (4) And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others,⁴ Ohrmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Ahriman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (druj) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He had appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. (6) Ahriman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patistad), and exclaimed thus: “I will smite thee, I will smite the creatures which thou thinkest have produced fame for thee – thee who art the beneficent spirit I will destroy everything

1 Otherwise “Gušn-Jam.” Compare with translation of R. C. Zaehner, ZZZ pp. 341-343. W: Zād-spāram, son of Yudan-Yim. “Zadspram appears to have been dastur of Shirkan, about thirty parasangs south of Kerman, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley’s *Oriental Geography*, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).” - W

2 Bd. 1.2-4.

3 Or, “of the light of Ohrmazd” (compare Bd. 1.8, 9)

4 Reading *pavan chatārānō ham-tanū*, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bd. 1.10.

about them.”

7. Ohrmazd answered thus: “Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend!”¹

8. And, again, Ahriman retorted thus: “I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself.”²

9. Ohrmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: “Even the blustering of Ahriman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion (*la barininam*) during a period of struggle.” (10) And he demanded of him a period for friendship,³ for it was seen by him that Ahriman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, and the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship and just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. (11) Ahriman relied upon it, and Ohrmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Ahriman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; and from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises.⁴

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahunwar formula;⁵ and in his Ahunwar these⁶ kinds of benefit were shown: – (13) The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared as the will of Ohrmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Ohrmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Ohrmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. (14) The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Ohrmazd, his reward and recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Ohrmazd, the punishment at the bridge⁷ owing thereto is his own; which is shown from this⁸ formula; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven and hell are from it. (15) Thirdly, it is shown that the sovereignty of Ohrmazd increases that which is for the poor, and adversity is removed; by which it is shown that there are treasures for the needy

1 Bd. 1.16.

2 Bd. 1.14.

3 Bd. 1.17, 18.

4 Or, “the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.”

5 Bd. 1.21.

6 The word *ān*, “those,” however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for “three.”

7 The Chinwad bridge. (see Bd. 12.7).

8 The MS. has *hūman*, “well-meditating,” instead of *denman*, “this;” but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

one, and treasures are to be his friends; as the intelligent creations are to the unintelligent, so also are the treasures of a wealthy person to a needy one, treasures liberally given which are his own. (16) And the creatures of the trained hand of Ohrmazd are contending and angry (ardik), one with the other, as the renovation of the universe must occur through these three things. (17) That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, and reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barham), that Ohrmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; and Ahriman is all vileness without goodness. (18) Secondly, hope of the reward and recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge and the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, and abstaining from sin. (19) Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, their collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation.¹

20. By this formula he (Ahriman) was confounded, and he fell back to the gloom;² and Ohrmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.³ (21) Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on their navels; and the sun, moon, and stars stood still. (23) In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Ohrmazd observed thus: "What advantage is there from the creation

1 This commentary on the Ahunawar, or Yatha ahu-vairyo formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zadspram, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:- "As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Ohrmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Ohrmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Ohrmazd (that is, they would do that which Ohrmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus; Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Atarō-pāt son of Zarātūst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Ohrmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Ohrmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessities [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them)." Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

2 Bd. 1.22.

3 Bd. 1.28.

of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving or mischievous?" (24) And in aid of the celestial sphere he produced the creature Time (zurvan);¹ and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Ohrmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Ahriman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (boi-dadhan) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting it. (25) And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Ahriman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (virunako) of Time were connected by him, an envelope (posto) of the black-pated and ash-colored kind. (26) And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: "Through their weapons the cooperation of the serpent (azho) dies away, and this which is thine, indeed thy own daughter, dies through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said and written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardano), she is upheaved, not ended."

27. At the same time Ahriman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station was open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. (28) And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, and left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third² over the star station.

CHAPTER 2. *Ahriman assaults the good creation*

1. On the coming in of Ahriman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that in the month Frawardin and the day Ohrmazd, at noon,³ he came forth to the frontier of the sky. (2) The sky sees him and, on account of his nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; and Ahriman came on, scorching and burning into it. (3) Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth,⁴ and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. (4) The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the

1 This is the Av. zrvāna akarana, "boundless time or antiquity," of Vd. 19.33, 44. He is a personification of nuration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Ohrmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvāna.

2 Compare Bd. 3.11.

3 Bd. 3.12.

4 Bd. 3.13.

height of which was several feet, and it was without branches and without bark, juicy and sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time it became quite withered.¹

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created,² as it stood as high as Gayomard on the bank of the water of Daitya in the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gayomard being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Daitya³ by the same measure; and it was a female, white and brilliant as the moon. (7) As the adversary came upon it Ohrmazd gave it a narcotic, which is also called “bang,” to eat, and to rub the “bang” before the eye,⁴ so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, and fell upon its right breast⁵ trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gayomard, who was then about one-third the height of Zartosht, and was brilliant as the sun, Ohrmazd forms, from the sweat⁶ on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant and tall, and sends it on to Gayomard; and he also brings his sweat⁷ on to him as long as one Ahunwar⁸ is being recited. (9) When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night;⁹ on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; and so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle’s point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. (10) there were the coming of a planetary star into planetary conjunction, and the moon

1 Bd. 3.14, 16.

2 The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gayomard was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bd. 10.1, 2, 14.3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Zadspram himself, in Chap. 9.7.

3 The Dāitk river (see Bd. 20.13).

4 This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bd. 3.18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

5 See Bd. 4.1.

6 The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like *hōmanāe*, is here taken as a transposition of *min khvāe*, in accordance with Bd. 3.19; but it may be a variant of *anumāe*, “embryo,” in which case the translation should be, “forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.”

7 Or it may be “sleep,” both here and in § 9.

8 See Bd. 1.21.

9 Bd. 3.20.

and planets at sixes and sevens;¹ many dark forms with the face and curls of Azi Dahak [Zohak] suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; and he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Ahriman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it.²

CHAPTER 3. *The soul of the primeval ox cries to Ohrmazd*

1. And Goshorun, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamor of a cry to Ohrmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together.³ (2) And Ohrmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gayomard, went from the earth up to the sky. (3) And Goshorun continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: "With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?"

CHAPTER 4. *The reason why he was unable to destroy the primeval man for thirty years*

1. This was the highest predominance of Ahriman, for he came on, with all the strength which he had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky,⁴ in a downward direction, into a confined and captive state, so that it was all dark and apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, his enemy among the struggles for creation. (2) And this is opposing the renovation of the universe, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he has come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep⁵ of the renovation, as on that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Ahriman, crying thus: "My victory has come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by

1 Literally, "in fours and fives."

2 Bd. 3.24.

3 Bd. 4.2.

4 Compare Bd. 3.11. The involved style of Zadspram is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

5 The word seems to be khvāpishnō.

darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gayomard is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving¹ are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one has remained for me to take and pervert in combat except Ohrmazd, and of the earth there is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?"

4. And he sends Astwihad² upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (auzvarano) and diseases which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill and cause death. (5) Gayomard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zurvan) in the beginning of the coming in of Ahriman, that: "Up to thirty winters I appoint Gayomard unto brilliance and preservation of life." (6) And his manifestation in the celestial sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals and instigators of confusion by his good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Ohrmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of its being within the control (band) of the luminaries;³ and Saturn (Keyvan) was death towards the creatures. (8) Both were in their supremacy (bālist)⁴ at the beginning of the creatures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called Jivan ('living'),⁵ for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it;

1 Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardishnānō instead of vardhishnānō. A very small alteration would change it into varōishnānō, "believers," but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

2 See Bd. 3.21 and 28.35.

3 These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bd. 2.0-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Ahriman for that purpose (see MX. 8.17-21, 12.7-10, 24.8, 38.5).

4 The most obvious meaning of bālist is "greatest altitude," and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Ahriman invaded the creation (see Chap. 2.1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be .at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bālist here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

5 This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bd. 2.3, by Pazand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of

and Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness became more evident and more dominant thereby. (9) And it was when both shall not be supreme that Gayomard was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years¹ Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, to Libra. (10) And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricorn,² on account of whose own lowness,³ and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gayomard suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Ahriman can bring upon the creatures of Ohrmazd.

CHAPTER 5. *The first battle, that of the sky with Ahriman.*

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Ohrmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky⁴ he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armor;⁵ and the sky in its fortress⁶ spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Ahriman, thus: "Now when thou shalt have come in I will not let thee back;" and it obstructed him until Ohrmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, which is called "righteous understanding" (ashok akasih). (2) And he arranged the guardian spirits⁷ of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

Cancer.

- 1 Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.
- 2 That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricorn, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.
- 3 There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has *lā* instead of *rāi*, and *nishkasp* instead of *nishiv*.
- 4 See Chap. 3.2.
- 5 Compare Bd. 6.2.
- 6 Or "zodiacal signs," for *būrjō* means both.
- 7 Bd. 6.3, 4.

3. Immediately, Ahriman endeavors that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation of the universe at the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gathas, thus:¹ “So also both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation – that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gayomard. Whatever is in life is so through this purpose of Ohrmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness is so through this purpose² of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked their destruction is fully seen, and so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Ohrmazd.”

5. And this was the first contest,³ that of the sky with Ahriman.

CHAPTER 6. *The second battle, that of the water.*

1. And as he (Ahriman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, on the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tishtar; the equally watery one, that is called Avrak,⁴ gave forth a cloud and went down in the day; that is declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. (2) Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation of the zodiac for this reason, because the month Tishtar is the fourth month of the year.⁵

3. And as Tishtar begged for assistance, Vohuman and Haoma are therefore cooperating with him in command, Burj of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. (4) He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, and the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. (5) The drops

1 This quotation from the Gathas is from the Pahlavi Y. 30.4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastur Jamaspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Zadspram used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

2 The MS. here omits the words “through this purpose,” by mistake.

3 The word *ārdhik*, which Zadspram uses instead of the *kharah*, “conflict,” of Bd. 5.6, 6.1, etc., may be connected with Pers. *ārd*, “anger.”

4 The ninth lunar mansion (see Bd. 2.3, 7.1).

5 Bd. 7.2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

became each separately like a great bowl in which water is drawn, and as to that on which they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles,¹ who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant and tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mukvo-ae-i darino) on his feet; and as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigor, so that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth,² and among its contents are a thousand sources and fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes and are poured forth into it. (8) And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, who continually compasses and canters around them, will attain in forty days, which is 1900³ long leagues (parasang-i akarik), each league being at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died,⁴ and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tishtar went down into the ocean; and Apaosh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and at the alarm of the first contest Tishtar was in terror (pard). (10) And he applied unto Ohrmazd, who brought such power unto Tishtar as arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name,⁵ and they call forth such power unto Tishtar as that of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. (11) And without alarm he drove out Apaosh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (farohar), he seized many more handfuls of water, and made it rain down⁶ much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great

1 Reading neksünd barā min khasandakānō instead of the MS. barā nasünd min khasandakānō.

2 Compare Bd. 13.1, 2.

3 Bd. 13.2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is -probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

4 Bd. 7.7-14 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

5 The Av. aokhtō-nāmana yasna of Tishtar Yt. 11, 23, 24

6 Or perhaps "made the cloud rain," if madam vārānīnīd stands for avar vārānīnīd.

and small. (13) And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement and beating which Tishtar and the fire Vazisht inflicted on the opposition of Apaosh; the all-deciding (vispo-vicir) fire Vazisht struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kebarano).

14. Ten days and nights there was rain, and its darting¹ was the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove it to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Puitik, the Kamirid, and the Gehan-bun.² (15) Of these the Puitik itself is salt water, in which is a flow and ebb;³ and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up and going down, that of the moon is manifested. (16) The wide-formed ocean stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Alburz,⁴ and the Puitik stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Sataves, whose connection is with Sataves, which is the southern quarter. (17) In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow and ebb; of the curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, and have an abode in Sataves; one is the updrag and one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, and through the down-drag occurs the ebb.⁵ (18) And Sataves itself is a gulf (var) and side arm of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity and turbidness which come from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind,⁶ while that which is clear through impurity goes into the Aredvisur sources of the wide-formed ocean. (19) Besides these four⁷ there are the small seas.⁸

20. And, afterwards, there were made to flow from Alburz, out of its northern border, two rivers,⁹ which were the Arvand¹⁰ – that is, the

1 Reading partāv instead of the MS. patūtāv, “powerful fury.”

2 This is a variant of the Shahī-būn or Jāhī-būn of Bd. 13.7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bd. 13. In the MS. Pūitīk occurs once, and Puīitīk twice.

3 Compare §§ 15-18 with Bd. 13.8-14

4 Compare Bd. 13.1.

5 This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bd. 13. 13. Whether the “curving tails” (jajak dunbak) are the “horns” of the crescent moon is uncertain.

6 By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has ātarō, “fire,” instead of vātō, “wind.”

7 The ocean and three principal seas.

8 Said to be twenty-three in number in Bd. 13.6.

9 Bd. 7.13, 16, 20.1.

10 This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arēng river of Bd. 20

Diglat, and the flow of that river was to those of the setting sun (val frōd-yehevundhānō) – and the Veh¹ was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. (21) After them eighteen² great rivers came out from the same Alburz; and these twenty rivers, whose source is in Alburz go down into the earth, and arrive in Xwaniratha.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth,³ which are called the Chechast⁴ – lake which has no cold wind, and on whose shore rests the triumphant fire [Adar] Gushnasp⁵ – and, secondly, the Sovar⁶ which casts on its shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear and pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to its edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire [Adar] Burzin-Mihr.⁷

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

CHAPTER 7. *The third battle, that of the earth*

1. And as he (Ahriman) came thirdly to the earth which arrayed the whole earth against him – since there was an animation of the earth through the shattering – Alburz grew up,⁸ which is the boundary of

with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (3.21, 38) and the Afrin of the Seven Ameshaspendis (§ 9). The Bundahishn (20.8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bd. 20.12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahishn having been so old a book in the time of Zadspram that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusro Noshirvan, Auharmazd IV, and Khusro Parvīz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

1 See Bd. 20.9.

2 Bd. 20.2, 7.

3 Bd. 7.14.

4 Bd. 22.2.

5 Written Gūshasp in Bd. 17.7, and Gūshnāsp in BYt. 3.30, 40, while the older form Vishnasp occurs in BYt. 3.10.

6 The Sōvbar of Bd. 7.14, 12.24, 22.3.

7 Bd. 17.8.

8 Bd. 8.1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

the earth, and the other¹ mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number.² (2) And by them the earth was bound together and arranged, and on them was the sprouting and growth of plants, wherefrom was the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth especially as antagonism came on the earth, and settled on it with injury – and it came up over the earth just like a tree whose branch has grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. (4) The root of the mountains is passed on from one to the other, and is arranged in connection with them, and through it is produced the path and passage of water from below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all parts of the body to the heart, the latent vigor which they possess. (5) And, moreover, in six hundred years,³ at first, all the mountains apart from Alburz were completed. (6) Alburz was growing during eight hundred years;⁴ in two hundred years it grew up to the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, and two hundred years up to the sky. (7) After Alburz the Aparsen mountain⁵ is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-royishn⁶ ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastan and its end unto Pars and to Cinistan.⁷

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation,⁸ and the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions⁹ a little above it, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind in various places. (9) One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in each of the six portions around is as much as Sagastan; moreover, as much as Sagastan is the measure of what is called a

1 The MS. has *āvānō*, "waters," instead of *avārik*, "other," which alters the meaning into, "which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, and the mountains," etc.

2 Bd. 12.2.

3 Bd. 8.5 and 12.1 have "eighteen years." As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

4 Bd. 12.1.

5 The *Apārsēn* of Bd. 12.9.

6 Written *Apū-rōyishn*, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning "father of growth."

7 Bd. 12.9. 24.28, have *Khūjīstān* instead of *Chīnīstān*; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bd. 12.13).

8 Literally, "creature."

9 Bd. 11.2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.

karshwar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kesh ('furrow'). (10) The middle one is Xwaniratha, of which Pars is the center, and those six regions are like a coronet (avisar) around it. (11) One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, and a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, and imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

CHAPTER 8. *The fourth battle, that of the plants*

1. As he (Ahriman) came fourthly to the plants – which have struggled (kukhshi-aito) against him with the whole vegetation – because the vegetation was quite dry,¹ Amurdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation² was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed it up with the rain-water of Tishtar. (2) After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand³ special species and a hundred thousand⁴ additional species (levatman sardako) so grew as if there were a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for⁵ keeping away the ten thousand diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, and from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. (4) And the griffin bird (simurgh) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth from within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, and it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced which is the white Haoma, the counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

CHAPTER 9. *The fifth battle, that of the animals*

1. As he (Ahriman) came fifthly to cattle – which struggled against

1 This chapter is a paraphrase of Bd. 9.

2 Or, perhaps, "the worldly characteristics of vegetation."

3 Written like "one thousand," but see the context and Bd. 9.4.

4 In Bd. 9.4. the MSS. have "120,000," which is probably wrong, as Bd. 27.2 agrees with the text above.

5 The MS. has *barā* instead of *pavan*, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the *Huzvāris* in Persian, in which language *bih* (= *barā*) and *bah* (= *pavan*) are written alike. In *Pazand* they are usually written *be* and *pa*, respectively.

him with all the animals and likewise as the primeval ox¹ passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five² species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from its various members; and forasmuch as they should see from which member each one proceeds, it is declared in the Damdad Nask.³ (2) And every plant grown from a member promotes that member, as it is said that there where the ox scattered its marrow⁴ on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn⁵ and sesame, vetches⁶ and peas; so sesame, on account of⁷ its marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. (3) And it is also said that from the blood is the

1 See Chaps. 2.6, 3.1, and Bd. 4.1, 10.1, 14.1.

2 The MS. has "fifty-seven" in ciphers, but Bd. 10.1, 14.1, 27.2 have "fifty-five" in words.

3 This was the fourth nask or "book" of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Denkard*, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dini-vajarkard and the Rivayats of Kamah Bahrah, Nariman Hoshang, and Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvāzdah-hāmāst (or homāst). For its contents, as given by the Dini-vajarkard, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 127. The Rivayat of Kamah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivayats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see "Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre," par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):- "Of the fifth the name is Dvāzdah-homāst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdād, but this is probably a corruption of dāmdād). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and it is a description of the, whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying animals, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and heavenly path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil."

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahishn must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Zadspram mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dāmdād which also occur in the Bundahishn (14.2, 14-18, 21-24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahishn was originally a translation of the Dāmdād, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahishn, or Zand-ākāsh. Whether the Avesta text of the Dāmdād was still in existence in the time of Zadspram is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

4 Or "brains."

5 Supposing the MS. galō lag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

6 Assuming the MS. alūnō or arvanō to be a corruption of alūm or arzanō.

7 Reading rāi instead of lā.

vine,¹ a great vegetable thing – as wine itself is blood – for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. (4) And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (maysh or masah) which is called donak, and was a variety of sesame (shamaga),² and it is for other noses. (5) And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs³ which heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. (6) This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohuman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akoman,⁴ and it is for that which proceeds from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed which was the ox's, they would carry off from it, and the brilliance was entrusted to the angel of the moon;⁵ in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (janvar-homand). (8) Forth from there it produced for Eranvej, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female,⁶ and, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species;⁷ and they were discernible as far as two long leagues on the earth. (9) Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, and birds flew in the atmosphere; in every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (av-dahan) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus: – First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water, and birds flying in the atmosphere. (11) Then, into five classes,⁸ that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, and the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, and which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-traveling, and suitable for grazing. (12) The aquatic are fish and every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, and bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samur) and musk animal, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of

1 Compare Bd. 14.2.

2 Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bd. 14.2. Altering *dōnak* and *gūnak* into *gandanak*, and *shamagā* into *shamashdar*, we might read, "from the nose is *māysh*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;" but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mays* unexplained.

3 The MS. has *gōspendānō*, "cattle," instead of *sipandānō*, "rue herbs."

4 See Bd. 1.24, 27, 28.7, 30.29.

5 See Bd. 10.2, 14.3.

6 Bd. 10.3, 14.4.

7 Bd. 10.3, 14.13.

8 Bd. 14.8-12.

every kind; the wide-traveling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, which is all called “horse;” the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, and others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk animals, marten, and others; then are the birds, and then the fish. (14) And then they were divided into species,¹ as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten² species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk animals, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared and all those undeclared there were, at first, 282 species;³ and with the species within species there were a thousand varieties.

15. The birds are distributed⁴ into eight groups (ristako), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest they are so spread about as when a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad that of heavy weight, then that which is middling, and afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Damdad Nask,⁵ and written by me in the manuscript (nipik) of “the summary enumeration of races”⁶ – this is a lordly⁷ summary – the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them⁸ is white and yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, and others. (17) Of the camel there are specially two, that for the plain, and the mountain one which is double-humped. (18) Among the species of ox are the white, mud-colored, red, yellow, black, and

1 Bd. 14.13-23, 27, 27.

2 Bd. 14.17 says “fifteen,” which is probably correct.

3 Only 181 species are detailed or “declared” here.

4 Bd. 14.25.

5 See § 1;j the particulars which follow are also found in Bd. 14.14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahishn must be derived from the Dāmdād.

6 The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tōkhm-aūshmarishnīh-i hangardikō, but it is not known to be extant.

7 Reading marak (Chaldee MRA), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvarish forms ending with ā. It may be mināk, “thinking, thoughtful,” or a corruption of manīk, “mine,” in which last case we should translate, “this is a summary of mine.”

8 Bd. 24.6.

dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard,¹ the ox-fish, and others. (19) Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kurishk which, because of its trampling the hills, its great horn, and also being suitable for ambling, became the steed of Manuschihar. (20) Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varikō), the roe, and the mountain goat. (21) Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. (22) Of musk animals with a bag, one is the Bish-musk – which eats the Bish poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bish, and less of it should succeed in poisoning the creatures – and one is a musk animal of a black color which they desired (ayūftō) who were bitten by the fanged serpent – as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makō) is called – which is numerous on the river-banks; one throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, and then the serpent enters its body, when his² serpent, at the time this happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. (23) Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffin bird and the bat, which have teeth in the mouth, and suckle their young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

CHAPTER 10. *The sixth battle, that of mankind*

1. As he (Ahriman) came sixthly to Gayomard³ there was arrayed against him, with Gayomard, the pure propitious liturgy (Mahraspand), as heard from Gayomard; and Ohrmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (druj). (2) And when he (Gayomard) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from his various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (avginako) [mercury], and adamant; and on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spandarmad received the gold of the dead Gayomard, and it was forty years in the earth. (4) At the end of the forty years, in the manner of a Rivas-plant, Mashye and Mashyane⁴ came up, and, one

1 Literally, “camel-ox-leopard.”

2 This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakō, but the whole sentence is a fair- sample of Zadspram’s most involved style of Writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

3 Compare Bd. 15.1.

4 The MS. nas Mashāi Mashāyē, but see Bd. 15.6. The Avesta forms were probably

joined to the other, were of like stature and mutually adapted;¹ and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature,² was such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Ohrmazd created. (5) This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revelation: “Which existed before, the glory [*soul]³ or the body?” And Ohrmazd spoke thus: “The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created. the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.” (6) And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man,⁴ and the glory went spiritually into them.

CHAPTER 11. *The seventh battle, that of fire*

1. As he (Ahriman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together against him, the fire separated into five kinds,⁵ which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aurvzisht, the Vazisht, and the Supremely-benefiting. (2) And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garothman); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. (3) The Good diffuser is that which is in men and animals,⁶ and its business consists in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the body, and the brightening of the eyes. (4) The Aurvzisht is that which is in plants, in whose seed it is formed, and its business consists in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water⁷ and producing the

mashya mashyōi (or mashyē), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, “mortal,” and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pazand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanī instead of Mashyōi.

- 1 Reading ham-bashnō hain-dakhīk, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-badishn va ham-dasak of Bd. 15.2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabīk, “having the same shirt,” but this is an improbable meaning.
- 2 It is evident that ham-bandishnīh, “mutual connection,” in accordance with Bd. 15.3 would be preferable to the ham-bashnōih, “like stature,” of this text.
- 3 The old word nismō, “soul” (see Bd. 15.3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, “glory.” This corruption may be due either to Zadspram not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahishn must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for “soul” with the better-known “glory” of the Iranian sovereigns.
- 4 Bd. 15.5.
- 5 Bund 17.1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spēnisht and Vohu-fryan, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahishn, and the fifth being the Berezi-savang, which is the first in the Bundahishn.
- 6 See Bd. 17.2.
- 7 Reading mayā-i afsardīnīdō tāftanō instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayā

qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. (5) And the Vazisht is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business consists in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, and making sultry weather showery. (6) The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Warharan fire,¹ as the master of the house is over the house, and whose propitious power arises from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in² the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdano), and the practice of good works. (7) And its business is that it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches – who walk up from the river,³ wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, and by witchcraft injure the creatures – and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srosh the righteous.

8. And in the beginning of the creation⁴ the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Farnbag fire, the mighty [Adar] Gushnasp fire, and the beneficial Burzin-Mihr fire,⁵ which are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. (9) The place of the fire Farnbag was formed on the Gadman-homand ('glorious') mountain in Khvarizem,⁶ the fire [Adar] Gushnasp was on the Asnavand mountain in Ataro-patakan, and the fire Burzin-Mihr on the Revand mountain which is in the Ridge of Vishtasp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hooshang,⁷ when men were continually going forth to the other regions (karshwar) on the ox Sruvo,⁸ one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, and in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire which was manifest, is

ashardīnīdō āftanō of the MS.

- 1 The Verethrānō ātāsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.
- 2 Reading pavan instead of barā (see third note to 7.2).
- 3 Or "sea" (dariyāvō). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.
- 4 Literally, "creature."
- 5 The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, varjān, tagikō, and pūr-sūdō in Pahlavi.
- 6 See Bd. 17.5, 7, 8.
- 7 Bd. 17.4 says, "in the reign of Takhmorup," his successor.
- 8 Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahishn.

divided into three, and they established it on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Farnbag fire, the [Adar] Gushnasp fire, and the Burzin-Mihr.

PART 2. The coming of the religion.

CHAPTER 12. *Two old legends of Spandarmad and of the hero Srito*

1. About the coming of the religion at a given time being a resemblance such-like as the birth of a child through two united powers, which are the reception of semen by females in procreation, and delivering it back to the fathers, and a period of struggling and intermingling, especially by two means: a monarchy with¹ religion of the same tenets (ham-vac-denoih), and the existence of similar tenets to those of the monarchy in the custom of the religion. (2) The religion of the Mazda-worshippers, when the period of material organization is being converted again into a spiritual nature, became manifest on the earth, first through Spandarmad² and afterwards through Ohrmazd, like the reception of a child by mothers and delivering it back to the fathers.

3. The manifestation of the religion through Spandarmad was at that time when Frasiyav³ kept back the water from the country of Iran, and brought the water again; in damsel form she was a speaker for its manifestation, in reply to foreigners, at the house of Manuschihar,⁴ the monarch of the country of Iran. (4) She was also dressed, and wore radiant clothing which shone out on all sides for the length of a Hasar,⁵ which is a distance, like a Parasang; and, tied on her waist, she wore a golden sacred girdle [kusti] which was the religion of the Mazda-worshippers itself.

5. As to the belt of the religion, it is that to which are connected the thirty-three fetters upon the thirty-three sins,⁶ according to which all sin is divided; so that (ku) the damsels, by whom the tied sacred girdle [kusti] of Spandarmad was seen, have become impetuous (taftigo) after that for a tied girdle [kusti], on account of its seeming

1 T has "devoid of."

2 The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Dk. VII, 2.19 n).

3 See Dk. VII, 1.31; and regarding his irrigation canals, see Bd. 20.17, 34; 21.6.

4 See Dk. VII, 1.29.

5 A thousand steps of the two feet, or Roman mile; see Bd. 26.1.

6 Thirty sins are detailed in MX. 36, and thirty-three good works in 37.

beautiful.

6. And this was the motherhood which is supplied through Spandarmad, as a gift, in the year 528 before Zartosht came out to his conference,¹ which is one of their statements from the annals of the religion in a manuscript of the ancients.

7. The name of Zartosht is also cited on the earth at 300 years before his conference.² (8) For Iran, at the supplication even of the priests in the land, and for the sake of the pacification of a dispute arisen, Ohrmazd produced a great ox, by whom the boundary of Iran next to Turan was intimated by pawing with his hoofs, and he was kept in a jungle. (9) Whenever contention arose, the boundary was fully made known by that ox, until it was the wish of Kay Us to take, fully covetously, a portion of the land of Turan back into Iran, and he saw that the ox is about to act very ill-naturedly, because it was not besought with forms which were prescribed for it, where a boundary was intimated by it.³

10. There were seven brothers, and he who was the seventh was called Srito⁴ the Seventh, the largest in body and chief in strength, belonging to those instructed in many subjects for Kay Us, and he was among his princes. (11) Kay Us summoned him into his presence and ordered him thus: "Go and kill that ox in the jungle!"

12. Srito went, and the ox whom he wished to kill expostulated with him, in human words, thus: "Do not kill me! for though thou canst kill me, he whose guardian spirit is in the Haoma, the death-dispeller, will also become manifest on the earth, he whose name is

1 If this coming to conference with the spirits be "the coming of the religion," in the thirtieth year of Vishtasp's reign, then, according to Bundahishn chronology, these 528 years will carry us back to twenty-eight years before the accession of Manushchihar. As any alteration in the date of Manushchihar's accession would disturb the millennial arrangement of Bd. 34, it is probable that some copyist has miswritten the ciphers, and we ought to read 428. This legend appears not to occur elsewhere.

2 According to Bd. 34.7, Kai-Us reigned from 360 to 210 years before "the coming of the religion." At this point a dislocation of the text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the misplacement of a loose folio in some unknown copy written before 1530; the contents of this folio, §§ 8-16, are found in the existing MSS. three folios further on (after Chap. 14.14), and are here restored to their original position, as determined by the meaning of the text.

3 T has "by that ox." This legend is also told in Dk. VII, 2.62-66.

4 Srito, the seventh son (compare Dk. VII, 2.64), is not easy to identify. He could not have been Thritha the father of Keresaspa, because this Thritha the Saman is said to have been a third son in Pahl. Y. 9.30 (Sp.). He may have been Srito of the Visraps, whose soul visited Vishtasp in the latter part of his reign, about 350 years later, regarding which a legend is related in Dk. VII, 6.2-11, and again mentioned in Dk. V, 3.2; but there is a want of corresponding details for identification.

Zartosht of the Spitamas,¹ and will proclaim thy bad action in the world. (13) And the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared in revelation thus: 'As it occurs to him, so it does to Vadak,² when they mention his iniquity,' and thy death becomes the like and, owing to death, it is mixed up with hers (that is, owing even to hers is the death of Srito)."

14. When those words were heard by him, Srito turned back, and went again to Kay Us; also by his manner, and even apart from this, he stated³ what the ox had spoken with awfulness, and also thus: "I am more desirous than any one who is in the earth created by righteousness, that you should now order destruction for the ox."

15. And Kay Us uttered his will, with the conviction of superior wisdom, thus: "It is not certain whether he whose guardian spirit is in the Haoma, the death-dispeller, is himself, or not; and if he be, and be born,⁴ whether he will become manifest, or not;" and he commanded with severity, thus: "Go and kill it!"

16. And Srito spoke thus: "It is not that I am without strength to kill, because its reprieve by me was owing to its remonstrance, mentioned to me, that a high-priest is to arise."⁵

17. So it is declared thus, in another revelation (*dēnō zagāi*),⁶ when the Turanians were backward in heart, Kay Us spoke thus: "Go out to a certain jungle, in which dwell many chiefs of the witches, and they will cut thee up without any striving of heart."

18. And Srito went up to the jungle, where many witches saw him, who kept their jaws open, and they spoke about the handsome man thus: "Slay and do not spare!" (19) And compassion having gone out of his heart, he went back to the other jungle and, with his fist, he broke the back of the ox in three places; and the ox, awfully convulsed (*skifto bar-hamako*), kept up an outcry.

20. After the slaughter of the ox, owing to its convulsed state which was heard by him, the remembrance of it then became grievous to Srito; and he went back to Kay Us, and informed him how it was, and

1 This is the citation of his name mentioned in § 7.

2 The mother of Dahak [*Zohak*], whose iniquity is considered as equal to that of the evil spirit, see Dd. 72.5; Dk. IX, 10.3.

3 T has "also by his manner he intimated and separately stated."

4 T omits "and be born."

5 The misplaced folio, which begins with § 8, ends here, but it is not quite certain that a few lines of text are not still missing.

6 T has "at another time (*bēn zagāi*)."

begged him that he should finish off by slaying him,¹ because his life was not desirable.

21. Kay Us spoke thus: "Shall I slay thee, for it was not designed by thee?"

22. And Srito spoke thus: "If thou wilt not slay me, then I shall slay thee."

23. Again Kay Us spoke thus: "Do not thou slay me, for I am the monarch of the world."

24. Srito continued his discontent, until Kay Us ordered him thus: "Go out to a certain jungle, because a witch in the shape of a dog is in it, and she will slay thee."

25. Then Srito went out to that jungle, and that witch in the shape of a dog was seen by him; after he smote the witch, she became two; and he constantly smote them till they became a thousand, and the host (girdo) of them slew Srito on the spot.

CHAPTER 13. *Parentage of Zartosht*

1. About the glory of Zartosht becoming manifest even before his birth, it is thus declared, that forty-five years before the time when Zartosht came out to his conference,² when Freno gave birth to the mother of Zartosht,³ whom they called Dogdo, it came down from the endless light, in the manner of fire, and mingled with the fire which was before her; and from the fire it mingled with the mother of Zartosht.⁴

2. For three nights it was manifest, to all passers-by, as a species of fire in the direction of the house, and passers on the road always saw great radiance. (3) Also when she became fifteen years old, the radiance of that glory which was in her, was even such that, on the path she was walking along, its brightness was then shed by her.⁵

4. About the combination of Zartosht, whose guardian spirit is revered; that is, his guardian spirit, in the Haoma, and his glory

1 T has "that he should command the slaying of him."

2 That is, forty-five years before he was thirty years old (see Chap. 21.1-14).

3 It is necessary to translate in this manner, to agree with Dk. VII, 2.3, but the text, which is ambiguous, runs as follows:- "amat Frēnōg (Frēnō-ī?) Zaratūsht am, zyashān Dūkdakōg karītuntō, zerkhūntō;" which might also be translated thus: (when Frēnō, the mother of Zartosht, whom they called Dukdaub, was born." This Frēnō, whether mother or daughter, does not seem to correspond with any Freni mentioned in the Avesta.

4 See Dk. VII, 2.2, 3.

5 Ibid. 7, 8.

are given the cow's milk, by his father and mother drinking it up,¹ and his spiritual life (ahvo) came into the combination, as was proclaimed by his statements in the manuscript about the Guidance of the Ceremonial.²

5. About the backward connection of Zartosht with Ohrmazd, through the two who are Yim [Jamshed], the best of the worldly existences, and Neryosang of the spirits. (6) The enumeration of the lineage of Zartosht is Zartosht, son of Pourushasp,³ of Purtaraspo, of Aurvadasp, of Haecadaspo, of Chikhshnush, of Paitiraspo, of Arejadarshi*, of Kharedhar*, of Spitaman, of Vaedishto, of Ayazem, of Frish, of Arij*, of Durasrobo, of Manuschihar, of Manus-khurnar, of Manus-khurnak, whom Neryosang the messenger of Ohrmazd brought, and whose mother was Vizag, daughter of Aryag, of Sritak, of Bitak, of Frazushak, of Zushak, of Fraguzag, of Guzag, daughter of Airik, son of Faridoon of the Aspigans to the total of ten Aspigans, of Yim [Jamshed], of the Vivanghas, of the Ayanghas, of the Ananghas, of Hooshang, of Fravak, of Siyamak, of Mashye, of Gayomard.

CHAPTER 14. *Demons try to injure him before and at his birth*

1. About the wonderful striving of the fiend for the destruction of Zartosht. (2) When it became near to his birth, the Fever demon, the Pain demon, and the Wind demon of Ahriman, each one with 150 demons, have come out to kill Zartosht, and from his spirit they have gone forth to his mother. (3) And she is hurried from there by Fever, Pain, and Wind; and at the distance of one league (parasang) there was a wizard, Impudent (Storko) by name, who was the most medical of wizards; in hope of practice he stood up from his seat, as she stopped in her progress.

4. A messenger of Ohrmazd uttered a cry thus: "Do not go to a wizard! for they are not healing (beshazinidar) for thee; but go back to the house, wash thy hands on the morrow with cow's butter held over the fire, also burn (tāpō)⁴ firewood and incense for thy own self and thy progeny which is in thy womb." (5) And she acted accordingly and became well;⁵ and the cooperators of the demon, and those of equal power, who had not obtained their remedy from her body, are again

1 Ibid. 46, 47.

2 Not identified, but probably like the Nirangistan.

3 This genealogy was, no doubt, derived originally from the same source as that in Dk. VII, 2.70, but there are several variations, especially in orthography, which are here preserved, unless clearly copyist's blunders. The names marked with an asterisk are written in Pazand.

4 T has "consume (vidāzō)."

exposed,¹ and spoke thus: “On account of the existence of fire from all sides we have not succeeded; it is a help for every one who is her friend more than opponent; therefore it was not for us, because of the power within her.”

6. The same night as she gave birth, Ahriman selected commanders and arrayed his champions (gurd); there are some who are with one thousand demons, and there are some who are with two thousand demons; pursuing and attacking they have contended. (7) The opposing stand of the sacred beings,² especially of the glory itself at the family³ fire, was manifest at that birth; and for its splendor and brightness (padroko), settled opposite a distant place, they have then found no remedy.

8. At last, Ahriman sends Akoman⁴ on, and spoke to him thus: “Thou canst be very spiritual, who canst be most intimate; thou canst go with deceit into the mind of Zartosht, and make him turn his mind to us who are demons.” (9) And Ohrmazd sends Vohuman on against him; Akoman advanced to the front, and had come forward to the door, and wished to go inside.

10. Vohuman schemingly (cārakōgarīhā) turned⁵ back, and exclaimed to Akoman thus: “Go inside!” (11) Akoman imagined thus: “There is nothing to be accomplished by me of what was mentioned to me, for Vohuman has gone back.” (12) And Vohuman went inside, and mingled with the reason (varom) of Zartosht, and Zartosht laughed outright,⁶ for Vohuman is a gratifying spirit.

13. Also seven wizards⁷ were seated before him, and owing to the light in the dwelling, his having laughed at birth was conveniently seen, which is opposed to the habit of the rest of mankind who cry out at birth and are quite terrified.

14. Also, at the same time of birth, he authoritatively accepted the religion from Ohrmazd, as it is stated in revelation, that he spoke at

5 Compare Dk. VII, 2.53-55.

1 T has “and all the co-operators who had entered her body, and those of equal power who had reached them, returned helpless from them.”

2 Thus summarized in Dk. VIII, 14.2 :- “Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good one for developing, and the evil one for destroying; the victory if the good spirit, and the rearing of Zartosht.” The “rearing” is continued in Chaps. 15-20.

3 Assumin that Uxx stands for Etx dūdak.

4 The archdemon of “evil thought” (Bd. 28.7) and special opponent of Vohuman, the archangel of “good thought.”

5 Assuming that shtō stands for vashtō.

6 Compare Dk. VII, 3.2; V, 2.5. This laughing is not mentioned in Dk. IX, 24.

7 “Seven midwives” are mentioned in Dk. VII, 3.2.

birth thus: “As is the will of the spiritual lord (ahvo) mayst thou be who art the officiating priest (zot) (that is, mayst thou be the leader of the creatures).”¹

15. As Zartosht, on account of his worldly body, spoke with a worldly voice, Ohrmazd spoke in reply to him, on account of the spirits, thus: “So mayst thou be the priestly authority (rad shae), and so mayst thou be virtuous, owing to whatsoever righteousness occurs; and I confidently proclaim thee righteous (that is, I am thy controller).”²

16. Another day, Pourushasp went and inquired of the wizards who kept in front at the place, thus: “What is the cause when infants cry out at birth, beyond that which occurs when they laugh outright?”³ (17) And they replied thus: “Because those who are made to cry have seen mortality as their end, and those having laughed have seen their own righteousness.”

CHAPTER 15. *Five Karb brothers opposed to Zartosht and his four brothers*

1. About the brothers who were a band of opponents of Zartosht. (2) The Karbs and Ausikhshes⁴ were brothers' sons, and have become the devastation (gastaragih) of the Iranians; the devastators of the Iranians (Ērānān) were from Kokhared,⁵ and Kokhared was born from Eshm and Manushak, the sister of Manuschihar.⁶ (3) At the place where Zartosht was born, five brothers have been, whose names were Brad-ruksh, Brad-royishn, Brad-resh the Tur [Bradrok-resh], Hazan, and Vadast.⁷ (4) Their brotherhood of five – of which the

1 This is one form of the Pahlavi Ahunawar (see Dk. IX, 24.4). At this point the text in the MSS. is interrupted by the erroneous insertion of Chap. 12.8-16, the contents of a loose folio in some former copy, which have been restored to their original position in this translation.

2 Compare Dk. IX, 24.4.

3 Compare Dk. VII, 3.24, 25.

4 Av. “Karapā Usikhsh-cā” of Y. 44.20c; the Kavā, a third class of pre-Zoroastrian priests, is also mentioned *ibid.* 20 d. Compare Dk. VII, 2.9 n.

5 Av. Kahvaredha, Y. 60.6, 7 (Sp.) where it is translated by *kāstār*, “diminisher, devastator,” of whom it is here said to be the father; see also Yt. 3.9, 12, 16.

6 Compare the legend of the descent of the ape and bear from a demon and Yimāk, sister of Yim, in Bd. 23.1.

7 As these names do not occur in the Avesta, their pronunciation has to be guessed so as to give a probable meaning to the Pahlavi spelling. The writing of the last name is complicated; it is written ~gEn and HgE in the two MS. authorities, which forms can be most obviously read Vasam and Saman, but Saman can also be read as the Zvārish yadā=dast, “a hand;” this leads to the conclusion that the original name underlies the form Vadast, and this is confirmed by the name of the Karap

middle one was Brad-resh the Tur, who became more of an adversary of Zartosht – was a semblance of the brotherhood of five who were sons of Pourushasp, of whom the middle one was Zartosht.

5. Of the four brothers of Zartosht, the names of the two before Zartosht were Ratushtar and Rangushtar, and of the two after him Nodariga and Nivedish.¹ (6) The middle position of Zartosht is for the reason that he is so produced at that time, as an intermedium of the early narrators and the later narrators, that three millenniums came before him and three after. (7) So that he has prescribed to the creatures in what manner he would teach the ancients as to what had occurred, and in what manner it is also to be done as regards what will occur; as is stated in the Gathas² thus: “Both those I ask of thee, O Ohrmazd! even whatever has happened till now, and whatever shall happen henceforth?”

CHAPTER 16. *One Karb tries to kill Zartosht five times*

1. About the trials (auzmayishno) which occurred to him whose practice was lawful, and the signs of prophecy that are seen therein, it is thus declared, namely; “Another day, when the child had been born, Pourushasp called one of those five brothers of the race of Karbs, and spoke thus: ‘Fully observe the marks and specks of my son Zartosht.’”

2. The Karb went and sat down before Zartosht, and the head of Zartosht was thereupon severely twisted by him, in order that he should be killed; but he, being fearless, watched the wizards whose terror was distressing.³ (3) As it was in those ten nights for hospitality, Ohrmazd sent Spandarmad, Aredvisur, and Ardafravash⁴ down to the earth, by way of female care; thereupon no variation occurred to the child, and, further, the hand of that Karb was withered,⁵ and that wizard demanded the life⁶ of Zartosht from Pourushasp for the harm from him, which sprang upon himself from his own action.

4. At the same time Pourushasp took Zartosht, and gave him to the

Vaēdvōisht written at full length in Dk. VII, 4.21-24. See *ibid.* ii, 9 n.

1 These brothers seem unmentioned elsewhere, and the existence of the elder two would imply another mother. The pronunciation of the names is guessed.

2 Pahl. Y. 31.14 a.

3 Assuming that vōshīg stands for vēshīg=bēshīg.

4 The three female spirits that represent the earth, pure water, and guardian spirits, respectively.

5 Compare Dk. VII, 3.4-7.

6 Assuming that the MS. dēnō stands for jān.

Karb, that he might do with him according to his own will. (5) He seized him and threw him out, at the feet of the oxen who were going on a path to the water; the leader of that drove of oxen stood still in his vicinity, and 150 oxen, which walked behind it, were kept away from him thereby; and Pourushasp took him, and carried him back to the house.¹

6. Also the second day, the Karb threw him out at the feet of the horses; and the leader of the horses stood still in the vicinity of Zartosht, and 150 horses, which walked behind it, were kept away from him thereby; and Pourushasp took him, and carried him back to the house.²

7. Also the third day, firewood is gathered together by the Karb, and Zartosht is deposited on it by him, the fire is stirred up by him, yet with the same result (*ham-būn-ic*), the child is not burnt by it, and those marks, which existed and were made upon him, were a preservation from it.³

8. And the fourth day, he is thrown by the Karb into the lair (*ashyanako*) of a wolf; the wolf was not in the lair, and when it wished to go back to the den (*surako*), it stopped when it came in front of some radiance, in the manner of a mother, at the place where its cub was. (9) In the night, Vohuman and Srosh the righteous brought a woolly (*kurushako*) sheep with udder full of milk into the den, and it gave milk to Zartosht, in digestible draughts (*guvarako guvarako*), until daylight.⁴

10. In the dawn, the mother of Zartosht went to that place, in the expectation that it would be necessary to bring a skeleton out of the den, and the woolly sheep came out and ran away; his mother supposed that it was the wolf, and she spoke thus: "Thou hast devoured to repletion; mayst thou endure for ever without it!" She went farther, and when she saw Zartosht quite safe, she then took him up and spoke thus: "I will not give thee to any one during life, not though both the provinces of Ragh and Nodar should arrive here together."⁵

12. Because these princes were among the spiritual from two provinces which are in Atur-padakan, such as are at sixty leagues (*parasang*) from Chist; Zartosht arose from Ragh, and Vishtasp from

1 Compare Dk. VII, 3.11, 12.

2 Compare Dk. VII, 3.13, 14.

3 Ibid. 9, 10.

4 Ibid. 15-17; V, 2.4.

5 Ibid. 18, 19.

Nodar. (13) And of these two provinces, Ragh was according to the name of Eriko, son of Durasrobo, son of Manuschihar,¹ from whom arose the race of Zartosht; and Nodar was according to the name of Nodar, son of Manuschihar, from whom arose the race of Vishtasp.

CHAPTER 17. *Another foretells his glorious destiny*

1. These were his tokens at birth: – One day, one of those five brothers of the Karbs saw Zartosht, and he looked a long while upwards, downwards, and on all sides around.

2. Pourushasp inquired thus; “What was there when thou lookedst upwards, what when thou lookedst downwards, and what when thou lookedst on all sides?”

3. And he replied thus, namely: “When I looked upwards, it was for this reason, when I saw that our souls² that go up to the sky, will go up to the best existence,³ owing to the words of this soul of mankind. (4) When I looked downwards, I saw that, owing to the action of this one, the demon and fiend, the wizard and witch become buried below the earth, and fall paralyzed back to hell. (5) And when I looked on all sides, I saw that the words of this one will extend through the whole earth; and when they have become as the law of the seven regions, each person is kept clothed with a robe (kapah) of seven skins, in which the glory of the seven archangels has arisen.”

6. And Brad-rukhsh the Tur went forth; when he went to the right side (arako), Zartosht hastened away to the left, and when he went to the left side, Zartosht hastened to the right, and he is thereby concealed from Brad-rukhsh the Tur, who has not met with him.

CHAPTER 18. *His father disagrees with him*

1. About his diverse want of participation (gvid akhvesih) with his parents this also is declared, that the demons, at an assembly of wizards, produced an outcry for a conference (ham-vaco layishno) thus: “That son of Pourushasp is senseless and foolish and secretly corrupted; no one, man or woman, will consider or accept him as

1 Compare Chap. 13.6; Dk. VII, 2.70.

2 Assuming that the MS. gadā, “glory, or destiny,” has lost an initial n, with which it was originally nismā= Chald. NShMA “the soul;” as the copyists have not been aware of the existence of this Zvaris equivalent for rūbān, “the soul,” for some centuries, it has been altered into gadā, by the omission of its first letter, in nearly all but the very oldest existing MSS., such as K20 and M6 in Bd. 15.3-5, and even there the medial m is really missing, though apparently existing in the final ā; the irregularity of using s for sh is common in Pahlavi.

3 The ordinary heaven, see Dd. 20.3.

exalted.”

2. The tidings came to Pourushasp, and Pourushasp spoke unto Zartosht thus: “I thought that I had begotten a son who would become a priest, a warrior, and a husbandman, and now thou wouldst be foolish and secretly corrupted; thou shouldst proceed to the Karbs, so that they may cure thee.”

3. Zartosht gave answer thus: “I am he that is thy son, a priest, warrior, and husbandman.” (4) And, by command of Pourushasp he harnessed two horses to a chariot (vardino), and he went with Pourushasp.

5. When they came to the place according to the decision of Pourushasp, into the presence of one Karb of those said five brethren, that wizard took a cup and made water, and spoke thus: “This he should drink who is a son of thine, so that he may become well;” and he acted with this conviction, that so he would change to the same nature as theirs.

6. Zartosht spoke to Pourushasp thus: “Thou mayst give it back to him who is thy protector and high-priest;” and he arose (ākhējīd)¹ and went back to their place.

7. On the way, Zartosht gave their two horses water, on account of their thirst; and he thought thus: “Unprofitable was my going to the residence of the Karbs, except in this manner, when, through giving water to the horses, my soul was then expanded.”

CHAPTER 19. *And he disagrees with his father and the chief Karb*

1. About his interfering talk (andarg-gobishnoih) with the iniquitous, this also is declared, that one day Durasrobo² the Karb, as it were from the same five brethren, came out to the house of Pourushasp; and Pourushasp placed a bowl (jamako) of mare’s milk before him, and spoke to him thus: “Consecrate it.”

2. Zartosht expostulated with Pourushasp thus: I will consecrate it.” (3) Pourushasp spoke thus: He should consecrate, and the grace is to be offered up by you;”³ and as many as three times they mutually disputed.

4. Then up stood Zartosht, and his right foot struck at the bowl and

1 T has “he saluted (nīyāyīd).” This legend has not yet been found elsewhere.

2 Spelt dūrēsrōbō in Zs., but Dūrāsrōbō in Dk.; also the former has always Pōrūshaspō, out the latter Pōrūshāspō. Compare the same legend in Dk. VII, 3.34-45.

3 Pahl. “valā aē yazēdō, afēd vāj dahishnō.”

emptied it, and he spoke thus: "I reverence righteousness, I reverence the righteous and the poor, men and women; do thou, O Pourushasp! prepare a portion for him in whom there is worthiness."

5. And Durasrobo spoke unto Zartosht thus: "As some of my portion of daily food was first thrown away by thee, it is I who will bring it on both thy lives, and will utterly destroy thee." (6) Zartosht spoke interruptingly¹ thus: "With complete mindfulness I will look upon thee with both eyes, and will utterly destroy thee."

7. And, for a long time, they constantly looked, one at the other, with unshrinking gaze; but the divine nature of Zartosht is victorious over the witchcraft of that wizard, and Durasrobo is further disturbed; he also asked for his horse and spoke thus: "On account of this boy, it is impossible for me to stay."

8. He sat upon the horse, and when he had gone a little way, he fell off from the horse, through severe distress, and died; and the children of his children's children have died upon the same spot.²

CHAPTER 20. *Legends indicative of his good disposition*

1. About the righteousness of his desires it is thus declared, that when he became fifteen years old, the sons of Pourushasp demanded a portion from their father, and their portions are allotted out by him. (2) Among the clothes there was a girdle [kusti], the width of which was four finger-breadths; and of the four³ portions around and the girdle, which it was possible to bring forth, Zartosht selected the latter and tied it on himself. (3) This was owing to the precepts (parvanakan) of Vohuman who came into his reason at birth; as to whatever is not the custom his mind was now quite closed, and in that which is the custom it was impetuously exercised by him.

4. About his compassionate disposition and the streams of the Arag province,⁴ this also is declared, that there was a river, and from

1 Or "inwardly."

2 Probably meaning that he died childless.

3 The MSS. have "three," but there were five sons (Chap. 15.5), and the numbers are written in ciphers which are very easily corrupted.

4 Pahl. "Aragistān ōdhāvō (T dnā)" = "odhā-ī Arangistānō" of P. Vd. I, 77 (Sp.); compare Av. "upa aodhaēshu Rang, hayau," of Vd. 1.19; Yt. 12.18. In the Iranian Bd. 20.8 we are told that "the Arang river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Alburz in the land of Surak, which they call also Sham (Shām); and it passes on through the land of Egiptos, which they call also Misr, and there they call it the swift river Egiptōis." It is one of the two mythical rivers which were supposed to bound the Iranian world, and seems to represent the Aras as a northern and the Nile as a western boundary. Arang often becomes Arag in Pahlavi, just as sang

them the body of a naked woman floated, for the reason that, on account of the strength and swiftness of the river, a woman, except when she was quite naked while she was in it, was not able to pass; and an old person, such as he who is of seventy years and is called in revelation a Hano,¹ for want of power (apādiyāvandih rāi), was not able to go back through it by his own strength. (5) Zartosht came on to the bank of the water, and of women and old people seven persons had come, and are passed on by him, in the manner of a bridge;² it was an emblem of the spiritual performers³ of bridging work, that is, of those providing a passage to heaven.

6. About his liberal disposition it is declared, that the fodder of Pourushasp, which was stored for the beasts of burden, was not only for the beasts of Pourushasp in a scarcity, but also for distribution among the beasts of others, which, owing to their hunger on account of the scarcity, then constantly ate off the tails of each other; and it was given to them plentifully.

7. About his abandoning worldly desire, and his laying hold of righteousness of way, this, too, is declared, that when he became twenty years old, without the consent (ben akamakih) of his father and mother, he wandered forth and departed from their house, and openly inquired thus: "Who is most desirous of righteousness and most nourishing the poor?" (8) And they spoke thus: "He who is the youngest (kēhistō) son of Aurvaito-dih⁴ the Tur, who every day gives an iron caldron (jamak), which is the height of a horse, full of bread and milk and other food, unto the poor." (9) Zartosht went on to that place, and with his cooperation, for the nourishment of the poor, some of the chief men performed duty by carrying forth food for the poor.

10. About his compassion, not only upon mankind, but also his other creatures, this, too, is declared, that a bitch was seen by him, which had given birth to five⁵ puppies, and it was three days then that she had not obtained food.⁶ (11) Whomever she saw, she then advanced her mouth towards him, and became as it were prostrated; Zartosht provided a remedy, by swiftly bringing up bread for her, but

becomes sag.

1 Av. hanō in Vd. 3.19, 20; etc.

2 Probably holding each other's hands.

3 The sacred beings who assist the righteous souls to pass over the Chinwad bridge.

4 See Dk. VII, 4.7 n.

5 T has "seven," but this difference may have arisen from an erroneous mode of writing the ciphers in T.

6 T has "a bone for food."

when he was bringing it she had expired.

12. About his own desire for the good quality¹ of a wife, on account also of the will of his parents, and his not mingling his own seed before a suitable obtainment, this, too, is declared, that when his father sought a wife for him, Zartosht argued with the bride (nēshā) thus: “Show me thy face, so that may find out (barkhām) its kind of appearance, and this, too, whether its appearance be undesirable, or shall not be gratifying;” and the bride turned away her face from him. (13) And Zartosht spoke thus: “Whoever takes away a sight from me, does not practice respect for me.”

14. About his having accepted progress even from the iniquitous, that listened sinfully desirous, who accepted so much advantageousness as was manifest, this, too, is declared, that he came into an assembly who were well known in the place for much knowledge, and he inquired of them thus: “What is most favorable for the soul?” (15) And they spoke thus: “To nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Haoma-juice into water, and² to worship many demons with words, with the words which are called revelation (deno).” (16) Then Zartosht nourished the poor, foddered the cattle, brought firewood to the fire, and squeezed Haoma into water, but never are any demons whatever worshipped with words by Zartosht.

CHAPTER 21. *His going to confer with Ohrmazd*

1. About his coming to thirty years of age if is thus declared, that on the lapse of thirty years onwards from his appearance, on the day Anagran of the month Spandarmad,³ he had proceeded in that direction in which there occurred the so-called festival of spring (jashno-i vahar),⁴ forty-five days beyond new-year’s day, at a place become specially noted, where people went, from many quarters, out to the place of festival (jashnocar).

2. When Zartosht, for the sake of going off to the festival place, halted on the way in walking, he chanced upon a solitary (aevatak) plain, and he saw, in a vision, that mankind and a much-adorned

1 T has “good child-bearing.”

2 T inserts “not” here, which is clearly wrong, and must have been introduced by some copyist who did not observe that the assembly, though learned, was sinful; and that the object of the anecdote is to exhibit Zartosht’s ability to distinguish between good works and sin, when still untaught by the sacred beings.

3 On the last day of the twelfth Parsi month.

4 The Maidhyozaremaya (maidyozairem) season-festival, held on the fifteenth day of the second Zoroastrian month.

worldly existence were kept away to the north, so that all the people in the earth have become fully manifest in the north. (3) And he at the head (pavan tekḥ) of them was Maidok-mah, son of Arastai,¹ even as Arastai was brother of Pourushasp;² Maidok-mah was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zartosht, and he became their guide, so that first Maidok-mah and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted.

4. And about his coming out to the conference, on the lapse of those forty-five days, at the place of festival at dawn on the day Dadvo³-pavan-Mitro [Day-pa-Adar] of the month Ardwhisht. (5) And Zartosht, for the purpose of squeezing the Haoma, went forth to the bank of the water of the Daitya, because it is the river⁴ of the conference for the supremacy (patih) of Zartosht, and is the water of Aban⁵ which has consisted of four channels (beta). (6) Zartosht also passed on through it; and its first channel was up to the ankle,⁶ the second up to the knee, the third up to the parting of the two thighs, and the fourth up to the neck. (7) This was an indicator that his religion comes four times to supremacy; the manifestations of which are through Zartosht, Ushedar, Ushedarmah, and Soshyant.⁷

8. When he came up from the water, and put on his clothes, he then saw the archangel Vohuman⁸ in the form (āyūinakō) of a man, handsome, brilliant, and elegant, who wore his hair curve-tailed,⁹ because the curved tail is an indication of duality; who had put on and wore a dress like silk, than which there was no making anything superior, for it was light itself; and his height was nine times as much as of Zartosht.

9. He also inquired of Zartosht¹⁰ thus: "Who mayst thou be, and from whom of them mayst thou be? also what is mostly thy desire,

1 See Yt. 13.95.

2 So Maidok-mah (or Mēdyōmāh) was first cousin of Zartosht, and became his first convert; see also Chap. 23.1.

3 The Pahlavi letters represent Av. dadhvau, "creator;" compare the Khvarizmian name of the fifteenth day of the month in Sachau's Albiruni, p. 57, l. 35. The date here given is the fifteenth of the second month, as in § 1.

4 Assuming that rud stands for rūd.

5 Probably Anahita, the female spirit of pure water, mentioned by her title Aredvisur in Chap. 16.3.

6 Literally "up to the leg (zang)."

7 The past and future apostles of Zoroastrianism. For the last three, see Dk. VII, 9-11.

8 Compare Dk. VII, 3.51-54.

9 Assuming that vajdumak is a variant of the usual gajdūmak. The scorpion (vajdum) would be a sign of duality, as, being a noxious creature, it was produced by the evil spirit Ahriman.

and the endeavor in thy existence?" (10) And he replied thus: "I am Zartosht of the Spitamas; among the existences righteousness is more my desire, and my wish is that I may become aware of the will of the sacred beings, and may practice so much righteousness as they exhibit to me in the pure existence."

11. And Vohuman directed Zartosht¹ thus: "Do thou proceed to an assembly of the spirits!" (12) As much as Vohuman walked on in nine steps, Zartosht did in ninety steps, and when he had gone ninety steps farther than him, he saw the assembly of the seven archangels. (13) When he came within twenty-four feet of the archangels, he then did not see his own shadow on the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels; the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Daitya. (14) Zartosht offered homage, and spoke thus: "Homage to Ohrmazd, and homage to the archangels!" and he went forward and sat down in the seat of the inquirers.

15. As to the asking of questions by Zartosht, he inquired of Ohrmazd thus: "In the embodied world which is the first of the perfect ones, which the second, and which the third?" (16) And Ohrmazd replied thus: "The first perfection is good thoughts, the second good words, and the third good deeds."

17. Zartosht also inquired thus: "Which thing is good, which is better,² and which is the best of all habits?" (18) And Ohrmazd replied thus: "The title³ of the archangels is good, the sight of them is better, and carrying out their commands is the best of all habits."

19. Afterwards he demonstrated the duality of the original evolutions (būn gashtānō),⁴ and the divergence in each control, and spoke thus: "Of those spirits, he who was wicked preferred the practice which is iniquitous (Ahriman's desire was for the practice which is iniquitous), and the spirit of righteousness, the propitious (Ohrmazd) prefers righteousness."⁵ (20) Specially he demonstrated the divergence in each control of the exhibitors of light, and he spoke thus: "Neither our thoughts,⁶ nor desires, nor words, nor deeds, nor

10 Compare Dk. VII, 3:55-59.

1 Compare *ibid.* 3:60-62.

2 Both MSS. have "worse" here.

3 This title, ameshaspenta, is "immortal benefactor."

4 The two prime movers in creation.

5 Quoted from Pahl. Y. 30:5 ab. The words in parentheses are glosses inserted by the Pahlavi translator.

6 Both MSS. have "spirits" by inserting a stroke in the middle of the Pahlavi word.

religion, nor spiritual faculties agree;¹ he who is loving light, his place is with the luminaries; and he who is loving darkness is with the dark ones.”²

21. On the same day also, his omniscient wisdom appeared three times: as regards the same first questions, it pointed out the sky in great light and splendor, and in its exhibition of the prevention of darkness, at the sight of which it becomes an opposing existence as regards that darkness. (22) And it exhibited its own appearance proportionally to the sky, when it kept its head at the summit of the sky, its feet at the bottom of the sky, and its hands reached to both sides of the sky; the sky also kept it covered, in the manner of a garment.

23. The six archangels³ were manifest by their similar stature (ham-bashnih), in such manner that it is obvious each one successively is apparently one finger's breadth shorter than the other. (24) The archangels exhibited three kinds of achievement (pasākhtan)⁴ for the religion; first, by means of fires, and Zartosht walked three steps on them, with the words, “good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,” and was not burnt; and secondly, hot metal is poured on to his chest, cooled thereby, and, grasping it with his hand, he held it for the archangels. (25) Ohrmazd spoke thus: “After the establishment of the pure religion, when a dispute occurs in the religion, those who are thy disciples will pour it on to a spiritual lord, they will take it up with the hand, and will thoroughly believe in him who is over the whole embodied existence.” (26) The third was cutting with a knife, and the vital parts (ahvon) becoming visible, which are inside the abdomen. with a flowing forth of blood; and, after the hands are rubbed over it, it became healed. (27) And this is pointed out, namely: “Thy and thy co-religionists” accepting of the pure religion is, as to the steadfast in other religions, such that, through such-like burning of fire, pouring of hot metal, and through an operation with a sharp instrument, there is no perversion from the good religion.”

CHAPTER 22. *His conferences with the archangels*

1. About the seven questionings (7-frashnoih), with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, which occurred in seven places.⁵

1 An imperfect quotation, omitting glosses, from Pahl. Y. 44.2 cde (Sp.).

2 A similar idea is expressed in Vd. 19.30, but the Pahlavi version of half of it is lost.

3 Apart from Ohrmazd, their president.

4 By way of ordeal, a relic of the old faith in incantation.

5 Compare Dk. VIII, 14.5, 6, 9.

2. For the occurrence of the first questioning,¹ that of Ohrmazd, the person of Zartosht, who was the upholder of Ohrmazd, came out to a conference on the bank of the water of Daitya.²

3. For the occurrence of the second, which is Vohuman's, five animals out of the five species³ which are the worldly tokens of Vohuman, have come with Zartosht to a conference on Hugar and Ausind;⁴ and on that day also, before their coming out to the conference, their tongues are fully liberated and spoke with human words. (4) And among the rest⁵ is a fish of one species, Arzuva⁶ by name; of those in burrows (khanoigano) are the white ermine and white marten; of the flying creatures (vayan-dagan) is the Karshipt,⁷ a bird like a species of water-fowl; of the wide-travelers (farakhvoraftarano) is the hare which is showing wild beasts the way to the water; and of those suitable for grazing (carako-arjanigan) is the white ass-goat; with human words they also accepted the religion from Ohrmazd. (5) With the chieftainship of the five species they are entrusted, so that the like animals also, with their own voices, and as much as their knowledge is capable, shall recount the powerfulness of the religion. (6) And freedom from assault, exemption from persecution, and proper maintenance of the five species of animals, were prescribed by him⁸ to Zartosht with seemingly very awful admonition.

7. For the occurrence of the third questioning, which is Ardwhisht's, the spirits of the fires have come out with Zartosht to a conference at the Tojan water;⁹ and, in that questioning, care for the proper maintenance of the Warharan fire,¹⁰ and the propitiation of all fires, is explained to him.

1 This has been narrated in the preceding chapter.

2 See Dk. VII, 3.51, 54.

3 These species, which are named in § 4, are those mentioned in the Avesta, Visp. 1.1.

4 Av. Hukairya of Yt. 12.24, and Us-hindu of Yt. 8.32, described in Bd. 12.5, 6, as two neighbouring mountains, for the pure water of Aredvisur falls from the summit of Hugar to Aūsind which stands in the circumambient ocean.

5 The remainder of K 35, the MS. brought by Westergaard from Kirman, is lost; but an old copy of it (BK, see the Introduction) exists in Bombay, which supplies the missing text, as an authority independent of T.

6 See Bd. 14.26; apparently the same as the Ariz, or Kar, the chief of fish, *ibid.* 18.3, 5; 24.13.

7 See Bd. 14.23; 19.16; 24.11.

8 By Vohuman, as the protector of useful animals.

9 Possibly the Tejend river, the Zend or Zōndak of Bd. 20.7, 15.

10 The Bahrām, or sacred fire at places of worship.

8. For the occurrence of the fourth questioning, which is Shahrewar's, the spirits of the metals have come with Zartosht to a conference at Sarai, a settlement on the Mivan;¹ and he was fully admonished about various proper preservations of the metals, and as to not producing warlike accouterments of gold.

9. For the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spandarmad's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations (austaman), settlements (rudastakan), and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zartosht to a conference where there is a spring (khanigo-ae) which comes out from the Asnavad mountain,² and goes into the Daitya, like those of Sataves who is blowing the Pairigs.³ (10) And Zartosht was also thus admonished by her, about the care and propitiation of the earth: that each district is to be entrusted to a faithful testifier (gokas-i vavar), each settlement to a judge acquainted with the law, each station to an officiating priest (magopato = mobed) of just intentions, and each frontier to a pure priestly authority (rado); over all is proclaimed the councilor of the spirits, the supreme priest (magopatano magopato), and through him the sovereignty of Ohrmazd is provided.

11. For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Hordad's, the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zartosht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain,⁴ and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.

12. For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amurdad's, the spirits of plants have come out with Zartosht to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Dareja,⁵ on the bank (bar) of the water of Daitya, and different places; and he was informed about the care and propitiation of plants.

13. The seven questionings are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.⁶

1 Names not clearly identified, and readings uncertain.

2 In Atur-patakan, and the Gushnasp, fire was established upon it (see Bd. 12.2, 26; 17.7).

3 Pahl. "Sataves-i Pairig damānō ānō cīgūn." Referring probably to Yt. 8.8, 9. Sataves is the southern chieftain of the stars, as correctly stated in the Iranian Bundahishn (compare Bd. 2.7; 13.12) ; and the Pairigs [Av. pairika] are meteors. [Whence Pers. Pari, Peri "fairy".]

4 See § 9.

5 Pahl. "pavan Darejīn zbār" = A v. "Drejya paiti zbarahi" of Vd. 19.4; a mythical river in Airan-vej (Eranvej), where Pourushasp resided (Bd. 20.32).

6 The Pahlavi is rather vague, but it is clear that Zaratusht starts for his conference at thirty years of age (Chap. 21.1), returns from it ten years later (Chap. 23.1), and the conversion of Vishtasp occupies two years longer (Chap. 23.5), occurring when

CHAPTER 23. *Dates of conversions, births, and deaths*

1. On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Maidok-mah, son of Arastai, became faithful to Zartosht.

2. Afterwards, on having obtained his requests,¹ he came back to the conference of Ohrmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me." (3) And Ohrmazd spoke thus: "There will be days when so few are not attracted by you, who are themselves the occasion of the resurrection of the world; when, apart from Dahak [Zohak],² the beneficence of the formation of the renovation of the universe attracts every one besides, and the impenitence of Dahak [Zohak] is destroyed."

4. When he came out from the presence of Ohrmazd, with the same paradox, he thereby indicated his religion as complete to Spandarmad through his intelligence.

5. In the two years after that,³ the Kavigs and Karbs of Vishtasp, in the manner of opponents (hamestaranih), propounded thirty-three inquiries (khvāstakō)⁴ to him, so that by command of Vishtasp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries. (6) Of the thirty-three habits⁵ of iniquity, come for opposition to the religion of the sacred beings, of the declaration, by revelation, of those thirty-three indications of fetters;⁶ and of the restraint of the thirty-three iniquitous practices by the thirty-three best good works, there are statements in revelation. (7) Including the acceptance of the religion

Zartosht was forty-two years old and thirty-five years before his passing away at the age of seventy-seven (Chap. 23.9). At this point another dislocation of text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the accidental interpolation of three loose folios of another text, between this chapter and the next, in some unknown copy written before 1530. In the MSS. the text is written continuously, without division into chapters. But the connection of this chapter with the next one, which is here restored to its proper position, is clearly shown by the reference to the "ten years" of conference, with which this chapter ends, and the next one begins. The accidentally interpolated text is here classified as Chaps. 24 and 25, but its real connections have not yet been traced.

- 1 That is, the replies of the archangels to his enquiries.
- 2 See Dk. VII, 1.26. He was chained by Faridoon in Mount Damawand, to escape in the latter days, to be slain by Keresasp, and to be specially punished at the resurrection (Bd. 12.31 ; 30.16; Byt. 3.55-61).
- 3 See Dk. VII, 4.2.
- 4 See Dk. VII, 4.67.
- 5 Reading shōn = Pers. s̄an; but the MSS. have dēnō, "religions." The thirty sins and thirty-three good works, detailed in MX. 36, 37, are certainly referred to at the end of this section.
- 6 Compare Chap. 12.5, and Dk. VII, 4.67.

by Vishtasp from Zartosht, after the redemonstration of its judicially multiform prophecy and spiritual character, which are looked into through the evidence of three speakers about them, the archangels who, with worldly manifestation, have become apparent unto Vishtasp and his councilors and mighty ones; they are Vohuman, Ardwhasht, and the Burzin-Mihr fire.¹

8. About the reward which existed before the beneficence of Zartosht, and its being seen how, through guidance by Ohrmazd, it is demonstrated by him to those of the world, so that Maidok-mah is attracted in the tenth year in the forest of reedy hollows (*kanyāstānō² vēshakō*) which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species (*khazura-i varazo gas*); in the twentieth year the Kavig who is son of Kundah³ is attracted; in the thirtieth year the Khyons⁴ arrive, who make an incursion (*vardako*) into the countries of Iran, owing to the Kavigs, those who are more of their own race; and in the fortieth year Vohunem, son of Avaroshtar,⁵ is born.

9. In the forty-seventh year Zartosht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days in the month Ardwhasht, on the day Khur [*Khwarshed*];⁶ and for eight rectified (*vehicako*) months, till the month Dadvo [*Day*] and day Khur [*Khwarshed*], he should be brought forward as to be revered.

10. In the same month Ardwhasht, in the sixty-third⁷ year, Frashostar⁸ passed away, and in the sixty-fourth year Jamasp,⁹ the same as became the priest of priests after Zartosht; in the seventy-third year Hangaurush, son of Jamasp;¹⁰ in the eightieth year Asmok-

1 See Dk. VII, 4.74.

2 Hybrid Zvārish of Pers. *naistān*.

3 Or *Kūnīh* which is the name of a demon (see Sg.16.13, 16, 18, 19); but such an identification is uncertain.

4 Av. *Hvyaona* of Yt. 9.30, 31; 17.50, 51. Compare Dk. VII, 4.77, 83, 84, 87-90; v, 7.

5 Av. gen. "Vohu-nemang, *hō Avāraoshtrōis*" of Yt. 13.104.

6 The eleventh day of the second month.

7 T has 43 d, and the date is lost in the other MS. authority. But 43 d is highly improbable for two reasons: first, it would make this date the only one out of chronological order in the series here given; secondly, it would render it inconsistent with the statement, in Dk. VII, 6.12, that two priests came, from other regions, to ask Frashostar about the religion, fifty-seven years after it had been accepted by Zartosht. By substituting 63 d (the Pahlavi cipher most likely to be corrupted into 43 d) both these inconsistencies are removed.

8 See Dk. VII, 6.12; V, 2.12.

9 See Dk. V, 2.12; 3.4.

10 Av. gen. "Hang-haurushō *jāmāspanahē*" of Yt. 13.104.

khanvato,¹ and also in the eightieth year Kated-ush-spae,² who is called also Akht the wizard, is killed.

11. Of the six great upholders of the religion there are the two daughters of Zartosht, whose names are Freno and Srito,³ with Aharubo-stoto, son of Maidok-mah,⁴ and another three, who are renowned for their religion for a hundred years, who are Vohunem⁵ that is born in the fortieth year of the religion, Sheno⁶ is afterwards born and passes away in the two-hundredth year, and as to his hundred-discipledom,⁷ it exists day and night till the three-hundredth year. (12) Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested (jangiaino).

13. About the three customs (dado) which Zartosht prescribed as the best: – The first of them is this: “Do not go without others, except with magisterial authority (apatkar radiha);” the second is: “Though they shall proceed unlawfully as to you, consider your actions lawfully beforehand;” and the third is: “Next-of-kin marriage, for the sake of the pure progress of your race, is the best of the actions of the living, which are provided for the proper begetting of children.”⁸

1 Av. gen. “Asmō-hvanvatō” of Yt. 13.96, and Westergaard’s Yt. 22.37.

2 As kated is Zvārish for “many,” we may assume that kated-ūs = Av. nom. pourush which usually becomes pouru in compounds; so that the compound name, or title, in the text, probably represents Av. Pouruspādha (Yt. 10.109, 111), “having many troops,” a suitable title for Akht the wizard (Av. Akhtya of Yt. 5.82) who is said, in Yavisht i Friyan 1.2, to have invaded a district with an army of seven myriads. He was killed, in Zoroastrian fashion, by the recital of a religious formula.

3 There was a third daughter, Pouruchasht (see Bd. 32.5), but she may not have survived her father.

4 Av. gen. “Ashastvō Maidhyōi-maung-hōish” of Yt. 13.106.

5 See § 8.

6 He was born in the 100th year; see Dk. VII, 7.6.

7 This seems to be the sixth upholder of the religion, the third of those lasting about a century.

8 This chapter ends the first series of Selections of Zadspram, and is immediately followed in the MSS. by a second series. It is evident from the extent of this chapter, as compared with the amount of text contained in the three misplaced folios (see Chap. 22.13 n), that this chapter could have occupied only about one folio and a half in the dislocated MS., so that the second series must have commenced on the same folio as contained the end of this chapter, and that Chaps. 24, 25 cannot have belonged to this series. The three misplaced folios contain two distinct texts; the first (Chap. 24) is an Iranian version of the Five Dispositions of priests and the Ten Admonitions, and is here translated; the second (Chap. 25) contains some details about the Nasks and Gathas.

CHAPTER 24. *Five dispositions of priests and ten admonitions*

1. About the five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions with which all instruction as to religion is connected.¹

2. Of those five dispositions the first is innocence.

3. The second is discrimination among² thoughts, words, and deeds; [to fully distinguish the particulars of destruction from indestructiveness, such as noxious creatures from cattle; and of production from unproductiveness, such as the righteous an worthy from the wicked and unworthy].

4. The third is authoritativeness, because that priestly master is always wiser and speaking more correctly who is taught wisely and teaches with more correct words.

5. The fourth is to³ [understand and consider the ceremonial as the ceremonial of Ohrmazd, and the essentials with all goodness, beneficence, and authority; to be steadfast in his religion, and to consider the indications of protection (sāyag)⁴ which are established for his religion. (6) To maintain the reverence of the luminaries prayerfully, also the reverence of the emanations⁵ from the six⁶ archangels, be they fire, be they earth, or be they of bodily form, and of the creatures which are formed by them; also the pure cleansing from dead matter, menstruation, bodily refuse, and other hurtfulness; this is in order that they may be characterized, and thereby constituted, as better-principled, more sensible,⁷ and purer, and they may become less faulty. (7) The reverence of mankind is to consider authoritatively about knowledge and property; the reverence of cattle is about fodder, little hardship, and moderate maintenance; the reverence of plants is about sowing and ripening for the food of the

1 This Iranian version of the Dispositions and Admonitions is more complete than the Indian version, which, like the Bundahishn, was brought from Iran five or six centuries ago, and is found in two MSS. (Pt. and J) written in India about 500 years ago, and now in the libraries of Dasturs Dr. Peshotan and Dr. Jamasp, respectively. Passages which occur only in the Iranian version are here enclosed in brackets, and other differences between the two versions are mentioned in the notes.

2 The Indian version has "of."

3 Ind. vers. has only: "to celebrate the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the correct words, inward prayers, and complete mastery of the text (narm-nasgihā) in the ritual." It omits §§ 6-8 altogether.

4 T has "limit (kūstak)."

5 T has "issue."

6 .T has "seven."

7 Or "more fragrant;" hū-bōdta has both meanings.

worthy. (8) The ceremonial which is glorifying all the sacred beings, praises the luminaries and worldly creations improperly, and is antagonistic to them, because complete glorification is proper through complete recitation of the ritual; and the ceremonial of any one whatever is his own proper duty professionally, so long as it is possible to keep proceeding with very little sinfulness].

9. The fifth is to struggle prayerfully,¹ day and night, with your own fiend,² and all life long not to depart from steadfastness, nor allow your proper duty³ to go out of your hands.

10. And the first of those ten admonitions is to proceed with good repute, for the sake of occasioning approving remarks as to⁴ the good repute of your own guardian and teacher, high-priest and master.⁵

11. The second is to become awfully refraining from evil repute, for the sake of evil repute not occurring to relations and guardians.

12. The third is not to beat your own teacher with a snatched-up stick, and not to bring scandal upon his name, for the sake of annoying him, by uttering that which was not heard from your own teacher.

13. The fourth is that whatever is taught liberally by your own teacher, you have to deliver back to the worthy, for the sake of not extorting a declaration of renown from the righteous.⁶

14. The fifth is that the reward of doers of good works and the punishment of criminals have to be established by law, for the sake of progress.⁷

15. The sixth is to keep the way of the good open to your house, for the sake of making⁸ righteousness welcome in your own abode.

16. The seventh is that, for the sake of not developing the fiend insensibly in your reason, you are not to keep it with the religion of the good,⁹ nor to remain in impenitence of sin.

1 Ind. vers. has: "to remain in diligence intelligently."

2 Ind. vers. has: "opponent."

3 Ind. vers. has: "steadfastness in religion, and to be diligent in your proper duty." But it omits the rest of the sentence.

4 Ind. vers. has: "for the sake of the appropriateness of."

5 Or "father."

6 T has: "not extracting the purity of the righteous."

7 Ind. vers. adds: "of religion."

8 Ind. vers. inserts: "a token of;" and T has: "making the righteousness of the sacred beings in writing welcome."

9 Ind. vers. has: "not to maintain malice with the good," which is more probable, and

17. The eighth¹ is that, for the sake of severing the fiend from the reason, you have to force malice away from your thoughts, and to become quickly repentant of sin.

18. The ninth is to fully understand the forward movement² of the religion, also to keep the advancing of the religion further forwards, and to seek your share of duty therein; and on a backward movement, when adversity happens to the religion, to have the religion back again, and to keep your body in the continence (makavadih) of religion.

19. The tenth is that there is to be a period of obedience (Sroshdarih) towards the ruler and priestly authority, the high-priesthood of the religious.

CHAPTER 25. *About the three divisions of revelation*

1. About the three divisions of revelation there is a condensed medium, beneficial and small, of whose subdivision one category (rajistakō) is collection together; that is, the Ahunwar³ itself is a symbol of the Nasks.

2. First, the Ahunwar is apportioned into its three degrees (padmān), as shown in another chapter; and by a like system (rajistak) the Gathas,⁴ too, are into three, which are the three-lined, four-lined, and five-lined;⁵ even so the Nasks are denominated Gathic, Hadha-mathric, and Law. (3) Then the Ahunwar is apportioned into six: which they call half-lines (nem-gas); so, too, the Gathas are into six, which are called the Ahunavaiti Gatha, the Yasna, the Ushtavaiti⁶ Gatha, the Spenta-Mainyu (Spetamato) Gatha, the Vohu-khshathra Gatha, and the Vahishtoishti Gatha; even so the Nasks are into six, as

kēnō, “malice,” is easily corrupted into dēnō, “religion,” in Pahlavi writing.

1 This eighth admonition is omitted in the -Iranian MSS.

2 Ind. vers. adds: “and backward movement.”

3 See Dk. VIII, 1.7.

4 The word gāsānō is usually written like dahishnō in the MS.

5 The three-lined stanzas of the Gathas are 100 in the Ahunawad (Yas. 28-34), 40 in the Yasna Haptanghaiti (Yas. 35-41), and 22 in the Wohukhshathra (Yas. 51). altogether 162 three-lined stanzas; the four-lined are one in the Ushtawad (Yas. 46.15), 41 in the Spentomad (Yas. 47-50), and nine in the Vahishtoishti (Yas. 53), altogether 51 four-lined stanzas; and the five-lined stanzas are the remaining 65 in the Ustawad (Yas. 43-46); making the total of 278 stanzas mentioned in § 5. Yas. 42 is a later supplement to the Yasna Haptanghaiti, and, in the MSS. Pt4, Mf4, it is headed as follows :-Avar vaharakō-i haft hādō Yastō yazishnīk būn, “the beginning of worshipping as regards the portions of the Yasna of seven hās.”

6 The MS. corrupts these two names into the one word asnavatō by omitting the syllables aūshta.

the Gathas are into two, which are called one the Gathic creation – which is the Yasht¹ – and one the rest of the Gathic; also the Hadha-mathric into two, one the Mathra of the arranger – which is the Pacino and Rado-dado-aito² – and one the Mathra full of good tokens, which is the rest of the Hadha-mathra; and also the Law into two, one the law against the demons – which is the Vendidad³ – and one the law of Zartosht, which is the rest of the Law. (4) Then it is apportioned into twenty-one, such as the twenty-one words (marik) of the Ahunwar; also the Gathas are into twenty-one, which are the Ahunwar, the praise of righteousness, the performance of the good, and from Yanim-mano unto Airyaman⁴ which, being accomplished (akardo), are twenty-one; and the Nasks are twenty-one.

5. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 278⁵ stanzas (vecesto); and the Nasks also into 278 categories, every single category having borne a form like a single verse,⁶ as regards how much and how anything good is indicated, such as the Patkar-radistan,⁷ in which what is legally disputable is reported (pedako); the Zakhmistan,⁸ by which the penalty of assault (zakhm) is reported; the Storistan,⁹ by which the sin and amount of penalty for a wound, as regard beasts of burden and cattle, are reported; the Arateshtaristan,¹⁰ by which battle is reported; the Pasush-haurastan,¹¹ by which the customary keeping of sheep in control is reported; the Jurdai-zaritunistan (‘corn-sowing code’),¹² by which agriculture is reported; the Varistan,¹³ by which an ordeal being accomplished is reported; and others of a like

1 The Stöd-yasht, or first of the Gathic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.9).

2 The third and fourth of the Hadha-manthric Nasks (ibid. 10).

3 The fifth of the Legal Nasks (ibid. 11).

4 The three sacred formulas, Yatha-ahu-vairyo (Ahunwar), Ashem-vohu, and Yenghe-hatam, with the seventeen hās of the five real Gathas, and either the Yasna Haptanhaiti, counted as a single item, or the Airyaman, will make up the twenty-one divisions (compare the names applied to each fargard of the Sudgar, Warsht-mansr, Bag Nasks in Dk. IX).

5 See § 2 n; here the MS. has 288, by miswriting, in both occurrences of the ciphers.

6 Doubtful; the text appears to be as follows :-kolā rajistakō-aē būrdō shan mănāk ak gāh.

7 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 16.

8 Equivalent to Zatamistān (ibid. Chap. 17), see Darmesteter’s suggestion (ibid. Chap. 16.8 n).

9 Ibid. Chap. 24; here spelt Stōritān by mistake.

10 Ibid. Chap. 26.

11 Ibid. Chap. 23; here written Pasūsh-haūristān.

12 Ibid. Chap. 31.30-32.

13 Ibid. Chap. 42; here written Varīstān.

description.

6. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 1016¹ metrical lines (gas), and the Nasks into 1000 Has and Fargards,² and, since the Hadokht³ is the priestly master (rado) of the Nasks, and the remedy⁴ (darmōn) which is a perfect statement about the master of the resurrection, the existence of its fargards about the other fargards is therefore 1000 remedies fully combined, being the corn and fodder that are shut up (bastako) when, over that thousand, they supply one that is great, which in every way protects them from hail and rain, from the wind which is hot and that which is cold.

7. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 6666 words (mārik),⁵ and as to the Nasks, too, their own 6666 ordinances (dadistano) are therein severed. (8) And the 6666 words, which are in the Gathas, are an indicator of the period from the adversary having come to the creatures, as far as unto the end of the six millenniums⁶ – each millennium being ten centuries – which amount to 60 single centuries – a century being ten tens⁷ – and up to the time when its⁸ cold and distress arrive, which become awful; the 600, including the excess as far as one ten,⁹ are years of the 6000 years which are the words of the

1 See Shayest ne-Shayest 13.50; that this number is correct may be seen from the details given in § 2 n.

2 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.20; here the MS. has āyūinō instead of hātō, by miswriting.

3 The sixth of the Gathic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.9).

4 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 45.13, where the word used is bēshāzō.

5 According to Shayest ne-Shayest 13.50 the six Gathas (including the Yasna Haptanghaiti) contain 5567 vācak, 9999 mārik, and 16,554 khūrdak; which enumeration makes the meaning of mārik doubtful. In our present text, however, it must have its usual meaning of “word,” as the number of 6666 words in the six Gathas can be obtained by including the customary repetition of the first stanza of each Hā of the five real Gathas, with the text of the Airyaman and of the introductions to Y. 28, 35, and probably the homage formula prefixed to each Gatha; also by considering each component of a compound as a separate word, and all verbal prefixes as separable; and by counting all enclitics except -ca, in accordance with the different modes of treating -cit and -cā in counting the words of the Ahunwar. If the three sacred formulas were included, and the Airyaman and five homage formulas were omitted, the total would be nearly the same.

6 The three millenniums during which Ohrmazd and Ahriman had nearly equal influence, and the last three millenniums during which the power of Ahriman diminishes (see Bd. 1.20).

7 Assuming that # b stands for ##.

8 Assuming that mūnash, “whose,” stands for amatash.

9 As the cipher for “one” precedes that for “ten,” it may possibly mean “one less than ten,” as in the Roman IX. At any rate, 6609 years with the 57 accounted for in § 9 make up the requisite total of 6666; but the mode of making this number correspond with the six millenniums is not very clear.

six Gathas that are the first indicator of the six millenniums; therefore of the 60 centuries are then the 600 and those which are added to them (zak-i ghal).

9. And after those 6000, which are the 6000 years, are the Airyaman¹ of Ardwhisht and the accompanying sayings (ham-vaco) which are at the end of the Gathas; those are the 57 years of Soshyant,² and for the sake of them, too, are the Airyaman and from the praise of righteousness at its end to the consecration of the Airyaman, originally 57 words (marik), because the praise of righteousness for the Airyaman is 12, and the consecration of the Airyaman is 21, of the original 57.³

CHAPTER 34. On the final rehabilitation (frashegird).

1. It is revealed⁴ in the Religion that Zartosht asked Ohrmazd (saying), "Shall bodily creatures who have passed away on earth, receive their bodies back at the final rehabilitation or shall they be like unto shades?"

2. Ohrmazd said, "They shall receive their bodies back and shall rise again."

3. And Zoroaster asked (saying), "He who hath passed away is torn apart by dog and bird and carried off by wolf and vulture: how shall (their parts) come together again?"

4. Ohrmazd said, "If thou who art Zartosht hadst to make a wooden casket, would it be easier to make it if thou hadst no wood and yet hadst to cut and fit it, or if thou hadst a casket and its parts were sundered one from the other and thou hadst to fit it together again?"

5. Zartosht said, "If I had a branch of wood, it would be easier than if I had no wood; and if I had a casket (and its parts were sundered one from the other), it would be easier"

6. Ohrmazd said, "When those creations were not, I had power to fashion them; and now when they have been and are scattered abroad, it is easier to fit them together again. (7) For I have five store-keepers who receive the bodily substance of those who have passed away. One is the earth which keeps the flesh and bone and sinews of men: one is the water which keeps the [flesh and] blood: one is the

1 Y. 54.1.

2 Or Sōshans. See Dk. VIII, Chap. 14.14; Bd. 30.7.

3 The Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohu 12, and its consecration (Y. 54.2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words.

4 Tr. of this chapter is from ZZZ, pp. 348 ff.

plants which preserve the hair of the head and the hair of the body: one is the light of the firmament(?) which receives the fire: and yet another is the wind which [gives back] the spirit of my own creatures at the time of the rehabilitation.

8. I call upon the earth and ask of it the bone and flesh and sinews of Gayomard and the others. (9) The earth saith, "How shall I bring them, for I know not which is the [bone, flesh, and sinews] of the one [and which of the other]?"

10. I call upon the water of the Arang which is the Tigris among rivers (saying), "Bring forth the blood of those men who are dead." (11) [The water] saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the blood of the one and which of the other?"

12. I call upon the plants and ask of them the hair of the dead. (13) The plants say, "How shall we bring it, for we know not which is the hair of the one and which of the other?"

14. I call upon the wind and ask him for the spirit of those men who are dead. (15) The wind saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the spirit of the one and which of the other?"

16. When I who am Ohrmazd look down upon the earth, water, plants, light, and wind, in my clear sight I know and distinguish the one from the other: for in my omniscience and clear thought I distinguish the one from the other even as when a man milks the milk of female beasts and it runs down upon this earth in the same channel, one stream into the other, he knows of which of his beasts it is. I recognize them even as when a man hath thirty horses and each horse has a caparison with a mark on it (to show) to which horse it belongs, and those thirty caparisons stand together, and the man (then) wishes to know; he takes off the caparisons and knows by the mark on the caparison which of his horses is which.

17. I shall send forth Airyaman the Messenger among whose duties is the fulfilment of the end. (18) He will bring the bone and blood and hair and light and spirit of Gayomart and Mashye and Mashyane. (19) And first shall I fit together again the bones of Gayomart -- and the bones of Mashye and Mashyane lie together near him, to the right and to the left--these shall I bring forth.

20. And it is easier for me to fit together and create again the twelve creations that I created in the beginning: first when I created the sky without pillar or support which no material creature supports from any side; and second when I established the earth in the middle of the sky so that it was nearer to neither side, like the yolk of an egg in the middle of an egg; and third when I fashioned the Sun: fourth when I fashioned the Moon; [fifth when I fashioned the stars;] sixth

when I created many hues, colours, and tastes in the plants; seventh when I created fire within the plants and it did not burn; eighth when I brought corn to the earth, and when it is full grown, it bears fruit and serves as food for man and kine; ninth when I formed the embryo within female creatures and covered it up so that it did not die and, as it grew, I revealed one by one the bone, blood, hair, phlegm, sinews, and nails; tenth when I made birds in bodily form to fly in the air; eleventh when I gave the water feet moving forward like unto a hare(?); twelfth [when I created the clouds] that carry the water up and rain it down."

21. The creating of creation, the progress of Religion, and the final rehabilitation are like unto the building of a house. (22) For a house can only be completed by means of three things, that is the foundation, the walls, and the roof. Creation is the foundation, the progress of Religion the walls, and the rehabilitation the roof. (23) As when a man desires to build a house, he chooses three men of whom one is most skilled in laying the foundation, one in raising the walls, and one in making the roof; and each is assigned to his proper work. Till the foundation was laid and the walls raised, it was not possible (to make the roof). (24) He who bade the house (be built) knows clearly how many things are needed to complete it~ and because he has no doubt concerning the skill of the maker of the roof, long does he confidently wait. When the walls are completed, it is as easy for him whose business is the roof, to roof (the house) in as (it is) for the other two in the work that is assigned to them.

25. And again the rehabilitation was like unto a dark night: when the night draws to its close, the Sun rises over three corners of the earth and returns to its proper place and completes its cycle and comes to shine anew and smites the darkness and gloom.

26. It was like unto the Moon which waxes for fifteen (nights) and for fifteen wanes. When it has completely disappeared, it is born anew and is manifest in the sheen (it has) from the Sun, the lord of lights: the restoration of the world of the resurrection is made manifest thereby.

27. It was like unto the year in which, in spring, the trees blossom, in summer they bear fruit, in autumn they bear the last fruits, and in winter they become dry and as if dead. (28) When the order of the years is fulfilled. Mihr (the Sun) returns to his first place, day and night are equal in measure. and the atmosphere (returns to) its original(?) equilibrium.

And the resurrection of the dead is like unto dry trees and shrubs that put forth new foliage and shoot forth tender saplings. (29) Since

stability must be restored the end of all natural things is in the same manner as their beginning, even as man whose coming to be springs from the semen or as the plants whose becoming is from seed; their perfection and end are in the selfsame seed.

30. In the Religion thus is it revealed -- When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his companion even as a man has a whore woman as his bedfellow; for verily the whore is a demon: and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, that is the chief of all the whore demons, the most grievous adversary of the Blessed Man.

31. And [the demon Whore] of evil religion joined herself [to the Blessed Man]; for the defilement of females she joined herself to him, that she might defile females; and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their proper work.

32. And he chose a captain of his commanders who is none other than Az (concupiscence): and he gave her four commanders to help her, who are Wrath and Winter and Old Age and Bane, like unto the East and West and South and North. (33) Az chose commanders, captains of the right and captains of the left, which are hunger and thirst: so too did Old Age (choose) lamentation and mourning: so too did Bane (choose) excess and deficiency.

34. At the final rehabilitation first a means of overcoming Az is sought, for she is the captain of the commanders of the other lies, and from her has Ahriman of evil religion most strength. (35) When first creation began to move and Zurvan for the sake of movement brought that form, the black and ashen garment to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise, "This is that implement like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Az. When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrrnazd and to love thee -- and verily this is the belief in the one principle, that the increaser and destroyer are the same -- then by means of these weapons Az will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd -- like unto a frog that liveth in the water; so long as it defileth the water, it liveth by it, but when the water is withdrawn from it, it dieth parched."

36. And Az because she had only one nature, had not the power to cause defilement as long as creatures were dispersed. That her powers might work together within creation, she divided them in three, that is

“that pertaining to natural functions,” “that pertaining to natural functions directed outward,” and “that outside the natural functions.” That pertaining to the natural functions consists in eating on which life depends: that pertaining to the natural functions directed outward is the desire to mingle (copulate) which is called lust (Varan) through which, by a glance outward, the inwards are excited and the natural functions of the body thrown into turmoil: that outside the natural functions is the yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears.

37. Each part was divided into two: that pertaining to the natural functions is hunger and thirst; that pertaining to natural functions directed outward is the emitting and receiving (of seed); that outside the natural functions is hoarding by robbery and refusing to give through avarice.

38. This is she who comprises (all) evil. And it is revealed that at the end Ardwhisht will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the Messenger, to find a means of overcoming Az, and he will show to creatures that the slaughter of the divers kinds of cattle is a grievous sin and that the profit therefrom is small: and this will he command, “Ye are men; slaughter not the cattle even as hitherto ye have slaughtered them.”

39. When the time of the rehabilitation shall draw nigh, those who hearken to the command of Ardwhisht will turn from the slaughter of cattle and the eating of flesh, and one quarter of the power of Az will dwindle, and the strength that is in her body will be destroyed, and the darkness and gloom will be smitten in part: nature will be clad in spirit and intelligences will be more clearly grasped.

40. In the bodies of the children that are born to them Az shall be less strong and their bodies shall stink less, and their nature will be more closely bound to the gods. Instructed by the gods they will turn away from the drinking of milk; half the power of Az will dwindle. (41) And those who are born to them will be sweet-smelling, lacking darkness, spiritual in nature, without offspring, for they will not eat.

42. And then the demon Az, since she will derive no power from the creatures of Ohrmazd, will chide Ahriman who appointed her captain of his commanders (saying) in her greed to the judge of creatures, “Satisfy me, satiate me, for I derive nor food nor strength from the creatures of Ohrmazd.” (43) At the command of Ahriman she will destroy the lesser demons. At the last (only) those four commanders will remain, and the other two, even Ahriman and Az.

44. Forth to the earth come Ohrmazd and Ahriman, Srosh and Az. Ohrmazd smites Ahriman: so long as Az was in league with Ahriman, he found no means of overcoming him, for Ohrmazd is the all-creator

of light; and the darkness of Ahriman is his adversary: Srosh, the moderate and blessed, is the genius of the Mean and the excess and deficiency of Az are his adversary: they are of equal stature in the battle. (45) But when Az is [no longer] in league with (Ahriman), Ahriman is alone, and his adversaries are three -- two of a different substance, that is Ohrmazd and Sros, and one of the same substance, that is Az, his greatest ally (heretofore). When his helpmate turns to enmity, the Adversary will be vanquished.

46. When fifty-seven years have yet to pass till the final rehabilitation, the birth of Sosyans will come to pass, the consummation of that which was bestowed on Zartosht.

47. Concerning Zartosht thus is it revealed -- for thirty years he conferred with Ohrmazd, and he received the Religion and spread godliness abroad. In fifty-seven years the Religion reached the seven climes in part. When the Religion made progress, the Lie, once manifest and plain to see, [fled] beneath the earth and its power was partially destroyed.

48. When the Messenger of the consummation who is Sosyans, the envoy and Airyaman, appears on earth, in like manner will he confer for thirty years with the spiritual gods. The term allotted for the final rehabilitation is also fifty-seven years. The Religion will reach the seven climes in its plenitude, and by the wholeness of its propagation the Lie will be uprooted from creation.

49. When the Aggressor came upon creation, six thousand years of the "reckoned calendar" remained -- that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardin until the period returns to the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardin. For the completion of six thousand years of the intercalating calendar the equivalent of four years (is needed): for in every four years there is one intercalated day, not more: in six thousand years that is the equivalent of four years. At that time will come the sign of the resurrection, and the firmament will move (from its course) and the course of the Sun, Moon, and stars will be *like to the planets* (?) ; and as the firmament turns, so will the atmosphere and the seas, the earth and the abodes (of men) turn from their natural [paths]. On the earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire will arise in many places. (So) For Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire: for water has a nature that illumines the seed and causes it to grow, and fire (a nature) that burns and thwarts it: for when the seed of plants comes to water, it receives the power of growth and becomes moist.

51. When the fire appears on earth, the waters begin to sink and the rain ceases to rain till most of the waters on the earth are turned

into desert, and the colour of plants on earth turns to the colour of wine(?) because of their union with fire, and they are burnt up and the tillage will be of no effect.

52. When but three months have yet to pass before the Resurrection, it will come to the great battle even as in the beginning creation wrestled with the Lie. For ninety days and nights there was war, a battle of thirty days and nights by the rain that smites noxious beasts, of thirty days and nights by the streaming forth of the vapours through which the plants grow, of thirty days and nights by the wind which drives the water on and supports the earth below and above and makes hollows and heights.

53. But as the great battle in the beginning was by the raining of water and the wind that furthers water, so is the (battle) in the end by the burning and scorching of fire and the fearful wind that makes the fire to blaze.

54. As (first) for ninety days and nights the gods did battle with the demons and the Whore, so in the end, manifest and plain, there will be seen by night and in the atmosphere a form of fire in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual gods, riding, as it were, a fiery horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall be freed from doubt.